



*Blasij Monluci Franciae Marschalli
Vera Effigies ~*

5/2 C. M. Williams

THE
COMMENTARIES
OF
Messire Blaise de Montluc,
MARESCHAL
J. M. 4th D. G.
FRANCE.

WHEREIN ARE DESCRIBED
All the Combats, Rencounters, Skirmishes, Battels,
Sieges, Assaults, Scalado's, the Taking and Surprizes
of Towns and Fortresses ; as also the Defences of the
Assaulted and Besieged :

With several other signal and remarkable Feats of War,
wherein this great and renowned VVarriour was personally engag'd
in the space of fifty or threescore years that he bore Arms under
several Kings of *France*.

TOGETHER WITH
Divers Instructions, that such ought not to be ignorant of, as
propose to themselves by the practice of Arms to arrive at any eminent degree of
Honour, and prudently to carry on all the Exploits of War.

Cicero. M. Marcello. Epist. 8. l. 4.

*Omnia sunt misera in Bellis civilibus, quæ Majores nostri ne semel quidem, nostra ætas sæpe jam
sensit : sed miserius nihil, quam ipsa victoria : quæ etiamsi ad meliores venit, tamen eos ipsos
ferociores, impotentioresq; reddit : ut, etiamsi natura tales non sint, necessitate esse cogantur.
Multa enim victori, eorum arbitrio, per quos vicit, etiam invito facienda sunt.*

By Charles Cotton, Esquire, lately Deceased.

L O N D O N,
Printed for Charles Brome, at the Gun, at the West-end of St. Paul's
Church-yard. M DC LXXXVIII.

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To the Right Honourable,

PHILIP,

EARL of CHESTERFIELD,
Lord STANHOPE of Shelford, &c.

MY LORD,



Though all men that know me are sufficiently enform'd of the many and great obligations your Lordship has layd upon me, and that as many of them as I have discours'd withal upon that subject, are able, I will do me right, to bear witness

with what candor and acknowledgment, not perhaps without something of ostentation, I have ever own'd and extol'd them; yet (my Lord) those men are so few, and the beforementioned obligations of so generous a nature, that I confess I have a desire both to be more universally known your servant, and that the world at the same time should take notice, that though you may in my person have plac'd your favours upon an unworthy, yet that they have nevertheless been conferr'd upon a grateful man. Such a one (my Lord) I profess myself to be, and having no other way to manifest that I am so, have taken the liberty to dedicate this Translation of mine to your Lordships diversion and acceptance, not suspecting that you who have honour'd me so many other ways should discountenance me in this, but rather protect me from
A others,

others, as well as excuse me to your self; and in truth (my Lord) I am so much your own, that you may justifiably enough be a little partial in my favour.

My Lord, it may perhaps be expected by those who know your Lordship for the noble person you are, that I should here salute you with a finer Epistle than peradventure I can write, or at least than this is either likely, or in truth intended to be; not that I would not present you with the best I have, but knowing your Lordships aversion to such impertinencies as men sometimes stuff their Dedications withall, I should not only willfully offend you, but moreover step out of my own design, which is very clear from the vanity of thinking to advance your Honor or Name by any testimony of mine, and only intended with all submission to declare my self,

MY LORD,

Your Lordships most humble
and most obedient Servant,

CHARLES COTTON.

THE
French Printer

TO THE
NOBLESSES
OF
GASCONY.

GENTLEMEN,



WE see certain Countries yield particular fruits in great abundance, which are elsewhere rarely to be found; so it also seems that your Gascony does ordinarily produce an infinite number of great and valiant Captains, as a fruit that is natural and peculiar to that Climate, and that comparatively the other Provinces are in a manner barren. 'Tis to her Womb that the World stands oblig'd for those noble and illustrious Princes of the House of Foix, Albret, Armagnac, Cominge, Candalle, and Captaux de Buch. 'Tis to her that we stand indebted for Pothon, and la Hire, two happy Pillars, and singular Ornaments of the Arms of France. 'Tis she who in our dayes has acquainted the remotest Nations with the names of de Termes, de Bellegarde, de la Vallette, d'Aussun, de Gondrin, Terride, Romegas, Cossains, Gohas, Tilladet, Sarlabous, and divers other brave Gentlemen of the pure and true Soil of Gascony, without mentioning those at this day living, who generously inflam'd with the Trophies and Atchievements of their brave Predecessors, are emulous of their glory, and put fair for an equal share of renown. 'Tis your Gascony (Gentlemen) that is the Magazine of Soldiers, the Nursery of Arms, the Flower and Choice of the most warlike Nobles, of the whole Earth, and the Mother of so many renowned Leaders, as may dispute the pre-cedency of valour with the most celebrated Captains of the Greeks and Romans that ever were.

The French Printer to the Nobles of Gascony.

But of all those who (descended from your noble Families) have adorned the practice of Arms, no one for Prowess, Experience, or Resolution did ever excel this invincible Cavalier Blaize de Montluc, *Mareschal of France*. That Prerogative of Honor cannot be disputed with him, no more than the gifts Heaven was pleased to conferre upon him of a prompt and marvelous vivacity of understanding; of a present, and nevertheless a very reserved prudence, which he discover'd upon the most sudden and surprizing occasions in the management of affairs, of an admirable memory, and so rich, as the like is rarely to be found, of a great facility of speech, strong, and bold, and full of incitements of honor in the ardours of Battel; and in affairs of State, of a grave and temperate eloquence, heightned and illustrated with Propositions, Reasons, and Arguments, and all accompanied with so clear and lively a judgment, that although he was destitute of Letters, the beauty of his natural parts notwithstanding darkned the splendor of those, who to a long experience in affairs, had joyn'd a perfect and exact knowledg of the profoundest Arts and Mysteries, both of books and men.

The greatest part of you who knew him, and have often fought under his Ensign, stand in need of no other testimony than your own knowledg: but the younger sort, who never had the good fortune to see this great man, besides what they may have gather'd by report, will perfectly know and understand him by his own Commentaries, the actions whereof you have seen him perform when living, and which he dictated when sick, and languishing of that great *Harquebuz* shot which shatter'd his face at the Siege of Rabasteins, where for a farewell to Arms he serv'd his Prince in the quality of Pioneer, Soldier, Captain, and General at once, after which from his Bed to his Grave this generous soul could never find any rest, which he was wont to say was his capital Enemy, and gave him occasion towards his end to command this Distick to be engrav'd upon his Tomb.

Cy deffous reposent les Os
De MONTLUC, qui n'eust onc repos.

Here with repose Montluc lies blest,
Who living never could find rest.

Seeing then, that assisted by your valours, he has so fortunately perform'd so many glorious feats of Arms; I conceiv'd it but reasonable that this Dedication should address it self to you, that you might enjoy the fruits, and have the pleasure of reading those actions repeated in his Writings, and of seeing the names of your noble Ancestors recorded

The TRANSLATOR'S
P R E F A C E
TO THE
R E A D E R.



Man that has had no better luck in Printing Books than I, and receiv'd from the world so little thanks for his labour, should, one would have thought, have taken some reasonable warning, and in some moderate time have given over scribling; but notwithstanding these disencouragements, I have hitherto, and do yet continue incorrigible, as, whoever will take the pains to read them, will see by the following Commentaries: and seeing I acknowledg this to be a fault, and that every fault requires some excuse, I think fit to give the Reader some account why I still persist so obstinate to pester the world with my writings.

It is not then out of any ill natur'd desire I have to be troublesome, or any great ambition I have to be laught at; but beeing, by a perpetual confinement to the solitude of my own House, put eternally upon reading, that reading, when I meet with any thing that pleases my own fancy, inspires me with a desire to communicate such things as I conceive are worth knowing, and are out of the common Road of ordinary Readers, to their observation, and to dedicate those hours which I my self have spent with some delight in such Translations, to their vacancy and diversion.

This is the true and only reason why I have, and sometimes do spend so much time about such things as these, and it ought the less to offend the generality of men, because, though I only pretend by it to oblige but a few persons, and those none of the most considerable; yet it can be prejudicial to none, the Author only excepted, and he can suffer by it, with none neither but such as will not take the pains to read him in his own Language; for such as cannot do it ought to rest satisfied, and

The Translator's Preface to the Reader.

provided the Subject be without reproach, are better with an ill Translation than none at all.

Such a one in plain truth is this ; not that I am willing to confess I have much missed the sense of the Author ; but though elegant enough for those times, 'tis a knotty piece in it self, and though wrapt up in very good sense, yet writ by the rough hand of a Soldier, and a rough one, and stuff up with old musty Proverbs (the mode of wit it seems at that time) and such as we have not sometimes Proverbs of our own to render them by, and to English a Proverb without a Proverb, is to make that unpleasant, and almost unintelligible in one Language, that is quaint and elegant in another ; to repair which I have in some places been necessitated almost to create Proverbs, or at least to render his after a Proverbial way, to make them a little like the Original.

But I could wish this was the worst fault the Reader will find in the Book ; I am afraid it is not, and know also very well there are some others, for which no man living could provide a remedy (unless upon the Author's heads he would have made a History of his own) to wit, intolerable digressions, and those intolerably long, with so many, and so long-winded Apparenthesies, included within tedious periods, as very much take from the grace of his Style (of it self a rude one) and strangely perplex the Reader ; for which whether I should accuse Monsieur de Montluc's want of Art (which he himself confesses) or the luxuriency of his fancy (which often hurries him from his subject) I am yet to seek.

I must also add, That though this Treatise have generally a very good reputation in the world, yet there are some, who are men of very great judgment, and who have no inclination to discountenance either good writings, or good men, that decry this Book for one of the vainest pieces that ever was writ ; and indeed they have reason on their side, there being a continued thread of vanity and ostentation throughout the whole work, *ou par tout on trouvera les Gasconades a bon marché*. But the Author being a Gascon (to which Nation bragging is as natural, as bravery) and the things he relates of himself being undeniably true, I conceive he ought to be excus'd, and the rather, because it is for the most part in vindication of himself from the ill offices and slanders of those little Monsieurs of the Court, of whom he so often complains, and gives himself the best description : a sort of vermin, that in truth have evermore insinuated themselves into all Courts of Princes, especially that of *France*, where the

The Translator's Preface to the Reader.

the worthiest men in all Ages have ever been subject to the clandestine malice, and private calumny of such as durst not so much as have lookt on, to have beheld the brave actions perform'd by those they were not afraid to traduce, and bespatter at the distance of an hundred leagues, and under the protection of their Master's presence and favour.

After all these objections which I have here set down, as well to prevent others, as to excuse my self; I am now to tell you, that had I not for all this thought this Book a very good one, I should have found my self something else to do; and I may venture to declare I think it so, since it has had so great a reputation, with almost all sorts of men, that the truth of it in no one particular (that I ever heard of) was ever disputed by any; and that it has been allowed by all to be the best Soldiers Book, that is, the best Book for the instruction of a Soldier that ever was writ. Never certainly were Enterprizes design'd with more judgment and resolution, nor ever carried on with greater bravery and conduct than all his were; besides the labour, hazard, and diligence, with which they were ever executed, were such as perhaps had never been practis'd before; nor, for ought I ever heard or read, ever imitated by any Frenchman since: from whence I am apt to conclude, that either *Monsieur de Montluc* was the greatest Soldier of a Subject that ever was in *France*, or that the Historians of that Kingdom have not been so just to the rest, as he has been to himself.

I cannot deny but that to an invincible spirit, and an indefatigable constancy in suffering all the hardships of war, the fierceness of his nature, prompt, and perfectly Gascon, or else his zeal to Religion, and the service of his Prince, or both, made him sometimes do things which seem'd bloody and cruel; but the necessity of the time, and the growing faction of the Hugonots, would have it so; neither do I think (I know not how discreet I am in declaring so much) that Sacrilege and Rebellion can be too roughly handled; and severity must needs appear a virtue, where clemency would evidently have been a vice. As to the rest, the Reader will find his Harangues well fitted to the several occasions, his Deliberations prudent, and well grounded, his Instructions sound, his Arguments rational, his Descriptions plain and intelligible, and the whole well enough coucht, from a hand that was better acquainted with a Sword than a Pen, and by a man whose design, as well as profession, was rather to do things worthy to be written, than to write things worthy to be read.

To

The Translator's Preface to the Reader.

To conclude, I shall beg of the Reader in the behalf of the brave Author, to consider him a poor Gentleman, bred up to Arms, by which alone he pusht on his fortune to the highest degree of honor, without any addition of Letters, or other advantages of education, the ordinary foundations of greatness, than what he forg'd out of his own courage, and form'd out of his own natural parts, which were notwithstanding such as approv'd him a Captain of extraordinary valour and conduct, and made him moreover allow'd to be a man of wit, Characters which all the Historians do generally allow him, and particularly *Davila*, though he only here and there glances upon his name. For my self, I have nothing to say, but this, that although this be no elegant, it is nevertheless (if I mistake not) an useful piece; and though we have lost the use of Bows and Targets, yet design and diligence will be in fashion, so long as the practice of Arms shall endure. I expose my share of it then to every ones mercy, and good nature; such as will buy the Book, will keep me in countenance; 'tis no matter whether they take the pains to read it or no, for by that means my Bookseller's business will be done, and as to the rest I shall not be much disappointed, my design being in plain truth (though I should be glad, I confess, and proud it might take) chiefly to pass away my own time, and to please my self.

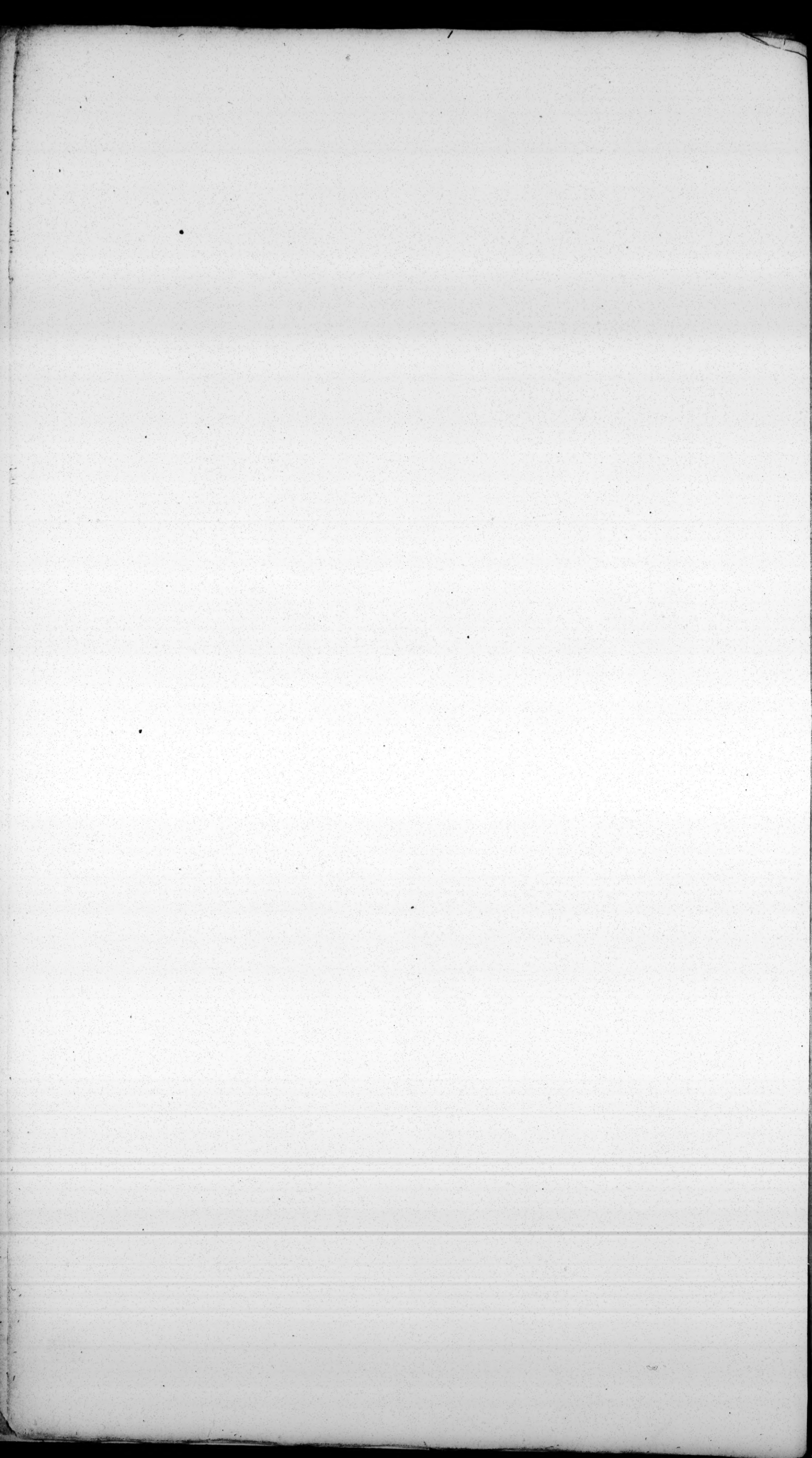
THE

The French Printer to the Nobles of Gascony.

to posterity in a Chronicle of Honor. And, if I mistake not, there will hardly be found a History more repleat with variety, more grateful to the Reader, and more rich in instructions for the conduct and direction both of Peace and War than this, where (I fancy at least) the difference betwixt a History compil'd by a sedentary man, bred up tenderly and delicately in the dust of old Studies and old Books, and one writ by an old Captain, and a Soldier brought up in the dust and smok of Armies and Battels will easily be discern'd.

I know not what ancient Histories have the vertue in a little space to render those who read them with the greatest diligence and observation very wise and circumspect Leaders: but if any such there be, this, above all others, will easily obtain the precedence, and enform you (generous Nobles) of all the good and evil events that attend the fortune, or misfortune, the valour or the cowardize, the prudence or inconsideration of him who is Chief or General of an Army, or who is Prince or Sovereign of a mighty Kingdom. You have here wherewith to delight your fancy, to discretion your valour, to martialize your wisdom, and to form the true honor of a School of War. The Commentaries of this second Cæsar will make you Doctors in Military Discipline, and will serve you for Model, Mirror, and Exemple; they have no fictitious lustre, no affected artifice, no foreign ornament of borrowed beauty. 'Tis nothing but simple Truth that is nakedly presented before you.

These are the conceptions of a strong, sound, and healthful digestion, that relish of their original and native soil, bold, and vigorous conceptions, reteining yet the breath, vigour, and fierceness of the Author. This is he, who having the first arriv'd to the highest step of all the degrees and dignities of war, has highly promoted the honor of your Country both by his Sword and his Pen, and to such a degree, that the name of the Montluc's shall gloriously live in the memory of a long and successful posterity, manifesting without envy to succeeding Ages, that your Captain and Historian, as he knew how prudently to enterprize, and bravely to execute what he had design'd, was no less good at his Pen, but equally eminent in that faculty, to record with truth and judgment, what he had acted before with the greatest courage and conduct.



*On the brave Mareschal de Montluc, and his
Commentaries writ by his own hand.*

MONTLUC, how far I am unfit
To praise thy valour, or thy wit,
Or give my suffrage to thy fame,
Who have my self so little name,
And can so ill thy worth exprefs,
I blushing modestly confefs;
Yet when I read their better lines,
Who to commend thy brave designs,
Their Panegyricks have set forth,
And do consider thy great worth;
Though what they write may be more high,
They yet fall short as well as I.

Whose is that Pen so well can write
As thou couldst both command, and fight?
Or whilst thou foughtst who durst look on,
To make a true description?
None but thy self had heart to view
Those Acts thou hadst the heart to do,
Thy self must thy own deeds commend,
By thy own hand they must be pen'd,
Which skill'd alike in Pen and Sword,
At once must act, and must record.

Thus *Cæsar* in his Tent at night,
The Actions of the day did write,
And viewing what h'ad done before,
Emulous of himself, yet more,
And greater things perform'd, until
His arm had overdone his will,
So as to make him almost fit
To doubt the truth of what he writ.
Yet what he did, and writ, though more,
Than ere was done, or writ before;
Montluc by thee, and thee alone,
Are parallel'd, if not outdone,
And *France* in Ages yet to come,
Shall shew as great a man as *Rome*.

Hadst thou been living, and a man,
When that great *Cæsar* overran
The antient *Gauls*, though in a time,
When Soldiery was in its prime;
When the whole world in plumes were curl'd,
And he the Soldier of the world,
His conqu'ring Legions doubtless had
By thy as conqu'ring arms been stayd:
And his proud Eagle that did soar
To dare the trembling world before,

Whose Quarry Crowns and Kingdoms were,
Had met another Eagle here,
As much as she disdain'd the Lure,
Could fly as high, and stoop as sure.
Then to dispute the worlds Command
You two had fought it hand to hand,
And there the *Aquitannick Gaul*
Maintain'd one glorious day for all.
But for one Age 't had been too much
T'have had two Leaders, and two such;
Two for one world are sure enow,
And those at distant Ages too.
If to a Macedonian Boy
One world too little seem'd t'enjoy;
One world for certain could not brook
At once a *Cæsar*, and *Montluc*,
But must give time for either's birth;
Nature had suffer'd else, and th' Earth
That truckled under each alone,
Under them both had sunk and gone.

Yet though their noble Names, alike
With wonder, and with terror strike;
Cæsar's, though greater in Command,
Must give *Montluc's* the better hand;
Who though a younger Son of Fame,
A greater has, and better Name.
With equal courage, but worse cause,
That trampled on his Country's Laws,
And like a bold, but treacherous friend,
Enslav'd those he should defend:
Whilst this by no ambition sway'd
But what the love of glory made,
With equal bravery, and more true
Maintain'd the right that overthrew.
His Vict'ries as th' encreas'd, his power
Laid those for whom he fought still lower;
Abroad with their victorious Bands,
He conquer'd Provinces and Lands,
Whilst the world's conqu'ring Princess *Rome*
Was her own Servants slave at home.

Thy courage brave *Montluc* we find
To be of a more generous kind,
Thy spirit, loyal, as 't was brave,
Was evermore employ'd to save,
Or to enlarge thy Country's bounds,
Thine were the sweat, the blood, the wounds,
The toyl, the danger, and the pain;
But hers, and only hers the gain.
His wars were to oppress and grieve,
Thine to defend, or to relieve:
Yet each to glory had pretence,
Though such as shew'd the difference,

By

By their advantages, and harms
'Twixt Infidel and Christian Arms.

France, Piedmont, Tuscany, and Rome,
Have each a Trophy for thy Tomb:
Sienna too, that nature strain'd,
Only to honor thy command,
Proud of thy name will be content,
It self to be thy monument:
But thine own *Guienne* will deny
Those noble Relicks elsewhere lye:
But there enshrin'd now thou art dead,
Where (to its glory) thou wert bred.
O fruitful *Gascony*! whose fields
Produce what ever Nature yields.
Fertile in valour as in fruit,
And more than fruitful in repute,
How do I honor thy great Name,
For all those glorious Sons of Fame,
Which from thy fair womb taking birth,
Have overspread the spacious Earth.
Yet stands the world oblig'd for none,
Nor all thy Heroes more than one;
One brave *Montluc* had crown'd thee Queen,
Though all the rest had never been.

Past times admir'd this General,
The present do, and future shall;
Nay whilst their shall be men to read
The glorious actions of the dead,
Thy Book in Ages yet unborn
The noblest Archives shall adorn,
And with his Annals equal be,
Who fought, and writ the best but thee.

Charles Cotton.

On the Commentaries of Messire Blaize de Montluc.

To the Worthy Translator.

HE that would aptly write of Warlike Men,
Should make his Ink of bloud, a Sword his Pen;
At least he must Their Memories abuse
Who writes with less than *Maro's* mighty Muse;
All (Sir) that I could say on this great Theme
(The brave *Montluc*) would lessen his esteem;
Whose Laurels too much native Verdure have,
To need the praises vulgar Chaplets crave:

His

His own bold hand, what it durst write, durst do,
Grappled with Enemies, and Oblivion too;
Hew'd its own Monument, and grav'd thereon
It's deep and durable Inscription.

To you (Sir) to whom the valiant Author owes
His second Life and Conquest o're his Foes,
Ill natur'd Foes, Time and Detraction,
What is a Strangers Contribution!
Who has not such a share of Vanity
To dream that one, who with such Industry
Obliges all the world, can be oblig'd by me.

Thomas Flatman.

On the Commentaries of Montluc translated.

I Never yet the French Tongue understood,
Which may (what e're their Fashions are) be good;
Yet such as I, by your industrious hand,
Come now them and their State to understand.
This, and your well-translated *Espernon*,
Make those brave Histories of *France* our own.
Sir, these are noble Works, and such as do
Name you Translator, and the Author too.
You are our Author, and our thanks to you
(As yours to their Historians) are due.
Nay ev'n the *French* themselves must thank you too:
For we (and we are the major part) who know
Nothing of them, but what is noise and shew.
Hard names for damn'd course Stuffs, stinking Meat,
Adulterate Wine, strange Habits, Legs and Faces,
Might justly look on *France*, (not to speak worse)
To be of these the Mother, or the Nurse.
But us you undeceive, and do them right,
By these exact Translations which you write,
And we who understand no French, now find
You are both just to them, and to us kind.

R. Newcourt.

ERRATA.

E R R A T A.

P Age 1. line 20. r. to justifie. p. 2. l. 24. r. and yet. p. 4. l. 50. r. the charge and honor. p. 5. l. 7. r. not for. p. 8. l. 32. r. and the. p. 11. l. 51. r. in, in. p. 12. l. penult. r. a fugitive. p. 15. l. 47. r. they. p. 19. l. 4. r. dine aboard. p. 22. l. 6. r. not deign. p. 24. l. 17. r. by burning. p. 28. l. 43. r. de Montpezat. p. 29. l. 22. r. at that time. l. 38. r. de Tande. p. 31. l. 25. r. de Montpezat. p. 32. l. 29. r. de Fonterailles. p. 39. l. 23. r. and me to Savillan. p. 41. l. 24. r. Monsieur d'Aussun. l. 50. r. knew the. p. 42. l. 14. r. could avoid. p. 45. l. 16. r. Reconis p. 51. l. 41. r. enough to do to. p. 54. l. 23. r. if they were. p. 56. l. 48. r. weary. p. 57. l. 11. r. fought. Ib l. 14. r. fault. p. 59. l. 38. r. they advance, p. 61. l. 31. for d'Aussun, r. d'Anguien. p. 63. l. 10. for for now r. new. p. 65. l. 49. r. the Marechal. p. 66. l. 13. r. the feast. p. 67. l. 46. r. when you arose. p. 68. l. 11. r. took notice. p. 80. l. 57. r. we are. p. 92. l. 39. r. if they. p. 126. l. 39. r. to scoure. p. 130. l. 29. r. and that Captain St. Auban. p. 133. l. 37. r. which was a. p. 143. l. 35. r. went a- bout to. p. 150. l. 27. r. in their. p. 159. l. 12. r. inconsiderable. p. 161. l. 20. r. hateful word. p. 173. l. 59. and 60. r. a Trooper. p. 174. l. 32. r. the plain. p. 175. l. 40. and 41. r. had moor'd them in the Ditch. p. 176. l. 15. r. and that would make. p. 177. l. 19. r. stop short. p. 184. l. 16. r. no body else. p. 193. l. 6. r. Cremona. p. 197. l. 36. r. du Tillet. p. 209. l. 48. r. Quails. p. 213. l. 56. dele ali. p. 232. l. 5. r. Commands. p. 233. l. 2. r. to. p. 242. l. 25. r. deliver'd to him. p. 246. l. 9. r. Coral. p. 281. l. 49. r. la Masquere. p. 289. l. 54. r. Cabinet. l. 58. r. the Children. p. 290. l. 45. r. repulst. p. 312. l. 40. r. best Curtall. p. 313. l. 28. dele that. p. 314. l. ult. r. Chalosse. p. 320. l. 2. r. suffering him. l. 34. r. to the friendship. p. 321. l. 23. r. I here. p. 322. l. 2. Comma after Field. l. 29. r. had told. p. 323. l. 19. r. l'isle p. 325. l. 40. r. he, and p. 340. l. 48. r. we should. p. 344. l. 9. r. see the wife. p. 345. l. 26. r. and would never. p. 348. l. 13. r. Clergy would l. 32. r. of which. p. 355. l. 47. r. and had they. l. 49. r. they had had. p. 357. l. 45. r. one near unto Tholouze. p. 358. l. 12. r. the best friends I had. p. 359 l. 25. r. He has indeed. p. 363. l. 8. r. the Coins were broken. p. 364. l. 53. r. to the Hole of the wall. p. 365. l. 38. r. and that in case I should. p. 376. l. 15. r. I am sure mine never did. p. 382. l. 32. r. subjects. l. 53. r. your blood. p. 389. l. 13. r. all other employments. p. 391. l. 49. r. My Lord. p. 395. l. 44. r. than to Bourdeaux. p. 403. l. 44. r. It was.

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THE
COMMENTARIES
OF
Messire Blaize de Montluc,
MARESCHAL of
FRANCE.

The First Book.



Being at the Age of threescore and fifteen retir'd home to my own House, there to seek some little Repose after the infinite Pains and Labours I had undergone, during the space of above fifty years, that I bore Arms for the several Kings my Masters, in which Service I past all the Degrees and through all the Orders of Soldier, Ensign, Lieutenant, Captain, Camp-Master, Governour of Places, his Majesties Lieutenant in the Provinces of *Tuscany* and *Guienne*, and Mareschal of *France*: finding my self maimed in almost all my Limbs, with Harquebuz-Shots, Cuts and Thrusts with Pikes and Swords, and by that means rendred almost useles and good for nothing, without strength or hope ever to be cured of that great Harquebuz-Shot in my Face, and after having resign'd my Government of *Guienne* into his Majesties hands: I thought fit to employ the Remainder of my Life in a Description of the several Combats, wherein I have been personally engag'd in the space of two and fifty years, that I had the Honour to command: assuring my self, that the Captains who shall take the pains to read my Life, will therein meet with Passages, that may be useful to them in the like Occasions, and of which some Advantage may be made to the acquiring of Honour and Renown. And although I have in the several Engagements I have undertaken (and some of them perhaps without great Reason on my side justify my Proceedings) been exceedingly fortunate, and successful beyond all humane Aim; I would not yet any one should conceive that I attribute the Success or the Glory thereof to any other, than to God alone; and indeed whoever shall consider the Dangers and Difficulties I have gone through and overcome, cannot but therein acknowledge his Almighty and immediate Arm. Neither have I ever fail'd to implore his Assistance in all my Undertakings, and that with great Confidence in his Grace and Mercy, and Assurance of it; wherein his Divine Majesty has been pleased so far to be graciously assisting to me, that I have never been defeated nor surpriz'd in any Exploit of War, where I have been in command; but on the contrary have ever carried away Victory and Honour. And it is very necessary and fit, that all we who bear Arms, should ever consider and always confess, that we, of our selves, can do nothing without his Divine Bounty, which inspires us with Courage, and supplies us with Strength to attempt and execute those great and hazardous Enterprises which present themselves to our Undertaking.

And because some of those who shall read these Commentaries (for it will be very hard to please all, though some will set a just value upon my Book) may perhaps think it strange, and accuse me of Vain-Glory for writing my own Actions; and say, that I ought in Modesty to have transferred that Work to another Hand: I shall tell such once for all, that in writing the Truth, and attributing to God the Glory thereof, there

Cæsar.

will be no harm done: Neither (besides that the Testimonies of several Men of Honour yet living will justify the Truth of what I shall deliver) can any one give a better Account of the Designs, Enterprizes, and Executions, and the Actions happening thereupon, than my self, who was an Eye-witness, and an Actor in them all; and who also design not herein to deprive any one of his due and particular Honour. The greatest Captain that ever liv'd was *Cæsar*, and he has led me the way, having himself writ his own Commentaries, and being careful to record by Night the Actions he perform'd by Day. I would therefore by his Example contrive mine, how rude and impolish't soever (as coming from the hand of a Soldier, and moreover a *Gascon*, who has ever been more solicitous to do, than to write or to speak well) Wherein shall be comprehended all the Exploits of War, in which I have either been personally engaged, or that have been performed by my Direction; and those beginning from my greener years, when I first came into the World; to signify to such as I shall leave behind me, how restless I (who am at this day the oldest Captain in *France*) have ever been in the Search and Acquisition of Honour, in performing Services for the Kings my Masters, which was my sole and only end, ever flying all the Pleasures and Delights, which usually divert young men whom God has endowed with any commendable Qualities, and who are upon the point of their Advancement, from the Paths of true Virtue and undisputed Greatness. A Book not intended however for the Learned Men of the World, they have Historians enough of their own, but for a Soldier, and wherein a Captain, and perhaps a Lieutenant of a Province may find something that may be worth his Observation. At the least I can affirm that I have written the Truth; having my Memory as good and entire at this instant as ever, and being as perfect in the Names both of Men and Places, as if all things had past but yesterday, as yet I never committed anything to Paper, for I never thought at such an Age as this, to undertake any thing of this kind: which whether I have well or ill performed, I refer my self to such, as shall do me the Honour to read my Book, which is properly an Account of my own Life.

To you therefore (Captains my Companions) it is, that this Treatise does principally address itself, to whom peradventure it may in some measure be useful. And you ought to believe that having so many years been in the same Command wherein you now are, and having so long discharg'd the Office of a Captain of Foot, and thrice that of Camp Master and Colonel, I must needs have retain'd something of that Condition, and that in a long Experience I have seen great Honours confer'd upon some, and great Disgraces befall others of that Degree. There have been some who in my time have been cashier'd and degraded their Nobility, others who have lost their Lives upon a Scaffold, others dishonoured and dismiss'd to their own Houses, without ever having been more regarded either by the King or any other: And on the contrary, I have seen others who have trail'd a Pike at six Francs pay, arrive at great Preferments, performing things so brave, and manifesting themselves men of so great Capacity, that several who in their Original have been no better than the Sons of poor labouring Men, have rais'd themselves above many of the Nobility by their Prowess and Virtue. Of all which having my self been an Eye-Witness, I am able to give a precise and a true Account. And although I my self am a Gentleman by Birth, yet have I notwithstanding been rais'd to that degree of Honour wherein I now stand, as leisurely, and as much step by step, as any the poorest Soldier who has serv'd in this Kingdom these many years. For being born into the World the Son of a Gentleman, whose Father had made sale of all his Estate, to only eight hundred or a thousand Livres yearly Revenue, and being the eldest of six Brothers that we were, I thought it principally concern'd me to illustrate the Name of *Montluc* (which is that of our Family) as I have also done with as much Peril, and as many Hazards of my Life, as Soldier or Captain ever did; and that without ever having the least Reproach from those by whom I was commanded; but on the contrary with as much Favour and Esteem as ever any Captain had who bore Arms in the Armies, wherein I had the Honour to serve. Inasmuch that whenever there happened any Enterprize of Importance, or Danger, the Kings Lieutenants, and Colonels, would as soon, or sooner, put me upon it, as any other Captain of the Army; of which the ensuing pages will give you sufficient Testimony.

Play, Drink,
and Avarice
pernicious to
Men in Com-
mand.

From the time therefore that I was first advanc'd to the Degree of an Ensign, I made it my business to understand the Duty of an Officer, and to learn to be wise by the Example of such as committed Oversights, or were otherwise negligent in their Command. To which purpose I first totally wean'd my self from Play, Drink, and Avarice; as knowing

knowing well, that all Captains of that Complexion, are so unfit ever to arrive at any thing of Great, as to be much more likely to fall into the before-nam'd Misfortunes. That Knowledge it was that made me positively resolve against all these three things, which Youth is very prone unto, and which are very prejudicial to the Reputation of a Chief. Of these Play is of such a Nature, that it subjects a man, neither to do nor intend any other thing, and that whether he win or lose; for if you win, you are evermore solicitous to find out new Gamesters, being prepossess'd with an Opinion, that you shall still win more, and continue in that Error until all be lost. Being reduc'd to this point you run almost into Despair, and meditate nothing day nor night, but where and how to get more money to play again, and to try to recover your Losses by a better Hand. In which Condition how can you think to acquit your self of the Charge the King has put into your hands, when you shall wholly bend your Study, and employ your whole time in another thing, and instead of contriving how to over-reach your Enemy by laudable Stratagems of War, you plot nothing else, but how to ruin your Camrade and Friend by an infamous Cheat at Cards or Dice? This must of necessity wholly divert you from your Duty; whereas you ought to be continually amongst your Soldiers, and so frequent, as if possible to know every man by his distinct Name; and that for these two Ends, first to prevent any Acts of Insolence in their Quarters, for which you may expect and fear a just Reproach from the Lieutenant of the Province or your own immediate Colonel: And in the next place to take care that there happen no Mutiny amongst them; nothing being more pernicious to a Company, nor of more dangerous Consequence to an Army, than mutinous Spirits. And how can you possibly have an Eye to such Disorders, or give any tolerable Account of the Trust reposed in you, when your Heart shall be wholly bent upon Play; that will alarm you a hundred and a hundred times a day, and put you besides your self. Fly then (my dear Companions) fly I beseech you this hateful Vice, which I have often known to be the Ruine of many, not only in their Fortunes; but which is more, and that ought to be dearer, in their Honour and Reputation.

Now for what concerns Wine; if you be subject to debauch, you cannot avoid falling into as many and as great Inconveniences as he that Plays; for nothing in the World so much stupefies the understanding of a Man, and that inclines him so much to sleep, as Wine. If you drink but little you will consequently not eat too much; for Wine calls upon the Appetite to eat, that you may the longer enjoy the Pleasure of Drinking: So that in the end being full of Meat and Drink before you rise from Table, it will be necessary to go sleep, and perhaps at such a time when you ought to be amongst your Soldiers and Companions, near your Colonel and Camp-Master, to enquire what News or Orders they have received from the Kings Lieutenant, that you may know when any Occasion is presented, wherein you may employ your Valour and Wisdom. To this; Excess in Wine brings along with it another and extreme Danger, which is, that a Captain being drunk knows not how himself to command, and less how to permit others to do it; but will fall to striking and beating his Soldiers without all Sense or Reason; whereas, if there were a just Occasion, he ought first to chastise his Soldier with Remonstrances, mixt with some tart Menaces and Reproofs, giving him to understand, that if he relapse into the same Offence, he is to expect nothing but an exemplary Punishment. And is it not better to chastise your Soldier with Words and Threats, than with Bastinadoes, Cuts and Thrusts, killing him or maiming of his Limbs which Wine will prompt you to do? Neither must you expect to be the more fear'd for such Usage of your men, but on the contrary mortally hated by all your Soldiers. And what rare Exploits can you think to perform with men that hate you? I beseech you believe me, for I have seen the Experience of it, as much as another of my Age, I have seen no less than four Captains die by the hands of their own Soldiers, who have assassinated them behind, for the ill Usage they have receiv'd at their hands. They are Men as we are, not Beasts; if we be Gentlemen, they are Soldiers; they have Arms in their Hands, which inspire Mettle into any man's Brest, that bears them. Wine is apt to make you unreasonable and bloody for the least Offence, and that without all manner of Discretion, for you are not your selves. Moreover, neither the Kings Lieutenant, nor your own Colonel, nor Camp-Master will ever put you upon any Enterprize of Honour, that might perhaps procure your Advancement; but will say, Shall we entrust an Execution of this importance to such an one as will be drunk, when he ought to have his Wits about him to know and discern what he has to do? He will do nothing but throw away so many men, and by his ill Conduct bring upon us Loss and Confusion. O the vile Repute that this

Wine will brand you withal, when nothing of good shall be expected from you! Fly then (my Companions) fly then this Vice, equally hateful, and more beastly, and scandalous, than the former.

A Captain likewise should in no manner be covetous; for though Wine and Play may most aptly be term'd Companions, yet Avarice is also one of the Gang that occasions a million of Mischiefs, and brings as great or greater Inconveniences upon a Leader, as any other Vice whatever. For in the first place, if you suffer your self to be carried away by this insatiate Thirst of getting, it is most certain, that you shall never have a Soldier worth any thing under your Command; all the good Men will avoid you, and report of you, that you value a *French Crown* more than a valiant Man; so that you shall never have men of any Resolution about you, but such as upon the first Occasion wherein you ought to give a Testimony of your Valour and Conduct, will leave you in the lurch, where you must either fly to your eternal Infamy, or stay to lose your Life, and that without any hopes notwithstanding, whether you live or die, ever to recover your Reputation. For if you be kild, though you have done bravely in your own person, every one will be apt to say, that your great Avarice brought you to your Ruine, for want of good men to stand faithfully by you; and if you save your self by running away, be you sure you will imprint such a mark in your Fore-heads, as it will be hard ever to wash away; at least you will be oblig'd to hazard your Life upon all Occasions more than another man, to clear the Prejudice that all men will have against you, and to wipe away the Blemish wherewith you have spotted your Reputation; wherein 'tis great odds you will lose either Life or Limb. And after all (as it is the ordinary Recompence of men who are more than commonly adventurous upon such occasions) for the Reward of your Merit it shall be said, that the Despair of your former Miscarriage, has push'd you upon the Execution you shall have perform'd, and not your own Bravery and Resolution. O how many more Misfortunes could I here reckon, that have befalln, and do daily befall Commanders, who have been and are tainted with this avaritious humor?

I know you will ask me now, what shall we do, if we do not lay up money, and clip the Soldiers Pay? When the War is at an end, we must go to the Hospital, for neither the King nor any one else will regard us, and we are poor of our selves. But can you imagine that a wise and valiant Captain, a man of great Attempt and Execution shall be sent to starve in an Hospital, as if such men flutter'd in a Camp by hundreds; It were well for the King and the whole Kingdom, if there were but a dozen such in an Army. Put forward then to get but a Leg amongst this dozen, and try to get in by your Valour, Wisdom, and Virtue. For these twelve cannot live for ever, and one being dead, though you cannot skrew in your whole Body at that time, yet you may edge in the one half, and the next that dies, you are in. And can you then believe, that either the King or any of the Princes, who have taken cognizance of your Valour, will suffer you to go to the Hospital? This is an Apprehension so unbecoming a wise and valiant Captain, that it is only futable to Drunkards, Gamesters, and mean hide-bound fellows of no Value nor Account. And whoever applies himself to great and generous Actions, and has a care with Diligence and virtuous Resolution to exclude and banish from his Thoughts all the fore-mention'd Vices, nothing can be wanting to him. I have said that it were a great deal, if there were a dozen only such men in an Army; but if there were an hundred, yet the King is rich enough to provide that men of that Merit need not be sent to the Hospital. Or suppose that the King could not suddenly provide for the support of such deserving men; there is notwithstanding no Prince, nor any other great Person, who has been engag'd in the War, where you shall have signaliz'd your selves for men of Honour, who will not be proud to receive and take some one into his Care and Protection, and that will not take hold of all occasions of doing you a good Office to the King, and of advancing you into some degree, and then on the other side, can you think the King will always continue you in the same Condition, or leave you in the same Command? Do not believe it, but assure your selves, that such men will be lookt after, on whom to confer the Care and Honour of greater Employments, who have honourably discharged those of less moment and account.

A brave Man
is never to de-
spair of his
Fortune.

I pray what was I, but a poor Soldier like one of you? What were, or what yet are so many valiant Captains yet living, for whom the King and all Mankind have a singular Esteem? Have we who are yet in being enrich'd our selves by nimming from our Soldiers Pay? Have we purchas'd any great Estates out of the Thefts of our Commands? I could name some of our own Country of *Guienne* (who could get nothing but

but I must know it, no more than I could unknown to them) who have never got five hundred Crowns by their Service; and yet are those men despis'd? Are they sent to the Hospital? The King, the Queen, the Monsieur, all the Princes of the Bloud; and all the Lords of the Court have so great a Respect for these men, out of the esteem every one has of their Valour, that they have got the start of many great men in the Kingdom. Nay when they are in their own Country (where no man is a Prophet) they are there honour'd by men of all sorts and conditions, not from the Families from whence they are descended, nor for the Possessions they enjoy; but upon the single account of their own Merit. Now there are some who perhaps will say, If I do not purloin from the King, and poll from the Soldier, now whilst I am in Command, how shall I make Provision for my Children? To which I shall return, Would you enrich your Children with an ill Reputation and an infamous Name? A pretious Inheritance you will leave them, when for shame of your Miscarriages and Misdemeanours, they shall be forced to hang down their heads amongst the Great ones, from whom they should derive their Fortunes and receive honourable Commands. What Difference will there then be betwixt the Reception and Esteem the King and all the Princes will then make of the Sons of such Fathers as I have mentioned, and of yours, who will not dare to appear before Men of Honour, having their Faces covered with their Fathers Shame? But perhaps some one may say, that I for my part, by the Places and Commands I have been invested withal by the King, have rais'd great Profits and got a great Estate, and therefore may talk at my ease: But I protest before Almighty God, and call him to witness, that in my whole Life I never had thirty Crowns more than my Pay; and what Condition soever I have been in, or what honourable Commissions soever I have had, whether in *Italy*, or in *France*, I have ever been necessitated to borrow money to carry me home.

At my Return from *Sienna*, where I had the Honour to command in the quality of the Kings Lieutenant, Monsieur the *Mareschal de Straffy* gave me five hundred Crowns. When I returned a second time from *Montalzin*, Monsieur *Beauclair*, who was our Treasurer, was fain to examine all the Purses in Town to provide me three hundred and fifty Crowns to carry me to *Ferrara*, and yet I had no less than ten Gentlemen in my Company. The Duke of *Ferrara* furnish'd me with a supply when I put my self into *Verfeil*, and afterwards to carry me to *Lions*, where I found in *Catherin Ican* the Post-Masters hand, two or three thousand Francs that *Martineau* had there deposited for me, of my Pay, with which I defrayed my Charges to Court. To a worthy and a brave man, nothing can ever be wanting. Now would I fain know, if for all this I ever went to the Hospital, and whether I have not advantaged my self a hundred times more in serving my Kings and Masters, in all Integrity and Loyalty, than by all the Tricks and Shifts I could have? Oh (my Companions) take exemple by those who for having been loyal in their Charges, can walk with their Faces erect before all the World, and are therefore honoured and esteemed by all sorts of men; and not by such who by the Conscience of their Crimes are constrained to hide their heads in their houses, or that make their Posterity blush for them. Wealth will fall upon you when you least dream on't, or expect it; and one Reward or Bounty from the King, is worth more than all the sharking Tricks, Thefts, and Larcenies of your whole Life.

O how happy are those Soldiers, who follow Leaders, that for their Prowess and Virtue are esteem'd by all the World! How secure are their Lives and Honours under such Captains, and into what Disasters and Disgraces do those frequently fall, who follow the more unworthy sort of men. For with the former you shall learn and acquire Honour and Renown, that will raise you to an equal degree with your Chiefs, and on the contrary following the latter, you shall learn nothing but Vices, or at least things of very little Value, and they will rather lead you on to the ruine of your Lives, than to the Advancement of your Honour and the Improvement of your Name, there being nothing else to be learn'd of such as have no Valour nor Virtue in themselves. A man may serve a long Apprenticeship under a bad Master, and perhaps, not be much the wiser when he has done: but provided you be free from the three fore-mentioned Vices, and that you have Honour in your Prospect, it is impossible but that all things must succeed with you; at least you will have the Satisfaction of a noble End, if you propose to your selves to die like men of Honour, which is the ordinary Recompence of War, and what every brave Man should heartily wish.

There yet remains a fourth, which if you cannot wholly avoid, yet go to it as seldom,

dom, and as soberly as you can, and without losing your selves in the Labyrinth; and that is, the Love of Women. Imbark not by any means in that Affair, for it is utterly an Enemy to an heroick Spirit. Leave Love at home whilest *Mars* is in the field; you will afterwards have but too much leisure for those Delights. I can safely say, that never any fond Affection, or affectionate Folly of that kind could ever divert me from underraking and executing what was given me in command. Such little Amorofo's as these are fitter to handle a Distaff than a Sword. Love is a great Enemy to a Soldier, and besides the debauch and the time lost in those little Intrigues, it is an Occupation that begets a numberless number of Quarrels, and sometimes even with your dearest Friends. I have known more People fight even upon this account, than upon the score of Honour. And what a horrid thing it is, that a man should forfeit his Reputation, and very often lose his Life for the Love of a Woman! As for you Soldiers, above all things I recommend to you the Obedience that you owe to your Commanders, to the end that you may one day learn how to command: for it is impossible that Soldier should ever know how to command, who has not first learn'd to obey: And take notice, that the Virtues and Discretion of a Soldier are chiefly manifested in his Obedience, and in his Disobedience lies the Ruin of his Life and Honour. A resty Horse never yet made good Proof. The Proverb will serve, and you ought not to slight the Advice I give you, if but in respect to my Experience, who have seen a great deal; and I must needs be a very ignorant and senseless fellow, if in all this time of my Life, I have made no Observations of the Successes and Mistortunes both of the one and the other. But I have committed some to memory, and that is it which has given me occasion to write this Book in the latter end of my days.

Monseigneur
Montluc's
Education.

His first Sally.

Having in my greener years been bred up in the Family of *Anthony* Duke of *Lorain*, and now grown up towards a Man, I was presently preferred to an Archer's Place in the Dukes own Company, Monsieur *Bayard* being at that time Lieutenant to the same. Not long after being inflam'd with the Report of the noble Feats of Arms every day perform'd in *Italy*, which in those days was the Scene of Action, I was possess'd with a longing desire to visit that Country. To this end making a Journey into *Gascony*, I made shift to procure of my Father a little Money and a *Spanish* Horse, and without further delay began my Journey in order to my Design, leaving to Fortune the hopes of my future Advancement and Honour. About a days Journey from my Fathers house, and near unto *Leitoure*, I turn'd a little out of my way to visit the *Sieur de Castelnau*, an antient Gentleman who had long frequented *Italy*, of him to inform my self at large of the State, Condition, Manners and Customs of that Country in order to my future Conduct. This Gentleman told me so many things, and related to me so many brave Exploits which were there every day perform'd, that without longer abode, or staying any where longer than to refresh my self and my Horse, I pass'd over the *Alpes*, and took my way directly to *Milan*. Being come to *Milan*, I there found two Uncles of mine by my Mothers side, call'd the *Stillatts*, both of them men of great Reputation and Esteem, of which the one serv'd under Monsieur *de Lesclapart*, Brother to Monsieur *de Lautrec* (the same who was afterwards Marechal of *France*, and then known by the Name of the *Marechal de Foix*) by whom I was presently put into an Archers place in his own Company, a Place of great Repute in those days, there being in those times several Lords and great Persons who rode in Troops, and two or three who were Archers in this; but since that Discipline is lost and grown degenerate, and all things are turn'd upside down, without hopes that any man now alive shall ever see them restor'd to their former Estate.

At this time the War betwixt *Francis* the First and the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth broke out again with greater Fury than before, the later to drive us out of *Italy*, and we to maintain our Footing there, though it was only to make it a place of Sepulture to a world of brave and valiant *French*. God Almighty rais'd up these two great Princes sworn Enemies to one another, and emulous of one anothers Greatness; an Emulation that has cost the Lives of two hundred thousand Persons, and brought a million of Families to utter Ruin; when after all neither the one nor the other obtain'd any other advantage by the Dispute, than the bare Repentance of having been the causers of so many Miseries, and of the Effusion of so much Christian Blood. If God had pleas'd that these two Monarchs might have understood one another, the whole Earth had trembled under their Arms; and *Solyman* who was contemporary with them, and who during their Contests enlarg'd his Empire on every side, would have had enough to do to defend his own. The Emperour was, 'tis true, a great and a magnanimous Prince, yet in nothing superiour to our Master, during his Life, saving in

in a little better Success, and in that God gave him the Grace to bewail his Sins in a Convent, into which he retir'd himself two or three years before his Death. During the space of two and twenty months that this War continued, I had the good fortune to be an Eye-witness of several very brave Actions, which were very fit to season a raw Soldier; neither did I fail continually to present my self in all places and upon all occasions, where I thought Honour was to be purchas'd at what price soever; and it is to be imagin'd I had my share of fighting, when I had no less than five horses kill'd under me in the short continuance of that Service, and of those two in two days, which Monsieur de Roquelaure, who was Cousen Germain to my Mother, was pleas'd to give me. For in this beginning of my armes I had the good fortune to gain so far upon the affections of the whole Company, that my horses being lost, every one was willing to help to remount me, and being moreover taken prisoner in Battel, I was soon after deliver'd by the procurement of my friends.

Five horses
kill'd under
Monsieur
Montluc.

Let such therefore as intend to acquire honour by feats of Arms, resolve to shut their eyes to all hazards, and dangers whatever, in the first encounter where they shall happen to be present; for that's the time when every one has his eyes fix'd upon them, to observe their behaviour, and thence to form a judgment of their future hopes. If in the beginning they shall, by any handsom action, signalize their courage, and boldness, it sets a good mark upon them for ever, and not only makes them noted, and regarded by all: but moreover inspires them themselves with mettle, and vigour to perform more, and greater things. Now you must know that in this War we lost the Dutchy of *Millan*. Of which (though I do not pretend to be any great Clerk) I could write the true History, and should his Majesty command me, I would deliver the truth, and I am able to give as good an account (though I was my self very young at that time) as any man whatever in *France*, I mean of those passages where I had the fortune to be present, and no other; for I will write nothing by hearsay. But I intend not to busie my self with a Relation of other mens actions, and less of the faults, and overlooks by them committed, though they are yet as fresh in my memory, as at that moment; and seeing that what I my self perform'd in that Country, at that time, was in the quality of a private Souldier only, I being not as yet step'd into Command: I shall no longer insist upon this melancholy Subject, which has also been writ before by others: only this I shall make bold to affirm, that Monsieur de Lautrec was by no means to be blam'd, he having there performed all the parts of a good, and prudent General; and, who indeed was in himself one of the greatest men I ever knew. Neither shall I trouble my self to give a narration of the Battel of the *Bicoque*, in which I fought on foot, as also did Monsieur de Montmorancy, since Constable of *France*; A Battel that Monsieur de Lautrec was compelled to consent unto, through the obstinacy of the *Swisse*, quite contrary to his own judgment. A Nation whose wilfulness I have seen occasion the loss of several places, & cause great inconveniences in his Majesties affairs. They are, to speak the trute, a very warlike people, and serve as it were for Bullwarks to an Army: but then they must never want, either money, or victuals; for they are not to be paid with words.

The loss of
the Dutchy of
Millan.

A Character
of the *Swisse*.

After the unfortunate loss of this fair Dutchy of *Millan*, all the forces returned back into *France*, and with them the Company of the said Mareschal de Foix, wherein I then had not only the place of a Man at armes; but moreover an Assignation of an Archers pay. Sometime after the Emperour set another Army on foot to recover *Fontarabie*; whereupon our Company, and several others were ordered to repair to *Bayonne* to Monsieur de Lautrec, who was his Majesties Lieutenant in *Guienne*. The said Sieur de Lautrec, that he might the better make head against the enemy, (who made a shew of attempting something upon the Frontier) made a suddain levy of fourteen or fifteen Ensigns of Foot; which was the occasion that I (who ever had an inclination for foot service) entreated leave of Captain Sayas (who carry'd the Cornette in the absence of Captain Carbon his brother) for three months only; that I might accept of an Ensign offer'd to me by Captain Clotte; who at last very unwillingly granted my suite, although he himself had first sent to Captain Carbon to sollicite it in my behalf. Suddainly after this (the Enemy being dayly reinforced with fresh supplies) *la Clotte* was commanded away to *Bayonne*, & a few days after that, Captain Carbon took the Companies of Monsieur de Lautrec, and the Mareschal his brother, with two Companies of Foot, to wit, that of *Megrin Comenge*, and *la Clotte* to conduct us thorough the Woods straight to *St. Jean de Luz*, where the enemies Camp at that time lay. So soon as we were arrived at the top of a little Hill about half a quarter

Montluc made
Ensign of
foot.

of

of a League distant from *Luz* (having already pass'd a little River by a wooden bridge, another half quarter of a League behind this little hill, at the foot whereof, and before us, there ran a rivolet of fifteen, or twenty paces broad, and deep to a mans girdle, joyning to which there is also a plain which extends it self in an easie descent, down to the said Rivolet, from whence one may easily discover *St. Jean de Luz*, one of the finest Bourgs in all *France*, and seated upon the Margent of the Ocean Sea) Captain *Carbon* who commanded the Party, leaving two Cornets upon this little hill, the one whereof was carried by Captain *Sayas*, which was ours, and the other by Captain *d' Andouins*, which was that of Monsieur *de Lantrec* (but both of them onely in the absence, the one of Captain *Carbon*, the other of Captain *Ar-tiquilonbe*,) and only twenty horse with each, together with our two Companies of foot, took the rest of the *Gens-d' armes*, and with them Monsieur *Gramont*, the same who afterwards dyed in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and who was at this time Lieutenant to the Company belonging to Monsieur *de Lantrec*.

The Action at
St. Jean de
Luz.

With this Party Captain *Carbon* pass'd over the little River, and having divided his men into three Squadrons (as one might easily discern from the Hill where we stood) trotted along the plain directly towards *St. Jean de Luz*. Being come to the middle of the plain, he there made a halt for an hour, or more, whilst a Trumpet went twice, and sounded the *Fanfare* to the Enemy, after which being about to retreat, as not believing any one would stir out of the Enemies Camp, the forlorn which he had sent out towards the utmost skirts of the plain, return'd back upon the spur, to acquaint him that all the Enemies Camp began to move; and suddenly after we began to discover three of their Squadrons of Horse, appearing upon their march, one upon the heels of another, and making directly towards Monsieur *de Carbon*. Of these the first that came up, presently, and smartly charg'd the foremost of ours, where there were many Launces broken on both sides; but more of ours, than theirs, for as much as in those times the Spaniards carried but few Launces, and those very slender, long, and pointed at both ends. During this charge Captain *Carbon* was leisurely drawing off the other two Squadrons towards the place where we were, when the second of the Enemies Squadrons coming up, and uniting with the first, beat up our first to our second Squadron, commanded by Monsieur *Gramont*, where the skirmish was very hot, and a great many men thrown to ground both on the one side, and other, amongst whom were the Seigneurs *de Gramont*, who had his horse kill'd under him, *de Luppe* Standard-bearer to Monsieur *de Lantrec*, *de Poigreff*, who is since turn'd Hugonot, *de la Fay de Xaintonge*, who is yet living, and divers others. At the same instant we discover'd another great Party of Horse advancing towards us a little on our left hand, at the sight of which the Captains who carried our Colours came both of them running to me, and saying we are all lost, whereupon I told them, that it were better, than so to conclude, to hazard fourscore, or an hundred Foot, to bring off our Horse who were engag'd. To which *la Clotte*, and *Megrin* made answer, that that venture would only occasion a greater loss, and that moreover they very much doubted the Souldiers would hardly be perswaded to go down, seeing death so manifest before their eyes. Now you must understand there was no one present at this discourse, saving the two forementioned Captains, and my self, our Foot standing drawn up fourteen, or fifteen paces behind; and it was not amiss; for I make a great question had they heard what we said, and seeing the *Gens-d' armes* in manifest danger to be lost, whether I should have been so cheartully followed, as I was. And it is a good rule, as much as a man can to conceal from the Souldier the danger of any enterprize, if you intend to have them go briskly to their work. To this last objection of the two Captains, I made answer that I would run the hazard to lead them on, and that lost, or lost not, it was better to hazard, and to lose fourscore, or an hundred Foot, than all our *Gens-d' armes*. And thereupon without further deliberation (for long consultations are often the ruine of brave attempts) I return'd back to the Souldiers, and the Captains with me (for the business requir'd hast) saying to them only these few words, Come on, come on Comrades, let us go, and relieve our *Gens-d' armes*, and was thereupon follow'd by an hundred Foot of our own Company, who with very great resolution descended with me to the foot of the Hill, where at the head of my men I pass'd over the brook, and there deliver'd twenty of my men to be led by the Bastard of *Auzan*, a Gentleman who has nothing blemish'd the legitimate Sons of his race; though all of them men of singular bravery, and remarkeable valour.

French
Cross-bows.

Now you must know that the Company I commanded, was no other than Cross-bows, for at this time the use of the Harquebuze, had not as yet been introduc'd amongst

mongst us ; only three, or four days before six *Gascon* Harquebusiers came over to us from the Enemy, which I had received into my Company, having by good fortune been that day upon the Guard, at the great Gate of the City; and of those six, one was a native of the Territory of *Montluc*. Would to heaven that this accursed engine had never been invented, I had not then receiv'd those wounds which I now languish under, neither had so many valiant men been slain for the most part by the most pitiful fellows, and the greatest Cowards; Poltrons that had not dar'd to look those men in the face at hand, which at distance they laid dead with their confounded bullets: but it was the Devil's invention to make us murther one another. Being thus past the River, I order'd the Bastard *d' Ausan* not to suffer his men to shoot, but only to present as if they intended to do it, to the end that he might favour mine, and give them time to discharge and retire again into their order, Now when I was under the foot of the Hill, I could not possibly see what our men did; but being advanc'd a little further into the plain, I saw all the Enemies three Squadrons drawn up into one body, and the great party on the left hand, marching upon a good round trot directly towards ours, who were rallyed, and stood firm, without being able either to advance forwards, or to retire back, by reason of some great stones that lay scatter'd in their Rear. Here it was that Captain *Carbon* (who had no Arms on, having before been wounded in his left arm by an Arquebuzer shot) seeing me so near him, came up to me, and said, Oh *Montluc*, my dear friend, charge up boldly, I will never forsake thee: Captain, said I, take you only care to save your self, and your *Gens- d' Armes*, at the same instant crying out, shoot, Comrades, at the head of these Horse. I was not above a dozen paces distant from the Enemy when I gave them this Volley, by which (as it appear'd by the testimony of the Prisoners, who were taken a few days after) above fifty Horses were kill'd, and wounded, and two Troopers slain, an execution that a little cool'd their courage, and caus'd their Troops to make a halt. In the mean time Captain *Carbon* had leisure with his party to retire full gallop towards the brook I had pass'd over to relieve him; where such as had their horses lost, taking hold of the others horse tayls sav'd themselves also, and all together pass'd over the River. Which hast they were necessitated to make, or otherwise the great party of horse on the left hand, had charg'd them in the Flank, had they drawn more leisurely off. In the mean time under favour of the twenty Cross-bows of *d' Ausan*, who sustain'd us, we rallied again, and gave another volley. So soon as Captain *Carbon* had passed the River with his Horse, remounted Monsieur *de Gramont*, on another horse, and mounted the rest *en Croupe*, he commanded the said *Sieur de Gramont* to ride to the top of the hill, and in all hast to draw off the Ensigns both of horse and foot, at a round trot, directly to the other River, where the bridge was, that leads towards *Bayonne*. Which order being given he suddenly turned back again towards me, having in his company an *Italian* call'd Signior *Diomede*, and the *Sieur de Mainabaut*, where he found me retreating towards a ditch, upon the edg of a Marish, and of which I might be within some twelve, or fourteen paces, which not only hindred him from getting up to me, but moreover gave him enough to do to save himself. I notwithstanding in spite of the Enemy recovered the ditch of the Marish, being still sheltred by *d' Ausan*, whom I commanded to climb over in great diligence, and there to make head, which he accordingly performed.

The *Spaniards* in the mean time made a shew, as if they meant to charge, but they durst not attempt to break into me; neither were my six Harquebusiers idle all this while, but did wonders with their shot, when having at last retreated my men within five or six paces of the ditch, I caus'd them all in an instant to throw themselves into it, and under favour of *d' Ausan*, almost as suddainly to mount the ditch bank on the other side, over which we all got safe and sound, saving three Soldiers, who were slain with Harquebuzer shot, for not having been so nimble as the rest; and here it was that, as in a little fort, I made head against the Enemy. Now you must know, that that party of the Enemy which came up on the left hand, made a halt at the bank of the River, when they saw our Horse were already got half way up the hill; and those who had fought, and to whom I had given a stop at the ditch bank, were now upon their retreat home, when seeing three Squadrons of Harquebusiers coming along the plain, and making towards them with all the speed they could, it reviv'd their spirits, and inspir'd them with new courage to face about again. I, in the mean time (having also discover'd these fresh succours) began to shift along by the ditch, till being by the return of a corner of it, slipt out of their sight, I drew my men into a very narrow meadow, from whence at full speed I gain'd the

foot of the hill I had descended before, and having repass'd the River, soon recovered the top of the mountain. The danger wherein I saw my self to be, as well of the Horse I had pressing upon my Rear, as of the Battaillon of Infantry which I saw fast advancing towards me, did not however make me loose my Judgment in a time of so great need; nor hinder me from discerning and taking this opportunity for my retreat, during which I made the little handful of men I had march very close together; and by turnes encouraging, and speaking to them, made them often face about and salute the Cavalry, who pursued me both with Cross-bow, and Harquebuz shot; when having gain'd the top of the hill, I drew into an Orchard, making fast the Gate on the inside, that the Horse might not so suddainly enter, and by the favour of that, and several others planted with Apples, still made on towards the Bridge, till I came to a little Church call'd *Haitée*, from whence I perceived the great road to be all covered over with the Enemies Horse, there being nevertheless a great ditch betwixt them and me, from whence I bestow'd upon them some Arquebuz, and Cross-bow shot, which also very seldom fail'd of their effect, and compell'd them (seeing they could not come up to me) some to advance forwards, and others to retire. I then put some of my men into the Church yard, thinking there again to make head; the greatest folly I committed throughout the whole action; for in the mean time a good number of their Horse gliding along by the meadow straight towards the Bridge, were already advanc'd so far, that I saw my self totally enclos'd, without all manner of hope to escape, and to save my self.

Now so soon as Captain *Carbon* had recover'd the Bridg, and that the Horse, and Foot were all pass'd over, he commanded Monsieur *Gramont* to hast away, not only a trot, but a full gallop; for he already discover'd the Enemies Infantry in the Orchards, which I could not do; neither did I ever perceive them, till they began to shoot at me; and then I made a sign to my Soldiers in the Church yard to come, and draw up to me in the great high way. Captain *Carbon* in the interim, being he saw nothing of me, half concluded us all for kill'd, or taken, and yet seeing all the Enemies Troops of horse both on the right hand, and on the left, making directly towards the Bridg, would leave Captain *Campai* (an admirable good Soldier) at the end of the Bridg with five and twenty horse, and thirty Cross-bows of Captain *Megrin's* Company, to try if there were any possible means to relieve me, were I yet alive, causing the Bridg in the mean time to be broken down. Now because that Troop of the Enemies horse which march'd on the right hand, made a great deal more hast towards the Bridge, than that of the left, I quitted the great high way, and under favour of a hedg made straight towards the River, where I was again to encounter the Horse, which notwithstanding I made my way thorow, chopt into the River, and in despite of them all, passed over to the other side: wherein, the banks of the River being high, favour'd me very much, they being too steep for the horse to get down, neither was our shot of both sorts idle in the mean time. At last I recover'd the end of the Bridg, where I found Captain *Campai* very busie at work to break it, and who so soon as he saw me, was very importunate with me to save my self, at the same time presenting me the Crupper of his horse to that end: but he had no other answer from me, but this, that God had hitherto preserved me, and my Soldiers also, whom I was likewise resolved never to abandon, till I had first brought them into a place of safety. Whilst we were in this dispute we were aware of the *Spanish* Infantry coming directly towards the Bridg, when finding our selves too weak to stand the shock, *Campai* with the Cross-bows of Captain *Megrin* took the Van in order to a retreat, and I remain'd in the Rear, having gain'd a ditch that enclos'd a little meadow, which was sufficient to defend me from the horse, it being so high, that they could not come to charge.

A brave resolution in a Captain.

I had now nothing left me but my six Harquebusiers, my Cross-bows having already spent all their Arrows; nevertheless to shew that their hearts were not down, I caus'd them to hold their Swords ready drawn in the one hand, and their Bows in the other to serve instead of a Buckler. Now Captain *Campai's* men had broken down the greatest part of the Bridg before they went away, by reason of which impediment the Cavalry could not so soon come up to us, having been constrain'd to ford the River two Harquebuz shot on the right hand, whilst the Foot in the mean time with great difficulty fil'd it over one by one by the rails of the Bridg, a posture wherein it had been a very easie matter to defeat them, had I not foreseen that then the Cavalry would have come up to enclose me, and our honor depended upon

upon our retreat. Wherefore still getting ground, and from ditch to ditch, having gain'd about half a quarter of a league of way, I made a halt, that my men might not be out of breath, when looking back I perceiv'd the Enemy had done so too, and saw by his countenance that he grew weary of the pursuit, a thing at which I was very much astonish'd and not a little glad, for in plain truth we were able to do no more; having taken a little Water and Cider, and some Maiz bread out of a few small houses we met upon the way. In the mean time Captain *Campai* sent out some Horse to see what was become of us, believing me to be either dead, or taken. And now behold us arriv'd in a place of safety, with the loss of only three men in the first ditch; and the brave *Bastard d' Auzan*, who by loytering something too long in a little house by the Church was unfortunately lost.

In the interim of this bufile which continued pretty long, the alarm was carried to Monsieur de *Lautrec* to *Bayonne*, together with the news, that we were all totally defeated, at which he was exceedingly troubled, in regard of the ill consequences that usually attend the fleshing and giving an Enemy blood in the beginning of a War. However he drew out presently into the field, and was advanc'd but a very little way, when he discover'd our Ensigns of Foot conducted by the *Sieur de Gramont*, marching upon the Road towards him, who so soon as he came up, presently gave him an account of what had happened, and did me the honor to tell him, that I was the cause of their preservation: but that withall I was lost in the service. Captain *Carbon* was not yet arriv'd, forasmuch as he had made a halt to stay for Captain *Campai*, from him to learn the issue of the business: but in the end he came up also, to whom Monsieur de *Lautrec* spake these words. *Well, Carbon, was this a time wherein to commit such a piece of folly as this? which I do assure you is not of so little moment, but that you have thereby endangered the making me lose this City of Bayonne, which you know to be a place of so great importance.* To which *Carbon* made answer. *Sir, I have committed a very great fault, and the greatest folly that ever I was guilty of in my whole life: to this hour the like disgrace has never befallen me; but seeing it has pleas'd God to preserve us from being defeated, I shall be wiser for the time to come.* Monsieur de *Lautrec* then demanded of him, if there was any news of me, to which he made answer, that he thought I was lost: but as they were returning softly towards the City in expectation of further news, Captain *Campai* also arriv'd, who assured them that I was come safely off, relating withal the handsom retreat I had made, in despite, and in the very teeth of the Enemy, with the loss of four men only, and that it was not possible, but that the Enemy must have lost a great number of men. I was no sooner come to my Quarters, but that a Gentleman was sent from Monsieur de *Lautrec*, to bring me to him, who entertained me with as much kindness, and respect, as he could have done any Gentleman in the Kingdom, saying to me these words in *Gascon*; *Montluc mon amic you a oublideray jamai lou service qu'abes fait au Roy, & m'en servira tant que you vivrai.* Which is, *Montluc, my friend, I will never forget the service you have this day performed for the King: but will be mindful of it so long as I live.* There is as much honor in an handsom retreat, as there is in good fighting, and this was a Lord who was not wont to care for many people; a fault that I have often observ'd in him; nevertheless he was pleas'd to express an extraordinary favour to me all the time we sat at supper, which he also continued to me ever after, insomuch that calling me to mind four or five years after, he dispatch'd an express Courier to me from *Paris* into *Gascony* with a Commission to raise a Company of Foot, entreating me to bear him company in his expedition to *Naples*, and has ever since put a greater value upon me, than I deserved. This was the first action I was ever in the quality of a Commander, and from whence I began to derive my reputation.

You Captains (my Camrades) who shall do me the honor to read my Life, take notice, that the thing in the world, which you ought most to desire, is to meet with a fair occasion wherein to manifest your courage in the first Sally of your Arms; for if in the beginning you shall prove successful, you do (amongst others) two things. First you cause your selves to be praised, and esteemed by the great ones, by whose report you shall be recommended to the knowledg of the King himself, from whom we are to expect the recompence of all our Services, and Labours: And in the next place, when the Soldier shall see a Captain who has behav'd himself well, and performed any notable thing at his first trial; all the valiant men will strive to be under his command, believing that so auspicious a beginning, cannot fail

of a prosperous issue; but that all things will succeed well with him, and that under such a man they shall never fail to be employ'd; for nothing can more spite a man of courage, than to be left at home to burn his shins by the fire, whilst other men are employ'd abroad in honorable action. So that by this means you shall be sure always to be follow'd by brave men, with which you shall continue to get more honor, and proceed to greater reputation; and on the contrary, if you chance to be baffled in the beginning, whether through your Cowardise, or want of Conduct, all the good men will avoid you, and you will have none to lead, but the Lees, and Canaille of the Army, with whom (though you were the Heroe of the world) there will be no good to be done; nor other, than an ill repute to be acquir'd. My Exemple upon this occasion, may serve for something, wherein though perhaps there were no great matters perform'd, yet so it is, that of little exploits of War, great uses are sometimes to be made. And remember, whenever you find your selves overmatch'd with an Enemy, that you can bridle, and hold at bay with the loss of a few men, not to fear to hazard them. Fortune may be favourable to you, as she was to me; for I dare confidently say, that had not I presented my self to lead on these hundred Foot (which all play'd their parts admirably well) we had certainly had all the Enemies Cavalry upon our hands, which had been a power too great, for so few as we were to withstand.

The Enemies Camp soon after retir'd into *Navarre*, whereupon Monsieur *de Lautrec* disbanded the one half of his Companies, reserving only the two Ensigns of Monsieur *de Canna*, and that of the Baron *Jean de Canna*, consisting each of only three hundred men (the first time they had ever been reduc'd to that number) they having formerly consisted of five hundred, or a thousand; a device whereby the King's Treasury was very much relieved, as it sav'd the pay of so many Lieutenants, Ensigns, Serjeants, and other Officers: but withall the command of a good number of men, usually invited men of Condition, and Estates into the Service, who at present disdain to accept of Commissions, where they see so many pitiful Captainetts, who are admitted into Command, without ever having strook a stroke.

At this time you must know Monsieur *de Lautrec* bestow'd my Captains Company upon me, though I was then but twenty years of age, and leaving four Companies in *Bayonne*, took Post, and went away to Court: which departure of his encouraged the Enemy to renew his Camp, and to lay Siege to *Fontarabie*, which they also took before his return. The loss of this place was occasioned, either through the indiscretion, or the treachery of a Nephew to the Constable of *Navarre*, and Son to the late Marschal *de Navarre*, who having been banish'd from *Spain*, for siding with *Henry* King of *Navarre*, was, together with a Garrison of four hundred men (Exiles like himself) put into this City, where he was at this time so well solicited by his Uncle, that he revolted to his side, by which means this place was lost, which otherwise had been impregnable, though the Enemy had made two great breaches in it: but being I was not there present, and that I will deliver nothing upon report, I shall say no more but this, that Captain *Frangett* who surrendred it up to the *Spaniard*, and who for so doing laid the blame to the said Don *Pedro*, was afterwards for his pains degraded at *Lyons*. The loss of this place depriv'd us of very good footing we had in *Spain*. It was here that some years before, Monsieur *de Lude* won immortal glory, by enduring a whole years Siege in all the extremities that mankind can undergo, and he for so doing carried away honor, and reward, but *Frangett* infamy and ruine; thus goes the world, and fortune. In the meantime, if any of the Princes, or the Kings Lieutenants shall vouchsafe to peruse this Book of mine (and perhaps they may read worse) let them take notice by this exemple, and others that I have seen, and that I may perchance make mention of hereafter, that it is very dangerous to make use of a man, that has once abandon'd his own Prince, and natural Sovereign; not that he is to be rejected, when he flies into a mans arms for refuge, and protection; but he ought not by any means to have a place entrusted to him, with which he may at any time make his own peace, and restore himself to his Princes favour. Or if they shall think fit to trust him, it ought not to be however till after by a long tryal, he shall have so manifested his fidelity, that there is no more question to be made of his Faith; and then in such a process of time, the Country, into which he shall come at first a stranger, or fugitive, and an Exile, will be grown natural and familiar to him, and he will have received benefits, and acquir'd such

such interests, and possessions, as may fix him there: and yet even then let it be at a sufficient distance from such as he may have had any private correspondencies, or secret practices withal: For by what I have heard from several of the Emperour's Captains, had *Charles of Bourbon* taken *Marselles*, and *Provence*, the Emperor would never have committed so great an error, as to have entrusted them in his hands, though he had faithfully promis'd so to do. But let us proceed.

All these Foot Companies being disbanded, excepting those which were left in Garrison, I who had no mind to be immur'd within the walls of a City, again put myself into the Company of Monsieur *Le Mareschal de Foix*, wherein I continued till such time as King *Francis* went his expedition against Monsieur *de Bourbon*, who, together with the Marquess of *Piscara* laid Siege to *Marselles* (which *Sieur de Bourbon*, for an affront that had been offer'd to him, was revolted to the Emperor (there is nothing a great heart will not do in order to revenge) where seeing the King would permit the *Mareschal de Foix* to carry no more, than twenty men at arms of his own Company along with him, and finding myself at my arrival to be excluded that election, and none of the number, I took such snuff at it, that I went with five or six Gentlemen, who did me the honor to bear me company, to be present at the Battel, with a resolution to fight volunteer amongst the Foot. But Monsieur *de Bourbon* after having lain six weeks only before the City, rais'd the Siege. The Signior *Ranco de Cera*, a Gentleman of *Rome*, a brave, and experienc'd Captain, together with the *Sieur de Brion* were within, with a sufficient Garrison, his Majesty had thither sent for the defence of the Town; So that Monsieur *de Bourbon* found himself to be deceiv'd in his intelligence, and that he had reckon'd without his Host. The *French* did not as yet know what it was to rebell against their Prince; for so soon as he had notice of the Kings approach, he retir'd himself over the Mountains, and descended into *Piedmont*, by the Marquisate of *Saluzzo*, and *Pignerol*, and not without very great loss, fled away to *Milan*, which also both he, and the Viceroy of *Naples*, were constrain'd to abandon, and to fly out at one gate, whilst we entered in at another.

Signior Don *Antonio de Leva* (who was one of the greatest Captains the Emperor had, and who I do believe had he not been hindred by the Gout (with which he was infinitely tormented) would have surpass'd all others of his time) was chosen in this posture of affairs to be put into *Pavie*, with a strong Garrison of *German* Soldiers, supposing that the King would infallibly fall upon that place, as in effect he did. The Siege continued for the space of eight months, in which time Monsieur *de Bourbon* went into *Germany*, where he so bestir'd himself with the money he had borrowed from the Duke of *Savoy*, that he thence brought along with him ten thousand *German* foot, together with four or five hundred men at armes from the Kingdom of *Naples*, with which Forces encamping himself at *Lode*, he came to offer the King Battail upon a *St. Matthias* day, our army being very much weakened as well by the length of the Siege, as by Sicknes, with which it had been miserably infected. To which disadvantages the King had moreover unluckily disbanded three thousand *Grisons* commanded by a Collonel of their own called *le grand Diart*, I suppose, to contract the charges of the War. Oh that these little pieces of good Husbandry do very often occasion notable losses! Also a few days before Monsieur *d' Albaine* was, by the King's command, departed with great Forces towards *Rome*, from thence to fall into the Kingdom of *Naples*: but in the end all vanish'd away in smoke; for, to our great misfortune, we lost the Battail, and all these enterprizes came to nothing.

The Description of this Battail is already publish'd in so many places, that it would be labour lost therein to waste my paper; I shall therefore only say, that the business was not well carried in several places on our side, which occasioned their ruine, who behav'd themselves best upon that occasion. The King was taken prisoner, Monsieur the *Mareschal de Foix*, both taken and wounded with an *Arquebuz* shot in his thigh, which moreover enter'd into his belly, Monsieur *de St. Pol* taken, and wounded with thirteen wounds, with which he had been left for dead upon the place, and was stript to his shirt: but a Spaniard coming to cut off his Finger, for a Ring he could not otherwise pull off, he cried out, and being known, was carried with the said *Mareschal* into *Pavie*, to the lodging of the Marquess *de Scadafol*; several other great Lords lost their Lives, as the Brother to the Duke of *Lorraine*, the Admiral *de Chabanes*, and many others taken, amongst whom were the King of *Navarre*, Messieurs *de Nevers*, *de Montmorency*, *de Brion*, and others: but I shall not tax the memory

memory of any one for the loss of this Battel; nor set a mark upon those who behaved themselves ill enough, even in the presence of their King. During all the time of my abode in the Army, I was continually with a Captain call'd *Castille de Navarre*, without any pay, which Captain having the fortune to command the forlorn hope in the day of Battel, intreated me to bear him Company, which accordingly I did, as also the five Gentlemen who came in company with me. I was taken prisoner by two Gentlemen of the Company of Don *Antonio de Leva*, who upon the Saturday morning let me go, together with two of my Camrades; for they saw they were likely to get no great treasure of me, the other three were killed in the Battel. Being now at liberty I retir'd my self into the house of the Marquess, where Monsieur *le Marechal* lay wounded. I found him with Monsieur *de St. Pol*, both together in one bed, and Monsieur *de Montejan* lodg'd in the same Chamber, who was also wounded in his leg. There I heard the discourse and dispute betwixt Sieur *Frederick de Bege*, who was prisoner, and Captain *Sucra* who belong'd to the Emperor upon the loss of this Battel, who accused our French of many great oversights, particularly nominating several persons, whose names I am willing to forbear: but I judg'd their opinions to be very good, being both of them very great Soldiers, and what I then heard has since been serviceable to me upon several occasions; an use that every one ought to make of such controversies, who intends to arrive at any degree of perfection in the practice of Arms. A man must seek not only all occasions of presenting himself at all rencounters, and Battels; but must moreover be curious to hear, and careful to retain the opinions, and arguments of experienced men, concerning the faults, and oversights committed by Commanders, and the loss, or advantages to the one side and the other ensuing thereupon; for it is good to learn to be wise and to become a good Master at another mans expence. The Kingdom of *France* has long bewailed this unfortunate day, with the losses we have sustain'd, besides the captivity of this brave Prince, who thought to have found fortune as favourable to him here, as he was at his Battel with the *Swisse*: but she play'd the baggage, and turn'd her tail; making him to know how inconvenient, and of how dangerous consequence it is, to have the person of a King expos'd to the uncertain event of Battel; considering that his loss brings along with it the ruine of his Kingdom. Almighty God nevertheless was pleas'd to look upon this with an eye of pity, and to preserve it; for the Conquerors dazled with the rayes of victory lost their understanding, and knew not how to follow their blow; otherwise had Monsieur *de Bourbon* turn'd his Forces towards *France*, he would have put us all to our Trumps.

The Munday following Monsieur *de Bourbon* gave order that such as were taken prisoners, and had not wherewithal to pay their ransom, should avoid the Camp, and return home to their own houses. Of which number I was one; for I had no great treasure: he gave us indeed a Troop of horses, and a Company of Foot for our safe conduct: but the Devil a penny of money, or a bit of bread: insomuch that not one of us, had any thing but Turnips, and Cabbage-stalks, which we broyl'd upon the coals, to eat, 'till we came to *Ambrun*. Before our departure Monsieur *le Marechal* commanded me to commend him to Captain *Carbon*, and the rest of his friends, whom he entreated not to be dejected at this misfortune; but to rouse up their spirits, and endeavour to do better than ever, and that they should go, and joyn themselves to Monsieur *de Lautrec* his Brother. After which he made me a very notable remonstrance, which was not ended without many tears, and yet deliver'd with a strong accent, and an assured countenance, though he was very sore wounded, and so much that the Friday following he died. I travell'd on foot as far as *Redorte* in *Languedoc*, where his Company then lay; whereof Monsieur *d Lautrec*, after his death, gave one Tertia to Captain *Carbon*, a command that he did not long enjoy; for soon after a Villain native of *Montpellier*, who had favour'd the Camp of Monsieur *de Bourbon*, kill'd him behind, as he was riding post upon the Road near unto *Lumel*. As great a loss as has been of any Captain, who has died these hundred years; and one that I do believe had he lived to the Wars, that we have since seen, would have performed wonders, and many would have been made good Captains under his command: For something was every day to be learn'd by following him, he being one of the most vigilant, and diligent Commanders, that I ever knew, a great undertaker, and very resolute in the execution of what he undertook. Another Tertia was given to Captain *Lignac* of *Auvergne*, who also did not keep it long, for he shortly after fell blind and died. The third Tertia he gave to Monsieur *de Negrepelisse*, the Father to him now living, of which a Cousen German of mine called Captain *Serillac* carried the Ensign.

The Character of Captain *Carbon*.

In

In the mean time Madame the Queen Regent, Mother to the King, and with her all the confederate Princes of the Crown, had set several Treaties on foot, and laboured on all hands the Kings deliverance, with great integrity, and vigour, and to so good effect, that in the end this mighty Emperor, who in his imagination had swallow'd up the whole Kingdom of *France*, gain'd not so much as one inch of earth by his victory, and the King had the good fortune in his affliction to derive assistance even from those who at other times were his Enemies, yet to whom the Emperors greatness stood highly suspected. His Majesty being at last returned home, and mindful of the injuries, and indignities, had been offer'd to him during his captivity, having in vain tryed all other ways to recover his two Sons out of the Emperors hands, was in the end constrain'd to have recourse to Arms, and to recommence the War. And then it was that the expedition of *Naples* was set on foot under the command of Monsieur de *Lautrec*, who (as I have already said) dispatch'd a Courier to me into *Gascony* to raise a Company of Foot, which I also in a few days perform'd, and brought him betwixt seven and eight hundred men, of which, four or five hundred were Harquebusiers, though at that time there was but very few of them in *France*. Of these Monsieur de *Ausun* entreated of me the one half, for the compleating of his Company, which I granted to him, and we made our division near to *Alexandria*, which at this time was surrendred to the said Monsieur de *Lautrec*, who from thence sent Messieurs de *Gramont*, and de *Montpezat* to besiege the Castle de *Vigene*; before which place, as we were making our approaches, and casting up trenches to plant the Artillery, I was hurt with a Harquebuze shot in my right leg, of which shot I remain'd lame a long time after; insomuch that I could not be at the storming of *Pavie*, which was carried by assault, and half burnt down to the ground. Nevertheless I caused myself to be carried in a Litter after the Camp, and before Monsieur de *Lautrec* departed from *Plaisance* to march away to *Boulongne*, I again began to walk.

Alexandria
surrendred.

Pavie taken
by assault, and
half burnt
down.

Now near unto *Ascoly*, there is a little town called *Capistrano*, seated upon the top of a Mountain, of so difficult access, that the ascent is very steep on all sides, saving on those of the two Gates, into which a great number of the Soldiers of the Country had withdrawn, and fortified themselves. The Count *Pedro de Navarre*, who was our Collonel, commanded our *Gascon* Companies to attaque this Post, which we accordingly did, and assaulted the place. We caus'd some * Manteletts to be made wherewith to approach the Wall, in which we made two holes, of capacity sufficient for a man easily to enter in, about fifty or threescore paces distant the one from the other: whereof I having made the one, I would my self needs be the first to enter at that place. The Enemy on the other side had in the mean time pull'd up the planks, and removed the boards, and tables from the roof of a Parlour into which this hole was made, and where they had plac'd a great tub full of stones. One of the Companies of Monsieur de *Luppé* our Lieutenant Colonel, and mine prepar'd to enter at this place, and now God had granted me the thing, that I had ever desir'd, which was to be present at an assault, there to enter the first man, or to lose my life: I therefore threw my self headlong into the Parlour, having on a Coat of Mail, such as the Germans used in those days, a Sword in my hand, a Targuette upon my arm, and a Morrion upon my head; but as those who were at my heels were pressing to get in after me, the Enemy pour'd the great tub of stones upon their heads, and trapt them in the hole, by reason whereof they could not possibly follow. I therefore remain'd all alone within fighting at a door that went out into the street: but from the roof of the Parlour, which was unplank'd, and laid open for that purpose, they pepper'd me in the mean time with an infinite number of Harquebuze shot, one of which pierc'd my Targuette, and shot my arm quite through, within four fingers of my hand, and another so batter'd the bone at the knitting of my arm and shoulder, that I lost all manner of feeling, so that letting my Targuette fall, I was constrain'd to retire towards my hole, against which I was born over by those who fought at the door of the Parlour: but so fortunately nevertheless for me, that my Soldiers had, by that means, opportunity to draw me out by the legs, but so leisurely withal, that they very courteously made me tumble heels over head from the very top to the bottom of the Graffe, wherein rowling over the ruines of the Stones, I again broke my already wounded arm in two places. So soon as my men had gathered me up, I told them, that I thought I had left my arm behind me in the Town, when one of my Soldiers lifting it up from whence it hung, as in a Scarf, dangling upon my buttocks, and laying it over the other, put me into a little heart; after which, seeing the Soldiers

* Moving
Pent-houses
under the
protection of
which, Soldi-
ers use to ap-
proach a wall.

The Sieur de
Montluc wound-
ed with two
Harquebuze
shot.

And the same
Arm at the
same time
broken in
two places.

diers of my own Company gather'd round about me, Oh my Camrades (said I) have I always us'd you so kindly, and ever loved you so well, to forsake me in such a time as this? which I said, not knowing how they had been hindred from following me in.

Capistrano taken by assault.

Burnt to the ground.

Upon this my Lieutenant, who had almost been stifled to death in the hole, call'd *la Bastide* (Father to the *Savillans* now living, and one of the bravest Gentlemen in our Army) propos'd to two Basque Captains call'd *Martin* and *Ramonet*, who always quarter'd near unto my Company; that if they would with Ladders storm by a Canton of the wall hard by, he would undertake, at the same time, to enter by the hole it self, and either force his entry that way, or lose his life in the attempt. To which I also encouraged them, as much as my weakness would permit. The Ladders being therefore presently brought, and tyed together, because they proved too short, *la Bastide* made towards the hole, having sent to the other Captains to do as much to the other; but they did no great feats. In the interim that *la Bastide* was fighting within, having already gained the hole, *Martin* and *Ramonet* gave a brave Scalado to the Canton, and with so good success, that they beat the Enemy from the wall, and entred the Town. Of this being presently advertis'd, I sent to *la Bastide* to conjure him to save me as many women and maids as he possibly could, that they might not be violated (having that in devotion for a vow I had made to our Lady of *Loretta*, hoping that God, for this good act, would please to be assisting to me) which he did; bringing fifteen or twenty, which were also all that were saved; the Soldiers being so animated to revenge the wounds I had receiv'd, and to express their affection to me, that they killed all before them, so much as to the very children, and moreover set the Town on fire. And although the Bishop of *Ascoly* (this being a member of his Diocess) was very importunate with Monsieur de *Lautrec* in behalf of the Town, the Soldiers could notwithstanding never be made to leave it, till they saw it reduced to Ashes. The next day I was carryed to *Ascoly*, where Monsieur de *Lautrec* sent Messieurs de *Gramont*, and de *Montpezat* to see how I did, with whom he moreover sent two Chirurgeons the King had given him at his departure, the one called Master *Alesme*, and the other Master *George*; who, after they had seen how miserably my arm was mangled, and shatter'd, positively pronounced, that there was no other way to save my life, but to cut it off, the execution whereof was deferr'd till the next morning. Monsieur de *Lautrec* thereupon commanded the said Sieurs de *Montpezat* and de *Gramont* to be present at the work, which they promised they would, but not without some difficulty, out of the friendship they both had for me, especially the Sieur de *Gramont*. Now you must understand that my Soldiers had, a few days before, taken prisoner a young man, a Chirurgion, who had formerly belong'd to Monsieur de *Bourbon*. This young fellow having understood the determination to cut off my arm (for I had entertain'd him into my service) never ceased to importune me, by no means to endure it; representing to me, that I was not, as yet, arrived to the one half of my age, and that I would wish my self dead an hundred times a day, when I should come to be sensible of the want of an arm. The morning being come, the forementioned Lords, and the two Chirurgions, and Physicians, came into my chamber with all their instruments, and plaisters, without more ceremony, or giving me so much as leisure to repent, to cut off my arm, having in command from Monsieur de *Lautrec* to tell me, that I should not consider the loss of an Arm, to save my life; nor despair of my fortune; for although his Majesty should not regard my service, nor take it into consideration to settle a subsistence for me, yet that nevertheless his wife, and himself, had forty thousand Livers a year revenue, wherewith to recompence my valour, and to provide that I should never want; only he wished me to have patience, and to manifest my courage upon this occasion. Every thing being now ready, and my arm going to be opened to be cut off; the young Chirurgeon standing behind my bed's head, never desisted preaching to me by no means to suffer it, insomuch that (as God would have it) though I was prepared, and resolved to let them do what they would with me, he made me to alter my determination; whereupon, without doing any thing more, both the Lords, and the Chirurgeons return'd back to Monsieur de *Lautrec* to give him an account of the business, who (as they have all of them several times since assured me) said these words. *I am glad to hear he is so resolved, and should also my self have repented the causing of it to be done; for had he dyed, I should ever have suspected my self to have been the occasion of his death; and had he lived without an arm, I should never have looked upon him, but with exceeding great trouble, to see him in such a condition; let God therefore work his will.*

Immediately

Immediately after the two forenamed Chirurgions came to examine mine, whether or no he was sufficient to undertake the cure; for otherwise it was order'd, that one of them should remain with me; but they found him capable enough, to which they also added some instructions, what was to be done upon such accidents as might happen. The next day, which was the fourth after my hurt, Monsieur de Lautrec caused me to be carried after him to *Termes de Bresse*, where he left me in his own quarters, to the care of the man of the house, who was a Gentleman, and for the further assurance of my person, carryed Hostages with him, two of the most considerable men of the Town, whereof one was brother to the Gentleman of the house, assuring them, that if any the least foul play was offer'd to me, those two men should infallibly be hang'd. In this place I remain'd two months and a half, lying continually upon my reins, in-somuch that my very back bone pierced thorough my skin, which is doubtless the greatest torment, that any one in the world can possibly endure; and although I have written in this narrative of my life, that I have been one of the most fortunate men, that have born arms these many years, in that I have ever been victorious wherever I commanded; yet have I not been exempt from great wounds, and dangerous sicknesses, of which I have had as many, and as great, as any man ever had, who outliv'd them. God being still pleas'd to curb my pride, that I might know my self, and acknowledge all good, and evil to depend upon his pleasure: but all this notwithstanding a scurvy, sour, morose, and cholerick nature of my own (which favours a little, and too much of my native Soil) has evermore made me play one trick, or another of a *Gascon*, which also I have no great reason to repent. So soon as my arm was come to a perfect suppuration, they began to raise me out of Bed, having a little cushion under my arm, and both that, and my arm swath'd up close to my body. In this posture I continued a few days longer, until mounting a little Mule that I had, I caused my self to be carried before *Naples*, where our Camp was already fate down, having first sent away a Gentleman of mine on foot to our Lady of *Loretta* to accomplish my vow, I my self being in no condition to perform it. The pain I had suffer'd, was neither so insupportable, nor so great, as the affliction I had, not to have been present at the taking of *Malpbe*, and other places; nor at the defeating of the Prince of *Orange*, who after the death of Monsieur de Bourbon (slain at the Sack of *Rome*) commanded the Imperial Army. Had not this valiant Prince (of deplorable memory, for the foulness of his revolt from his Lord, and Master) dyed in the very height of his Victories, I do believe he had sent us back the Popes into *Avignon* once again.

At my arrival at the Camp, Monsieur de Lautrec, and all the other great persons of the Army, received me with great demonstrations of kindness, and esteem, and particularly Count *Pedro de Navarre*, who caused a confiscation to be settled upon me of the value of twelve hundred Duckets yearly revenue call'd *la Tour de la Nunciade*, one of the fairest Castles in all the Territory of *Labour*, and the first Barony of *Naples*; belonging to a rich Spaniard call'd *Don Ferdino*. I then thought my self the greatest Lord in all the Army: but I found my self the poorest Rouge in the end, as you shall see by the continuation of this discourse. I could here dilate at full how the Kingdom of *Naples* was lost, after it was almost wholly conquer'd; a story that has been writ by many: but it is great pity they would not, or durst not relate the truth, being that Kings and Princes might have been taught to be so wary by this Exemple, as not to suffer themselves to be impos'd upon, and abus'd, as they very often are: but no body would have the great ones learn to be too wise, for then they could not play their own Games with them so well, as they commonly do. I shall therefore let it alone, both for that I do not pretend to record the faults of other men, as also because I had no hand in these transactions, and shall only write my own Fortanes to serve for instruction to such as shall follow after, that the little *Montlucs* my sons have left me, may look with some kind of Glory into the life of their Grandfather, and aim at honorable things by his Exemple.

There were no great matters perform'd after my coming to the Camp; neither did they busie themselves about any thing but the City of *Naples*, which also they intended to overcome by Famine, and it must suddainly have fallen into our hands, had it not been for the revolt of *Andrea d' Auria*, who sent to Count *Philippin* his Nephew to bring back his Gallies to *Genoa*, with which he kept the City of *Naples* so close block'd up by Sea, that a Cat could not have got in; which he immediately did, and thereupon an infinite of provision was put into the Town by Sea, whilst our Gallies delay'd to come. God forgive him who was the cause thereof, without which accident the Town had been our own, and consequently the whole Kingdom. This

A great Naval victory obtain'd by *Philippin d' Auria*.

Philippin Lieutenant or Vice-Admiral to *Andrea d' Auria*, near unto *Capo-dorso* obtained a famous Naval Victory over *Hugo de Moncada*, and the Marquess *de Guist*, who came to the relief of *Naples*; but from this Victory proceeded our ruine: for *Philippin* having sent his prisoners to his Uncle to *Genoa*, and the King being importunate to have them deliver'd over to him, *Andrea d' Auria* would by no means part with them, complaining that he had already delivered up the Prince of *Orange* to the King, without any recompence; upon which occasion the Marquess *de Guist* (a man of as great dexterity, and cunning as any of his time, and a great Warriour) knew so well how to manage *Andrea d' Auria's* discontent, that in the end he turn'd his coat, and with twelve Gallies went over to the Emperor's side. The King our Master was well enough informed of all his practices, and might easily enough have prevented the mischief; but his heart was so great, and he was so highly offended with *Auria*, that he would never seek to him, whereof he repented at leisure: for he has since been the cause of many losses that have befall'n the King, and particularly of the Kingdom of *Naples*, *Genoa*, and other misfortunes. It seem'd as if the Sea stood in awe of this man; wherefore without a very great, and more than ordinary occasion, he was not fit to have been provoked, or disgusted: but perhaps the King might have some other reason.

The death of Signior *Giovanni de Medicis*.

In the end our Gallies arriv'd, and brought with them the Prince of *Navarre*, Brother to King *Henry*, with some few Gentlemen only of his train, who lived but three weeks after; for he came in the beginning of our sickness. At his landing, Monsieur *de Lautrec* sent *Michael Antonio* Marquess of *Saluzzo* for his Convoy (for he landed a little below *la Magdaleine* within half a mile of *Naples*) and with him a great part of the *Geus d' Armes*, with the black Italian Regiments, which were commanded by Count *Hugues de Gennes*, since the death of Signior *Horatio Bailbone*, and had been the Companies of Signior *Giovanni de Medicis*, Father to the Duke of *Florence* that now is, who had been wounded in his leg, with a Harquebuze shot before *Pavie*, being then in the Kings Service, and was thence carried to *Plaisance*, where he had his leg cut off, and thereof soon after dyed, and after his death the said Signior *Horatio* took upon him the command of his Companies. It seem'd that God would at that time some evil to the King, when he lay before *Pavie*. For in the first place some one advis'd him to send away the *Grifons*, secondly to send Monsieur *d' Albain* to *Rome* with another part of the Army, and for the sum of all misfortunes God sent this mischance to Signior *Giovanni*, who (to speak the truth) understood more of the affairs of War, than all the rest, who were about the King, having three thousand Foot under his command, the best that ever were in *Italy*, with three Cornets of horse, and I do verily believe (and there are several others of the same opinion) that, had he been well at the Battel, matters had not gone so ill as they did. Signior *Horatio* afterwards encreas'd the number a thousand men, which made up four thousand foot, who carried black Ensigns for the death of the said Signior *Giovanni*, and were moreover all put into mourning, from whence they deriv'd the name of the Black Regiments, and afterwards associated themselves to the Marquess of *Saluzzo*, who temporiz'd for about two years in *Italy*, and about *Florence*, and afterwards join'd with our Army at *Troyes*, or else at *Nocera*, I am not certain which, for that I lay at the same time wounded at *Termes en Bresse*.

But to return to the landing of the Prince of *Navarre*, because there was something of Action there performed wherein I had a share, I shall give an account of that business. Captain *Artiguelaube* (who was Colonel of five *Gascon* Ensigns which were wont to be under Monsieur *de Luppée*, and of five others commanded by the Baron *de Bearn*) was commanded, as also was Captain *de Buch*, eldest son of the Family of *Candale*, to draw down to that place, and I also (poor wretch as I was) was one of the number. So soon as we were got down to the shore, the Marquess left all our Pikes behind a great Rampire, which the Count *Pedro de Navarre* had caused to be cast up, and that extended on the right hand, and on the left, for about half a mile in length. Close adjoining to this was a great Portal of Stone, through which ten, or twelve men might march a breast, and that I do believe had been a Gate in former times, for the Arch, and other marks thereof were still remaining; to the cheeks of which Portal, our Rampire was brought up, both on the one side, and the other. Our Battaillon was drawn up about an hundred paces distant from this Portal, the Black Regiments some three hundred paces behind ours, and the greatest part of the Horse yet further behind them. Monsieur le Marquis, Monsieur le Captain, the Count *Hugues*, Captain *Artiguelaube*, and almost all the Captains as well *Italians* as *Gascons* along with them, went down

down as well to facilitate, as to be present at the Princes Landing; which said Seigneur *Captan* had six Ensigns, three of *Piedmontoise*, and three of *Gascons*. They were so long about their landing, that they there staid three long hours; for they made the Prince to stay and dine abroad, before he came out of the Galley: a little delay sometimes occasions a great mischief, and it had been better, that both he, and all the company with him had made a good sober fast; but the vanity of the world is such, that they think themselves undervalued if they do not move in all the formalities of State, and in so doing commit very often very great errors. It were more convenient to move in the Equipage of a simple Gentleman only, and not to Prince it at that rate, but to do well, than to stand upon such frivolous punctillios, and be the cause of any misadventure, or disorder.

Captain *Artiguelaube* in the mean time had plac'd me with three score or four score Harquebusiers upon the cross of a high way very near to the *Magdalcine*, which is a great Church some hundred, or two hundred paces distant from the Gates of *Naples*; and upon another cross of the high way, on the left hand of me, where there stood a little Oratory, two or three hundred Harquebusiers of the black Regiments, with an Ensign of Pikes; In the same place also, and a little on the one side, was plac'd the Company of Seigneur *de Candale*, consisting of two or three hundred Harquebusiers, about two hundred paces distant from, and just over against the place where I stood. Being thus upon my Guard I saw both horse and foot issuing out of *Naples*, and coming full drive to gain the *Magdalcine*; whereupon mounting a little Mule that I had, I gallop'd straight down to the water side. All the Lords and Gentlemen were as yet on board, carelling, and complementing one another, to whom by certain Skip-pers that were plying too and again betwixt the Gallies, and the Shoar, I caus'd it to be cry'd out, that the Enemy was fallying out of the Town by whole Troops to intercept them, and to recover the blind of the *Magdalcine*, and that they should think of fighting, if they so pleased; an intelligence at which some were basely down in the mouth, for every one that sets a good face on the matter has no great stomach to fight. I presently return'd back to my men, and went up straight to the *Magdalcine*, from whence I discover'd the Enemies Horse fallying out dismounted, with the bridles in the one hand, and their Launces in the other, stooping as much as they could, to avoid being seen, as also did the Foot, who crept on all four behind the walls that enclosed the backside of the Church: I then presently gave my Mule to a Soldier, bidding him ride in all hast to acquaint Monsieur *de Candale*, and Captain *Artiguelaube* therewith, whom he found already got on shore, and who upon my first advertisement, had caus'd a Galley to put out to Sea, from whence they discover'd all that I had told them, which being in the Port they could not possibly do. This Galley upon the sight presently began to let fly whole broad-sides of Canon at us, one whereof kill'd two men of my Company close by me, and so near that the brains both of the one, and the other flew into my face. There was very great danger in that place, for all the bullets, as well of this Galley, as of the others, which did the same, play'd directly into the place where I was, insomuch that seeing them still to continue their shot (for those of the Gallies took us for the Enemy) I was constrain'd to draw off my men into the ditches to secure them.

In the mean time they mounted the Prince in all hast on horseback, and made him to save himself full speed towards the Camp, all his Gentlemen running after on foot. They had no great leisure to stay with us, for I believe being so lately come, they had no mind to dye. Their hast was so great that they had no time to land, either the Princes Baggage, or his Bed, and there were some, who were wise enough to keep themselves aboard the Gallies. But the Seigneur *de Candale*, and Count *Hugues* were men of another sort of mettle, and staid upon the cross high way where their men had been plac'd before; and Captain *Artiguelaube* went to the Battailon, that was drawn up behind the Rampire. The Game began with me, and I do not know whether it be my good or my evil fortune; but so it is that in all places where I have been, that I have evermore found my self in the thickest of the blows, and there where the business ever first began. Now a Band of Harquebusiers came directly towards me, running: and that because I had plac'd one part of my Harquebusiers behind a ditch bank that borders all along upon the high way, and the rest on the right and left hand in the ditches in file (which I did more for fear of the Artillery, that plaid from our own Gallies, than for any apprehension of the Enemy) and came within twenty paces of us, where we entertain'd them with a smart volly of all our shot, by which five or six of their men fell dead upon the ground, and the rest took their heels, and fled, we

The Fight.

following after as far as the *Magdalene*. There they rallied, and withdrew from the high way on their right hand, and on that side where Monsieur de Lavall of Dauphiné stood with his Company of *Gens- d' Armes*, he was Nephew to Monsieur de Bayard, and Father to Madame de Gordes, who is at this time living, and a very valiant Gentleman. Monsieur de Candalle, who had seen my Charge, and saw that the Enemy now all discover'd themselves, and that both Horse and Foot drew into a great Meadow, where Monsieur de Lavall stood; fearing they might charge me again, he sent me a supply of fifty Harquebusiers, just at the time when a Battaillon of German Foot presented themselves within twenty paces on my right hand. The Spanish Harquebusiers in the mean time fir'd with great fury upon our *Gens- d' Armes*, who began to draw off at a good round trot towards the high way possessed by Monsieur de Candalle, where there was a great oversight committed, which I will also give an account of, that such as shall read it, may make use of the exemple, when the chance of War (as at one time or another it may) shall perhaps reduce them to the same condition.

Count Hugues, and Monsieur de Candalle had drawn up their Pikes upon the great Road, without leaving room for the Cavalry to retire, and there was a necessity that Monsieur de Lavall must, in spite of his heart, pass that way; for betwixt Monsieur de Candalle and me there was a great ditch, that Horse could not possibly get over. Had they left the Road open, and drawn themselves up in Battalia behind the ditch, they might have given a stop to the Enemies fury; and by that means Monsieur de Lavall, might at great ease have got off along by the high way, and have made an honorable retreat. So soon as the Enemy saw that Monsieur de Lavall was forced to his Trot they presently charg'd him both in flank, and rear, with both Horse and Foot at once, when having thrown himself into the Road to get clear of this storm, he encountred these Pikes upon his way, where he was constrained against his will to force his way thorough, and in so doing bore down, and trampled under foot all that stood before him; for our Pikes were drawn up so close that they had no room to open. This put all into confusion, and I was ready to run mad to see so great an absurdity committed; yet is not the blame justly to be laid upon Monsieur de Candalle, he being very young, and having never been upon such a service before: but Count Hugues is highly to be condemned, who was an old Soldier, and understood the discipline of War; yet I will not say but that he behaved himself with very great bravery in his own person: but it is not enough to be bold, and hardy, a man must also be wise, and foresee all that can happen, forasmuch as oversights are irreparable in matters of Arms, and smal faults are oftentimes the occasion of very great losses, as it happened here to him, who had not provided against all adventures: For he was himself taken prisoner, as also Monsieur de Candalle, being wounded in his arm with a Harquebuze shot. Three days after, the Enemy seeing he was not likely to live, sent him back to Monsieur de Lautrec, who was his Kinsman, and the next day he died, and was buried at Bresse.

Captain de
Buch, Count
de Candalle
slain.

He was a brave, and a worthy young man as ever came out of the house of Foix, and would in time doubtless have been a great Soldier, had he lived to hold on as he had begun. I never knew man so industrious, and desirous to learn the practice of arms of the old Captains, as this Lord was. To which effect he rendred himself as obsequious to the Count Pedro de Navarre, as the meanest of his Servants. He was inquisitive into the reasons of things, and informed himself of all, without fooling away his time about trifles, that other young men covet and love: and was more frequent at the Quarters of the Count Pedro de Navarre, than at those of Monsieur de Lautrec; insomuch that the Count would always say, he was there training up a great Captain. And in truth when he was brought back into the Camp, the said Count kiss'd him with tears in his eyes. It was a very great loss of him. All who were at the same post were either kill'd, or taken, some excepted, who saved themselves by the ditches, leaping from ditch to ditch, but those were very few, for the Enemy pursued their victory on that side very well.

I on my side began to march along by the side of a hedg, with my face still towards the German Foot, the lesser evil of the two, and by good fortune both for me, and my Company the Enemy in my rear pursued us coldly enough. At my coming to the Portal I spoke of before, I there found a great Troop of the Enemies Horse, commanded by Don Ferdinando de Gonzaga (for it was he who gave the charge) so that to recover the Portal I must of necessity fight with a resolution either to pass thorough, or die. I made my men therefore to give them a volley of Harquebuze shot, for I for
my

my part had nothing wherewith to fight, but my voice; upon which volly they made me way, so that having pass'd the portal, I fac'd about, and stood firm. At which time their Harquebusiers also came up, who at once altogether charged upon us, with all their united power both of Horse and Foot; when seeing this torrent coming upon me, I recover'd the back side of the Trench, with my Harquebusiers only, who had saved themselves from the first encounter; which the Marquefs seeing, he was in so great a perplexity, that he gave us all over for lost. I there disputed the portal a long half hour from the back side of the Trench, for it remained free, as well on their side, as on ours; they durst not attempt to pass, neither did we dare to approach it. If ever Soldiers plaid the men, these did it at this time; for all that I had with me could not arise to above an hundred and fifty men. The Marquefs then came up to Captain *Arteguelaube*, to make him rise, they being all couched upon one knee, for had they stood upright, the *Spanish Foot* had had them in their aim, and cryed to him, Captain *Arteguelaube*, I beseech you rise, and charge, for we must of necessity pass the Portal: But he returned him answer, that he could not do it without losing the best of our men, as it was very true, for all the *Spanish Foot* were then come up. I was close by the Portal, and heard all; but the Marquefs not satisfied with this answer, spurred up to the black Regiments, commanding them to march up towards the Portal, which they accordingly did. I knew by the manner of their motion, what command they had received, which was the reason that I stepped out, and cried to Captain *Arteguelaube*, Camrade, you are about to be disgraced for ever, for here are the Black Regiments, that, upon my life, are making towards the Portal, to carry away the honor of the service; at which words he started up (for the man wanted no courage) and ran full drive towards the Portal, when seeing him come, I suddenly threw my self before the Portal, and passed with all those who followed me, marching straight towards the Enemy, who were not above a hundred paces distant from us; we were immediately followed by the Foot, sent by the Marquefs: but as we were half passed thorough, the Marquefs gave the word from hand to hand, to make a halt, and to advance no further. The Enemy seeing us come on with such resolution, and the Cavalry following in our Rear, thought it the wisest course to retire. I was by this time advanced where we were plying one another, with good round vollies of shot, at fifty paces distance, and we had a good mind to fall on to the Sword, when the Marquefs, and another Gentleman with him, came himself on horseback to stay me. I think he did ill in it; for had we all passed thorough, we had certainly pursued them fighting up to the very Gates of *Naples*. There was in this place very many on both sides beaten to the ground, that never rose again, and I admire how I escaped, but my hour was not come.

That which occasioned the Marquefs to retire, was the fear he had of tempting fortune a second time; he was contented with what he had already lost, without being willing to hazard any more; so that tired out, and over spent, we return'd to repass the Portal, that had been so long disputed, where a great many good men lay dead upon the place. There it was that the Gentleman who was with the Marquefs, when he came to command me to retire, I have forgot his name, said to him (for I heard him very well) *Monsieur, I now see that the antient proverb is true, which says, that one man is worth an hundred, and an hundred are not so good as one: I speak it by this Captain who has his arm in a scarf, and leans to the Rampire* (for in truth I was quite spent) *for it must needs be acknowledged, that he is the only cause of our preservation.* I heard likewise well enough, though I took no notice of it, the Marquefs make him this answer. *That man will always do well wherever he is.* A passage, that although it be to my honor, and my own commendation, I would however insert it here, without bragging nevertheless, or vainglory. I have acquir'd honor enough besides: but this may perhaps serve to excite the other Captains, who shall read my Life, to do the same upon the like occasion. And I must needs confess that I was then better pleased with this Character, that this Gentleman, and the said Marquefs were pleased to give of me, than if he had given me the best Mannor in his possession; though I was at that time very poor. This commendation made my heart to swell with courage, and yet more when I was told, that some one had entertained *Monsieur de Lantrec*, and the Prince with the same discourse, all the time they sat at Supper. These little points of honor serve very much in matters of War, and are the cause that when a man shall again happen to be in the like service, he fears nothing: it is very true that men are sometimes mistaken, and gain nothing but blows: but there is no remedy for that, we must give and take.

You

You Captains, and Lords who lead men on to death (for War is nothing else) when you shall see a brave act performed by any of your followers, commend him in publick, and moreover relate it to others who were not present at the service: if his heart sit in a right place, he will value such a testimony more than all the treasure of the world, and upon the next occasion will strive to do still better. But if (as too many do) you shall not design to regard, or to take notice of the bravest exploit can by man be performed, and look upon all things with an eye of disdain, you will find that you must recompence them by effects, since you would not vouchsafe to do it by word of mouth. I have ever treated the Captains so, who have been under my command, and even the meanest of my Soldiers; by which they thought themselves so obliged, that I could have made them run their heads against a wall, and have stood firm in the most dangerous post in the world, as (for exemple) I did here.

The death of
the Prince of
Navarre.

This was the first misfortune, and the first disgrace, that had yet befallen us in all this Expedition. It seemed to all the world that the Prince of *Navarre* brought us all misadventure and mishap: would to God he had staid in *Gascony*; neither had it been the worse for him, who came only to end his days a great way from home, without doing any thing but taking a view of *Naples*. He dyed three weeks, or thereabouts, after his arrival, and was the occasion of the death of this brave young Lord (which I shall ever lament) who also had the honor to be his Kinsman. Yet was not this all, for so soon as it was known that such a Prince was arrived, every one presently concluded that he had brought some considerable succours, and relief, at least money for the pay of the Army: but there was nothing of all this; for neither he, nor the Gallies brought us one man of recruit; nor any other thing, but his own retinue, and some few Gentlemen Volunteers; which was a great discouragement to our distressed Army, and the Enemy, who were very well informed of all, took new heart at it, knowing very well by that, that the Waters of *France* were very low, when a Prince of his condition, came to such a Siege as this, in an equipage, as if he had only come abroad to see the world: but the fault ought not to lie at his door, they were too blame that sent him.

'Tis a great fault in Kings and Princes, who put men upon great attempts, to take so little care of those whom they know to be engaged in an enterprize of so great importance, as was this of the *Sieur de Lautrec*: for the taking of *Naples* had very much assured the State of *France*, which by that means would have had its arms at liberty for many years, and we should have disputed it long, had it once been ours, for we should have been made wise by our precedent losses. The King committed yet another oversight in not sending some handfom Troop of Gentlemen, and some considerable Body of Foot with this young Prince, the neglect of which (as I have already said) made our people believe, either that he did not much regard us; or that his hands were full, and that he had elsewhere enough to do. Wherein Monsieur *de Lautrec* was by no means to be blam'd, who never ceased to send dispatch after dispatch, and post after post, to give his Majestie an account of all; but I return to my self; for (as I have always declar'd) I will by no means play the Historian: if I should, I should have enough to do, and scarce know at which end to begin.

The death of
Monsieur de
Lautrec,

and

Of Don Pedro
de Navarre.

This was the last engagement where I had any thing to do, wherein though I did not command in chief, yet had I notwithstanding the command of a very good Company of Foot, and had my full share of the fight that was very handfom; but not for all; which I have set down to acquit my self of my promise, to wit, that I would give a particular account of all those passages, wherein I had the honor to command: passing the rest lightly over, as I do the remainder of this unfortunate Siege, which we were at last constrained to raise, Monsieur *de Lautrec* being dead, to the great misfortune of all *France*, which never had a Captain endowed with better qualities than he was: but he was unhappy, and ill assisted by the King, after His Majesty had engaged him, as he did first at *Millan*, and now lastly before *Naples*. For my part with that little that was saved, which was almost nothing, I return'd the greatest part of my Journey on foot, with my arm in a scarf (having above thirty Ells of Taffeta about me, forasmuch as they had bound my arm and my body together with a cushion between) wishing a thousand times rather to die, than to live; for I had lost all my Masters and Friends, who knew, and lov'd me, being all dead, excepting Monsieur *de Montpezat* (the Father of this now living) and poor *Don Pedro* our Colonel taken, and carried prisoner into the Rock of *Naples*, where they put him to death, the Emperor having commanded, that for the reward of his revolt, they should cut off his head. He

was

was a man of great understanding, in whom Monsieur *de Lautrec* (who confided in few persons) had a very great confidence. I do also believe (and am not single in that opinion) that he counselled him ill in this War; but what! we only judg by Events.

In this handsom equipage, I came home to my Fathers house, where, poor Gentleman, I found him engag'd in too many necessities of his own, to be in any capacity of much assisting me; forasmuch as his Father had sold three parts of four of the Estate of the Family, and had left the remainder charg'd with five children, by a second venture, besides us of my Fathers, who were no less than ten. By which any one may judg, in what necessities we who are come out of the Family of *Montluc* have been constrained to follow the fortunes of the world. And yet our house was not so contemptible, but that it had near upon five thousand Livers yearly revenue belonging to it, before it was sold. To fit my self in all points I was constrained to stay three years at home, without being able to get any cure for my arm, and after I was cur'd I was to begin the world again, as I did the first day I came out from a Page, and as a person unknown seek my fortune in all sorts of necessities, and with extream peril of my life. I praise God for all, who in all the traverses of my life, has ever been assisting to me.

Upon the first motions of War King *Francis* instituted his Legionaires, which was a very fine invention, had it been well pursued (for a start all our Laws, and Ordinances are observed, and kept, but after a while neglected, and let down) for it is the true and only way to have always a good Army on Foot (as the *Romans* did) and to train up the people to War, though I know not whether that be good or evil. It has been much controverted, though I for my part had rather trust to my own people, than to strangers.

The Legionaires instituted.

1534.

Of these the King gave one thousand to the Seneschal of *Toulouse*, Seigneur *de Faudouras*, who made me his Lieutenant Colonel, and although it was the *Languedoc* Legion, and that he was Colonel, I nevertheless raised him all his Regiment in *Guienne*, and appointed him all his Captains, Lieutenants, Ensigns, Serjeants, and Corporals. A great rumor was at that time spread over all *France*, that the Emperor through the great intelligences he had within, was, for the conquest of such, and so great a Kingdom, coming up with vast, and invincible Forces; thinking at unawares to surprize the King; and in effect he did advance as far as *Provence*. The King to oppose so mighty, and so powerful an Enemy, summon'd in all his Forces from all parts: in order to which summons, we used so extraordinary diligence (neither was I ever slothful) that our Regiment was the first that arrived at *Marselles*, where we found Monsieur *de Barbezieux* (which was *de la Rochefoucault*) and Monsieur *de Montpezat*, whom the King had made his joynt Lieutenants there (the one having as much authority as the other) and the Seigneurs *de Boitieres* and *de Villebon* (Provost of *Paris*) the Regiments of Monsieur *le Grand Escuyer Galliot*, and of the said Seigneur *de Montpezat*, who came from *Fossan* all dismounted, having each of them a * Curtal only; for by Article at the surrender of the said *Fossan* (which was lost through the enormous, and perhaps unheard of Treachery of the Marquess of *Saluzzo*) they were oblig'd to leave their great horses behind. The Emperor being soon after come to *Aix*, the Legionary Regiments (consisting of a thousand men each) of Monsieur *de Fontrailles* (the Father of these now living) and of Monsieur *d'Aubignons*, came presently up to us, as also those of *Christophle de Goast*, with seven *Italian* Companies. I am not certain whether the Regiments of Monsieur *de Boitieres*, and *de Villebon* were there, or no: but I very well remember that of the said Seigneur *de Barbezieux*; and so long as the Emperor continued at *Aix*, we remain'd at *Marselles*, where nothing however of Action pass'd, but what I am now going to relate.

* Or pad Nag.

The treachery of the Marquess of *Saluzzo*.

1537.

Whilst the Emperor lay very long at *Aix*, in expectation of his great Canon, wherewith to come, and batter the walls of *Marselles*, his provisions did every day more, and more wast, and diminish. In which point of time the King arriv'd at *Avignon*, where His Majesty was advertised, that if means could be made to destroy some Mills the Emperor had seiz'd into his hands towards *Arles*, and especially one within four Leagues of *Aix*, called the Mill of *Auriolle*, the Enemies Camp would soon suffer for want of bread. Upon which advice the King committed the execution of the burning of those Mills about *Arles*, to the Baron *de la Garde*, who had a Company of Foot, to Captain *Thorines* Standard-bearer to the Count *de Tandes*, and some others, who accordingly executed the design. Which notwithstanding the Spies still brought word to the King, that he must also burn those of *Auriolle*; forasmuch as they alone ordinarily nourish'd not the

Mills burnt by the French.

Emperors

Emperors whole household only: but moreover the six thousand old *Spanish* Foot, which he always kept about his own person. His Majesty sent therefore several times to Messieurs *de Barbezieux*, and *de Montpezat* to hazard a Regiment of men, to go, and burn the said Mills of *Auriolle*.

Captain *Goast* refuses to undertake the Enterprize,
and
The first to whom they recommended the execution thereof, was to the foresaid *Christophle le Goast*, who positively refused to undertake it, alledging that it was five Leagues to the aforesaid Mills, where they were to fight threescore Guards, that were within it,, and an entire Company that were quartered in the Town, so that he should have five Leagues to go, and as many to return, by means whereof he should going or coming be infallibly defeated upon the way, for the Emperor could not fail of intelligence, it being no more than four leagues only from the said *Auriolle* to *Aix*; and on the other side the Soldiers would never be able to travel ten long leagues without baiting by the way. This answer was sent back to the King, who notwithstanding would not take it for currant pay; but on the contrary sent another more positive order, than the former, that it should be proposed to some others, and that though a thousand men should be lost in the Enterprize, yet let them not concern themselves, for the benefit that would accrue burning the Mills, would countervail the loss (such easie Markets Princes make of the lives of men,)

Also Monsieur *de Fontenailles*.
Whereupon it was offer'd to Monsieur *de Fontenailles*, who was once in mind to undertake it: but some of his friends representing to him his certain ruine in the attempt, he piss'd backwards, and would by no means touch. All which being sent word of to His Majesty (who continually had the manifest advantage the destroying of the other Mills had brought to His Majesties affaires, reminded to him) he still persisted to press the aforesaid Lords, to send some one, or another to demolish these. Now one day, after I had heard how discontented the King was, and the excuses that had been alledg'd by those to whom it had hitherto been recommended (which in truth were very rational, and just) I began to meditate with my self, which way I might execute this design, and to consider, that if God would give me the grace to bring it about, it would be a means to bring me to the knowledg of the King, and to restore me to the same reputation and acquaintance, I had formerly acquir'd; and that now by three years idleness, and the length of my cure, was as good as vanish'd and lost: for it is nothing to get a good repute, if a man do not uphold, and improve it. Having therefore taken with my self a resolution to execute this design; or to die in the attempt: I enform'd my self at full of my Landlord of the situation, and condition of the place where these Mills were: who told me that *Auriolle* was a little Town enclos'd with high walls, where there was a Castle well fortified, and a Bourg composed of many houses, with a fair street thorough the middle of it, and at the end of the said Bourg, which led from the Town towards the Mill, was a little on the left hand the Mill it self. That at the Gate of the said Town there was a Tower, which look'd directly down the great street towards the Mill, before which no man could stand, without running great hazard of being either slain, or wounded; and that beyond the Mill was a little Church at the distance of about thirty, or forty paces. He told me moreover, that I was to go to *Ambaigue*, two Leagues from *Marselles*, and that from thence to *Auriolle*, it was three more, if we went by by the Mountains which the Horse could not possibly do; but must be constrained to go near upon a League about, where they were moreover to pass a River that was deep to the Saddleskirts, by reason that the Bridges had been broken down.

It is undertaken by the
Sieur de Mont-
luc.

My Landlord having told me all this, I consider'd, that if I should undertake this affair with a great party, I should be defeated; for the place being only four Leagues distant from the Emperor's Camp, he would have present intelligence, and would send out his Horse to intercept me in my return, as it also fell out; for immediately upon our coming to the Mill, the Captain of the Castle dispatch'd away in all hast to the Emperor. So that I conceiv'd it much better for me to undertake it with a small number of men, and those light and active fellows; to the end that if I did the work I went for, I might either have means to retire by one way or another; or at the worst if I should throw my self away, and those who were with me, yet they being but a few, the City of *Marselles* would by that miscarriage be in no manner of danger to be lost, which was the thing most disputed in the Council; whereas by losing a thousand or twelve hundred men, which were thought a necessary proportion for such an Enterprize, the said City might be expos'd to some danger, especially in a time when they expected a Siege.

I then desir'd my Landlord to provide me three fellows, who were expert in the ways,

ways, to guide me by night to the said *Auriolle*, and so that, as near as could be guess'd, they should bring me to the Mills two hours before day; which he accordingly did, when after having some time consulted with them, I found the men were fearful, and loth to go: but at last mine Host so encourag'd them, that they were all resolv'd; whereupon I gave to each of them a brace of Crowns, and caused them to be kept up in my lodging, which was about Noon; and having computed with my Landlord how many hours the nights were then long, we found, that provided I should set out about the twilight, I should have time enough to do my business.

All this being done, that my design might not be known, I went my self first to Monsieur *de Montpezat*, to acquaint him with what I intended to do; and moreover that I was resolv'd to take with me no more, than six score men only; which I would choose out of the Seneschall's Regiment, to which I was Lieutenant Colonel. In all places wherever I have been, I have still made it my study to discern betwixt the good men, and the bad, and to judg what they were able to do; for all men are not proper for all uses.

The said *Sieur de Montpezat* thought my resolution very strange; and out of friendship advis'd me not to do so ridiculous a thing, as to hazard my self with so few men; telling me, that I might as well have five hundred if I would. To which I made answer, that I would never demand five hundred men for the execution of an Enterprize, that I could better perform with six score, and tormented him so, that in the end he was constrained to go along with me to Monsieur *de Barbezieux*, who yet thought it more strange, than the other, and would needs know of me my reasons and by what means I would execute this design with so few people. To whom I made answer, that I would not declare to any one living, which way I intended to proceed: but that nevertheless (if they so pleas'd) I would undertake it. Whereupon Monsieur *de Montpezat* said to him, let him go; for though he should be lost, and all those with him, the City will not for that be in the more danger to be lost, and it will give His Majesty content. Monsieur *de Villebon* who was present at the deliberation, laugh'd, and jeer'd at me, saying to Monsieur *de Barbezieux*, let him go, he will infallibly take the Emperor, and we shall all be ashamed, when we see him bring him into the City to morrow morning. Now this man did not love me, for some words that had pass'd betwixt us at the Port Royal; neither could I forbear to tell him, that he was like a dog in a manger, that would neither eat himself nor suffer others. All was pass'd over in jest though in plain truth, I was half angry, for a little spurring would serve to make me start. The Seneschal *de Tholouse*, my Colonel, adhear'd to my opinion, whereupon I had immediate leave granted me to go choose out my six score men, and no more, which I did, taking only one * Centenier, and a Corporal, the rest were all Gentlemen, and so brave a Com-

* Or Centurion, a term used as suiting that of Legion.

pany, that they were better than five hundred others. It is not all to have a great number of men, they sometimes do more hurt than good, which made me entreat Monsieur *de Barbezieux* to cause the Gate of the City to be shut, being well assur'd that otherwise I should have had more company than I desir'd; which he also did, and it hapned well for another reason, for in less than an hour my design was spread all over the whole City. Just at Sun-set, I, with my six score men, repair'd to the Gate, the wicket whereof was only open: but the street was so full of Soldiers, ready to go out with me, that I had much ado to distinguish my own, and was therefore constrained to make them all take hands, for I very well knew them every one. As I was going out of the Gate, Monsieur *de Tavannes* (who was since *Mareschal of France*, and at this time Standard-bearer to the Grand Escuyer *Galliot*) came to me with fifteen, or twenty Gentlemen of their own Company, telling me, that he, with those friends of his were come to offer themselves, resolv'd to run all hazards with me in the execution of my design. I used all the arguments I could to divert him from that resolution: but it was time, and labour lost; for both he, and those with him were all positively resolv'd. Messieurs *de Barbezieux*, *de Montpezat*, *de Boitieres*, *de Villebon*, and the Seneschal *de Tholouse*, were all without the Gate, and before the wicket, drawing us out one by one, when Monsieur *de Tavannes* offering to pass, Monsieur *de Barbezieux* would not permit him, telling him, that he should be none of the party, and there some words, and a little anger pass'd, both on side and the other: but Monsieur *de Tavannes* overcame at last, and pass'd the wicket; for which cause they detain'd from me fifteen or twenty men of those I had chosen: but I lost nothing by the exchange, only these disputes deferr'd the time so long, that the night was shut up, before we began to march. Monsieur *de Castelpers* Lieutenant to Monsieur *de Montpezat* (who was my very particular friend) having heard how I had been rail'd, and jeer'd amongst

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them,

them, determin'd to get to horse, with some fifteen, or twenty men at arms of the said Company, being all very well mounted, and to that end had spoken to Monsieur *de Montpezat* at his going out of the Gate, to entreat him, that he would not be displeased if he made one in the Enterprize; telling him that I was a *Gascon*, and that if I fail'd in the attempt, it would beget matter of sport for the *French*, and they would laugh us to scorn. Monsieur *de Montpezat* was at first unwilling to it, but seeing him begin to grow into a little heat, at last consented, whereupon he presently ran to mount to horse, and there might be nineteen or twenty of the party.

The order of
the Enter-
prize.

Now to give a full account of this Enterprize, (which although it was not the conquest of *Millan*, may nevertheless be of some use to such as will make their advantage of it) so soon as we came to the *Plan St Michel*, I gave to Captain *Belfoileil* (Centenier to our Company) three-score men; and three-score I kept for my self (Monsieur *de Tavannes*, and his followers being compriz'd in that number) to whom I also deliver'd a good Guide, telling him withal, that he was not to come near me by a hundred paces, and that we would continually march at a good round rate. Which order being given, and Monsieur *de Tavannes*, and I beginning to set forward, up comes Monsieur *de Castelpers*, of whose deliberation we till then knew nothing, forasmuch as it had been resolved upon at the very moment of our going out at the wicket, which hindred us another long half hour: but in the end we agreed, that he should go the Horse way, and gave him another of my Guides, which he mounted behind one of his men; so that we had three parties, and to every party a Guide. At our parting I gave him instructions, that so soon as he should arrive at the end of the Bourg, he should draw up behind the Church, for should they enter into the street, the Company quarter'd in the Town, would either kill them, or their horses; and that therefore he was not to appear, till first he heard us engag'd.

We now began to set forward, and marched all night, where as far as *Aubaigne*, we found the way to be exceeding good: but from thence to *Auriolle* we were fain to crawl over the sides of Mountains, where, I believe, never any thing but Goats had gone before: by which abominable way, having got within half a quarter of a league of *Auriolle*, I made a halt, bidding Monsieur *de Tavannes*, to stay there for me, for I must go speak with *Belfoileil*. I therefore went back, and met him within a hundred paces of us, or less; where speaking to him, and his Guide, I told him, that when he should arrive at the Bourg, he was by no means to follow me: but to march directly to the Gate of the Town, betwixt the Bourg and the said Town, and there make a stand at the Gate, it being necessary that he should gain two houses next adjoining to the said Gate, which he must suddainly break into, to keep the Enemy from sallying out to disturb us; and that there he was to stay, and fight, without taking any care to relieve us at all; after which order given to him, I moreover pass'd the word from hand to hand, to all the Soldiers, that no one was to abandon the fight at the Gate, to come to us to the Mill; but that they were punctually to observe whatever Captain *Belfoileil* should command them.

Returning then back to Monsieur *de Tavannes*, we again began to march, when being come near to the Castle, under which, and close by the walls of the Town, we were of necessity to pass, their Centinels twice call'd out to us, Who goes there? to which we made no answer at all, but still went on our way, till coming close to the Bourg, we left the way that Captain *Belfoileil* was to take, and slipt behind the houses of the said Bourg, when being come to the further end where the Mill stood, we were to descend two or three stone steps to enter into the street, where we found a Centinel, that never discover'd us, till we were within a Pikes length of him, and then he cry'd *Qui vive?* to which I made answer in *Spanish*, *Espagne*, (wherein I was mistaken, for the word was not then *Espagne*, but *Impery*) whereupon, without more ceremony he gave fire; but hit nothing.

The alarm being by this means given, Monsieur *de Tavannes*, and I threw our selves desperately into the street, and were bravely follow'd; where we found three or four of the Enemy without the door of the Mill: but they immediately ran in. The door of this Mill was made with two folding leaves, both which were to be bolted fast with a great Iron Bar on the inside; one of these had a great Chest behind it, and the other the fore-said Bar held more than half shut, and had these fellows behind it. The Mill was full of men, both above stairs and below (for there was three-score men in it, with the Captain, who had no dependence upon the Governor of the Town, each of them having his command apart) and we were one by one to enter this place.

Monsieur *de Tavannes* would very fain first have entred, and press'd forward with that

that intent ; but I pulling him back by the arm , withheld him , and push'd in a Soldier that was behind me : the Enemy made but two Harquebaze shot , having leisure to do no more , being all fast asleep, excepting these three, or four, who had been placed as Centinels before the Mill door in the street. So soon as the Soldier was got in, I said to Monsieur de Tavannes, now enter if you will ; which he presently did, and I after him, where we began to lay about us to some purpose , there being no more but one light only to fight by within. In this bustle the Enemy by a pair of stone stairs of indifferent wideness, recover'd the upper Room , where they stoutly defended the said stairs from the floor above, whilst I in the mean time sent a Soldier to tell the rest, that were without , that they should get up upon the outside of the Mill, and uncovering the roof, shoot down upon their heads, which was immediately perform'd ; so that the Enemy perceiving our men to be got upon the roof, and that they already let fly amongst them, they began to throw themselves into the water out of a window on the backside of the Mill : but we nevertheless mounted the stairs, and kill'd all those that remain'd, the Captain excepted, who with two wounds, and seven others all wounded, were taken prisoners. Hereupon I presently sent one away to Captain Belsolail, to bid him take courage, and stoutly to dispute the Gate of the Town, for the Mill was our own.

The Mill of
Auriolle taken.

The Alarm in the mean time, in the Town was very great , and those within three times attempted to Sally : but our men held them so short, that they durst never open their Gates. I sent Captain Belsolail moreover most of my men to assist him, and in the mean time, with the rest, fell to burning the Mill , taking away all the Iron work , especially the Spindles, and Rinds, that it might not be repair'd again, never leaving it till it was entirely burnt down to the ground, and the Mill-stones rowl'd into the River. Now you must know that Captain Tavannes took it a little to heart, that I had pull'd him back by the arm, and ask'd me afterwards upon our returne, why I would not permit him to enter the first, suspecting I had more mind to give the honor of it to the Soldiers : to whom I made answer, that I knew he was not yet so crafty to save himself, as those old Soldiers were ; and that moreover, that was not a place considerable enough for a man of his worth, and condition to dye in ; but that he was to reserve himself for a noble breach, and not to loose his life in a paltry Mill.

Whilst these things were in doing, Monsieur de Castelpers arriv'd, and leaving his party behind the Church, came up to us on foot, and upon this the day began to appear : wherefore I entreated Monsieur de Tavannes, and de Castelpers to retire behind the Church (for the shot flew very thick in the street, where they could see any one pass) telling them, that I would go draw off Belsolail ; whereupon they both accordingly retir'd, and as I was drawing off our men one after another running down on both sides the street, Monsieur de Castelpers presented himself with his twenty Horse at the end of the street by the Church, wherein he did us very great service, for the Enemy might otherwise have sallied out upon us. I had only seven, or eight men hurt, who nevertheless were all able to march, one Gentleman only excepted, called Vigaux, whom we set upon an Ass of those we had found in the Mill, and presently began to retire towards the top of a mountain, which was almost the same way by which Monsieur de Castelpers had come, when the Enemy discovering us to be so few, they all sallied out in our Rear ; but we had already gain'd the top of the Hill, when they arriv'd but at the foot of it, and before they recovered the height, we were got into the valley on the other side, ready to climb another (there being many little hills in that place) and yet we never marched faster than a foot pace ; and so went straight on to Aubaigne.

The Imperialists make a Sally.

I had given order to the Soldiers that went along with us, that every one should take with him a loaf of Bread, which they eat by the way, and I also had caus'd some few to be brought, which I divided amongst the Gens- d' Armes of Monsieur de Tavannes, and we our selves eat as we went ; which I here set down, to the end, that when any Captain shall go upon an Enterprize, where he is to have a long march, he may take exemple to cause something to be brought along to eat, wherewith to refresh the Soldiers, that they may be the better able to hold out ; for men are not made of Iron.

So soon as we were come to Aubaigne, two leagues from Marfelles, where we had thought to have halted, and to have taken some refreshment, we heard the Artillery of the Gallies, and of the Town, which at that distance seem'd to be volleys of Harquebaze shot ; an Alarm that constrain'd us without further delay, or taking any

The Emperor
Charles before
Marselles.

other refreshment, than what we had brought along with us, to march forwards, and to enter into consultation amongst our selves what course we were best to take; we already took it for granted, that the Emperor was arriv'd before the Town, and that he would certainly sit down before it; and thence concluded it impossible for us to get in again, which made us often repent, and curse the enterprize that had shut us out, the misfortune whereof was wholly laid to my charge, as the Author of all. in this uncertainty what course to steer, Monsieur de Castelpers was once resolved to go charge desperately thorough the Enemy's Camp, to get into the City; but when he came to acquaint us with his determination, we remonstrated to him, that that would be to throw himself away out of an humor, and that since we had together performed so brave a service, and with which the King would be so highly pleased, we ought likewise together either to perish, or to save our selves. Captain Trebous Guidon to the Company of Monsieur de Montpezat, told him the same, so that we concluded in the end to leave the great high way, and crossing the Mountains on the left hand, to fall down behind *Nostre Dame de la Garde*, making account, that in case we could not enter into the City, the Captain of the said Citadel would receive us in there. So we turn'd out of the way, and it was well for us that we did so, for *Vignaux*, and *les Bleres* keeping on the great Road straight to *Marselles*, had not gone on five hundred paces, but they met with four or five hundred Horse, which the Emperor (having had intelligence from those of *Auriolle* of what had been done) had sent out to meet, and fight us upon the way; and had not the Emperor parted from *Aix* by night to go before *Marselles*, so that the Messengers of a long time could meet with no body to whom to deliver their errand, I do believe we had certainly been defeated: but the Emperor knew nothing of it, till break of day, whereupon he presently sent out those four or five hundred Horse upon the Road to *Aubaigne*, who did no other harm to *Vignaux*, and those who were with him, but only took away their Arms.

Retreat.

In this manner we travail'd all day from mountain to mountain in the excessive heat, without finding one drop of water, insomuch that we were all ready to dye for thirst; always within sight of the Emperor's Camp, and ever within hearing of the Skirmishes that were made before the Town, Monsieur de Castelpers, and his *Gens-d'Armes* marching all the way on foot, as we did, and leading their horses in their hands, till coming near to *Nostre Dame de la Garde*, the Captain of the Castle taking us for the Enemy, let fly three or four pieces of Canon at us, which forc'd us to shift behind the Rocks. From thence we made signs with our hats; but for all that he ceas'd not to shoot, till in the end, having sent out a Soldier to make a sign, so soon as he understood who we were, he gave over shooting; and as we came before *Nostre Dame de la Garde*, we saw the Emperor, who was retiring by the way he came, and *Christophe Gouff*, who had all day maintain'd the Skirmish, beginning also to retreat towards the City. We then began to descend the Mountain, when so soon as Monsieur de *Barbezieux*, and Monsieur de *Montpezat* (who, with some other Captains, were standing without the Gates of the City) had discover'd us, they would have gone in again, taking us for the Enemy; but some body saying, that then those of the Castle would have shot at us, the said Sieur *Montpezat* presently knew Monsieur de *Castelpers*; and we thereupon arriv'd at the Gate of the City, where we were mightily caressed, especially when they heard of the good success of our enterprize, and they talk'd with the Captain of the Mill, who was wounded in the arm, and in the head, and after every one retir'd to his own Quarters.

Injustice of
Monsieur de
Barbezieux
towards the
Sieur de Mont-
pezat.

I made no manner of question, but that Monsieur de *Barbezieux*, so soon as the King should come to *Marselles*, would have presented me to His Majesty, and have told him, that I was the man who had perform'd this exploit, that His Majesty might have taken notice of me: but he was so far from doing me that friendship, that on the contrary he attributed all the honor to himself, saying that it was he, who had laid the design of this Enterprize, and had only deliver'd it to us to execute; and Monsieur de *Montpezat* was by ill fortune at that time very sick, and could say nothing in my behalf, so that I remain'd as much a stranger to the King, as ever. I came to know all this by the means of *Henry* King of *Navarre*, who told me that he himself had seen the Letters which the said Sieur de *Barbezieux* had writ to the King to that effect, wherein he attributed to himself the whole honor of that action. Monsieur de *Lautrec* would not have serv'd me so; neither is it handsom to rob another man of his honor; and there is nothing that does more discourage a brave heart: but Monsieur de *Tavannes*, who is now living, can testify the truth. So it is, that the destroying of these Mills, both the one, and the other, especially those

those of *Auriolle*, reduced the Emperors Camp to so great necessity, that they were fain to eat the Corn pounded in a Mortar, after the manner of the *Turks*; and the Grapes they ate put their Camp into so great a disorder, and brought so great a Mortality amongst them, especially the *Germans*, that I verily believe there never return'd a thousand of them into their own Country, and this was the issue of this mighty preparation.

The Captains who shall read this relation, may perhaps observe, that in this Enterprize there was more of Fortune, than of Reason, and that I went upon it as it were in the dark, though it was happily brought about: but I do not suspect however, that any one will conclude it to be wholly an effect of my good fortune, but will also take notice, that I forgot nothing of what was necessary to make the design succeed; and on the other side they may observe, that my principal security was, that the Enemy within the Town by the Rule of War, ought not to fall out of their Garrison, till they should first discover what our Forces were, a thing in the obscurity of the night, which they could very hardly do, all which notwithstanding, I did not yet so much rely upon their discretion, but that I moreover put a bridle in their mouths, which was *Elssoleil*, and his Company. A man must often hazard something, for no one can be certain of the event. I concluded the conquest of the Mill for certain: but I ever thought it would be a matter of great difficulty, and danger to retreat.

Thus did the Emperor *Charles*, both with shame and loss, retire, where that great Leader *Anne de Montmorency* (all that time Grand Maître, and since Connestable of France) obtain'd renown. It was one of the greatest baffles the Emperor ever received, and for grief whereof his great Captain *Antonio de Leva* (as was reported) afterwards dyed. I have sometimes heard the Marquis *de Guast* say, that this expedition was the sole contrivance of the said *Antonio de Leva*, and yet both he and his Master very well knew, what it was to attack a King of France in his own Kingdom. The death of Antonio de Leva.

The Emperor being with his Forces retir'd, I would no longer continue Lieutenant to the Seneschal's Regiment; who, had it lain in his power, would have resign'd it wholly into my hands. Monsieur *de Boitieres* then did me the honor to make me an offer of his Guidon, which I likewise refus'd to accept, having set my heart more upon the Foot, than upon Horse service. I had moreover an opinion, that I should sooner rise to advancement by the Infantry, which was the reason that I again return'd home, where having made some little stay, I would go into *Piedmont* there to serve under Monsieur *de Boitieres*, who was the Kings Lieutenant in that Province, and in order thereunto went first to *Marselles*, where I was six or seven months detain'd by Monsieur *de Tande*.

Some time after the Emperor rais'd an Army therewith to go and lay siege to *The-roane*, and the King, at the same time, rais'd another to relieve it: whereupon I immediately took post, and went to Court, where Monsieur *Le Grand Maître* gave me a Foot Company, and another to Captain *Guerre*, which we presently rais'd in, and about *Paris*, and were both of us receiv'd into the Guards of Monsieur *le Dauphin*, who was afterwards *Henry the Second of France*. The Army march'd presently away to *Hesdin*, and to *Anchi le Chateau*, both which places were taken by the said *Grand Maître*, as also *Saint Venant*; neither could the Imperialists do any good upon *The-roane*, which Monsieur *de Annebaut* reliev'd in the very face of the Enemy, though there was a disaster happened upon that occasion, thorough the heat, and vanity of some young Gentlemen, who because they had a mind to break their Launces, would needs indiscreetly seek the Enemy, by whom they were defeated, and all taken, both Monsieur *d' Annebaut*, and all the rest.

Soon after which the Imperialists retir'd and the King's Army also: As for me, seeing there was no great matters to be done thereabouts, I return'd presently after into *Provence*, where I had left my great Horses, and my Armes: and where about ten or fifteen days after, I received a Packet from the said Monsieur *le Grand Maître*, wherein there was a Commission to raise two Ensigns of Foot, and to march them away into *Piedmont*, whither the King himself was also going in person to relieve *Turin*, Monsieur *de Boitieres* being shut up within it. I thereupon presently took Post to go into *Gascony*, and made so good hast, that in eight days I had rais'd the two Companies, of which I made Captain *Merens* my Lieutenant; when, being about *Tholouse*, I left the men with him, and went away Post, having heard that Monsieur *le Grand Maître* was already arriv'd at *Lyons*, and that he march'd in great diligence to gain the

the *Pas de Suze*, wherein he shew'd himself to be no novice in War; So that seeing I could not bring up my Companies time enough to be with him at that Engagement, I was resolv'd to be there alone: I could not however make so great hast, but that I found the King got before me to *Sorges*, and Monsieur *le Grand Maistre* two days march further advanc'd: where His Majesty commanded me to return to my command, and to come up with *Ambres* and *Dampons*, who had each of them two Companies more, telling me moreover, that we were to be commanded by Monsieur *de Chavigni*, and giving me further instructions that we were to sit down before *Barsellonette*, and to seize all the Towns thereabout into our hands.

Mr. *Lieux*,
brother to
Mr. *Montluc*.

A Captain
ought as fel-
dom as he can
to leave his
men.

So soon as I came to *Marselles*, I had news brought me, that my two Companies had disbanded themselves; for (as the ambition of the world is great) Monsieur *de Lieux* my Brother had sent to my Lieutenant to desire him, that he would loyter a while in expectation of him up and down the Country thereabouts, forasmuch as he was raising a Foot Company, which he intended speedily to march away under the shadow of my Commission; to which my Lieutenant very indiscreetly consented, notwithstanding the promise he had made me to march five leagues a day. But as my Lieutenant had quitted the great Road, and turn'd aside towards *Albigeois* to spin out the time, he came at last to a Town call'd *l'Isle*, where the Inhabitants shut their Gates against him, which forc'd him to give an assault, as he did, and carried the place, with so suddain an execution, that although my said Brother was then within a days march of him with his Company, yet would he not come up, till the business was done, where his Soldiers having sack'd the Town, and being by that means loaden with booty, they were afterwards in so great fear to march, that they all disbanded, and every one run home with his spoil to his own house. By which you may understand, that an officer ought very seldom to leave his command, if not upon extraordinary occasion, for the great desire I had to be one of the first, made me to abandon mine, which was the cause of this disorder. I was therefore constrain'd to raise two other Companies in *Provence*, wherein the Count favour'd me very much, so that I had soon dispatch'd, muster'd at *Ville neuve d' Avignon*, and made so great hast, that (notwithstanding this accident) I yet arriv'd at the Valleys two days sooner than *Ambres*, and *Dampons*, and took the Castle, and the Town of *Mieulan*, where I made a halt in expectation of Monsieur *de Chavigni*, and the Companies of the said *Ambres*, and *Dampons*, who disputed the passage of *Lauzet*, which they could never have obtained, for all the people of the Country were there gather'd together to defend it: but that the *Spaniards* who were at *Barsellonette*, and those who were gone to defend the passage, hearing that I had taken *Mieulan*, retir'd by the Mountains (for I was possess'd of the great Road towards *Barsellonette*) and the common people seeing the said *Spaniards* to retire, quitted the passe by night, by means whereof they entred into it.

The Sieur de
Montluc shot.

We then went to besiege *Barsellonette*, before which place we lay three weeks, where I receiv'd a Harquebuze shot through my left arm, but it never touch'd the bone, so that I was presently cured; after which the King having relieved *Turin*, His Majesty return'd, and we for not having been present at the service, were all three commanded back; upon which order Monsieur *d' Ambres* went away Post to his said Majesty, with whom he prevailed so far, that he was pleas'd to leave him one of his Companies: which when I understood with what difficulty he had obtain'd, I carried mine back into *Provence*, where having dismissed them, I retir'd my self to my own house. At which time there was also a cessation (seeing no peace was to be made) concluded for ten years.

The danger
of creating a
Conestable
of France.

I thought fit to commit this to writing (though there be no great matter in it) to let the world see, that I never rested long in a place; but was always ready at the first beat of Drum; for the days of Peace were whole years to me, so impatient I was of lying idle. At the end of this War, the King was pleas'd to honor Monsieur *le Grand Maistre* with the Office of Conestable of France; an employment that has ever been vacant (as it is at this day) after the death of Monsieur *de Montmorency*. A thing that I conceive our Kings have purposely so ordered, as well to take away all occasion of Jealousie amongst the Princes, as also for the danger of entrusting so great a power in one mans hands. Witness *St. Pol*, and *Bourbon*, the last of which indeed was very faithful, and dyed in his Majesties service, ever approving himself a great, and prudent Captain: which testimony I am constrain'd by truth to give of him, and by no other obligation that I have; for neither he, nor any of his were ever any friends of mine.

During

During the time of this Truce, I tryed (forsooth) to be a Courtier, but in vain, for I was never cut out for that employment, I have ever been too free, and too open hearted to live at Court, and I succeeded there accordingly. Now after the foul, and detested assassinate committed upon the persons of the Seigneurs *Fregonze* and *Rincon*, Embassadors for the King our Master, his Majesty incens'd at such an outrage, and for which he could obtain no manner of satisfaction; he resolv'd to break the Truce, and to that end set two Armies on foot, one of which he gave to Monsieur le Duc d'Orleans, which was design'd for *Luxemburg*, and the other to Monsieur le Dauphin, who came into the County of *Roussillon* to reduce it to his Fathers obedience, having Monsieur d'Annebaut (who since was Admiral) in company with him. I therefore hearing that the said Marechal was to take with him the Companies of *Piedmont*, which were commanded by Monsieur de *Brissac*, and also an Engineer called *Hieronimo Marini*, reputed the greatest man of *Italy*, for the besieging of places, I had a great desire to go to the Camp, to learn something of this famous Engineer. Where being accordingly come, I put my self under Monsieur d'Assier, who commanded the Artillery in the absence of his Father, and who never stirr'd from the said *Hieronimo Marini*; by which means I happened to be at the approaches that were made before the City of *Perpignan* to which we had laid siege: but in two nights I perceiv'd that all he did signified nothing; for he begun the Trenches so far off, that in eight days the Canon could not be mounted, as he himself declared; to which I made answer, that in that time the Enemy would have fortified their City, four times as strong as it was on that side.

The Truce broken by reason of the Murther of Mr. *Fregonze*, and Mr. *Rincon*, Embassadors for the Christian King.

The King had for this Enterprize rais'd the bravest Army that ever my eyes beheld: it consisted of forty thousand Foot, two thousand men at Armes, and two thousand Light horse, with all necessary equipage for so considerable a Body. Monsieur *Montpezat* had been the Author of the design: though not so secretly, but that *Spain* was before hand wholly possessed with the expectation of it: which notwithstanding, and that the Town was excellently well fortified; yet I dare boldly affirm that if the Marechal d'Annebaut would have given credit to my words, he had infallibly done his business. I had taken a private view of it: for some years before this, Monsieur le Connestable being gone to *Leucate* to treat a Peace with the Emperor's Deputy *Granvelle*, had sent me with General *Bayard*, and President *Poyet* (who was since Chancellor) to whom the Emperor's Deputy (at the instance of Monsieur de *Veli* Embassador for the King) gave permission to go, and recreate themselves three or four days at the said *Perpignan*. At which time the said Connestable made me put my self into the habit of a Cook belonging to Monsieur de *Poyet*, to the end, that under that disguise I might discover the place; and yet I once thought my self to be discovered: however I found opportunity by the means of a *Fleming* servant to the said de *Veli*, which he had left behind him, to take an exact view of the place; for he had led me quite round the Town both without, and within, so that I was able to make a report to the Connestable of all the strength, and defects of the said City; who was pleased to tell me thereupon, that I had made a perfect discovery, as by several others, who had long been inhabitants there, he had been credibly informed.

The Sieur de Montluc sent a Spye into *Perpignan*.

Now you must know this was only a pretended divertisement of *Poyet*, and *Bayard*, who durst by no means take the Kings Engineer in their company, as the Connestable would have had them, fearing he might be discovered, and themselves, by that means, detained Prisoners: neither did they fail to relate to him afterwards the fright they were in when a *Spanish* Captain challeng'd me by my name: but I faced him out of the business, counterfeiting both my Country, and Language, and dissembling better to understand how to handle a larding-pin, than a sword, and saying that I was a Cook to Monsieur le President *Poyet*, who himself had not a word to say, for the terrible fear he was in least I should be discover'd: but General *Bayard* laugh'd the *Spanish* Captain out of his conceit, in private telling him, that he was not the first who had been so deceiv'd: but that the man he took me for, was one of the best Captains the King of *France* had. At all this story the Constable did only laugh; but I very seriously told him, that he should never make me play the Spye again so long as he liv'd. 'Tis an employment of too great danger, and that I have ever abhorred: but so it was, that at that time I plaid the Cook to discover the place; which I did exactly well, and that is the reason why I have said, that had Monsieur d'Annebaut given credit to me, he had easily taken the Town: but he would rather believe a suborned *Gascon* Mason (which the Enemy had thrust out of Town on purpose, and had order'd to give himself up, only to amuse the Marechal, and to persuade him to assault that part,

which

The Siege
raised from
before Per-
pignan.

which he did assault) and his Engineer , than any thing I could say Infomuch that we did nothing either worth writing, or relating, which fell out so much the worse , as it was the *Dauphin's* first tryal of Armes, who had a mind to do as well , as *Montieur d' Orleans* his Brother, who took *Luxemburg* : but it was no fault of his. Two days before the Camp dislodg'd, the said Marechal went round about the Town, where I shew'd *Montieur d' Estrée* who is yet living, the place where I would have had them to have made their Attaque, and that very near at hand, though the Canon, and Harquebuze shot they liberally bestow'd upon us, might reasonably have made us stand aloof: which after he had seen he cryed out, Good God, what an error have we committed! but it was then too late to repent, for the relief was already entred in, and the time of the Rains was at hand, which would have damm'd up our retreat; and yet we had enough to do as it was to draw off our Artillery, so ill a place is that Country, for an Army to move in.

During the time of this Siege the Company of *Montieur Boleves* became vacant, which *Montieur le Dauphin* sent to entreat for *Boqual* (who since is turn'd Hugonot) and I also writ to *Montieur de Valence* my Brother, who was then at the Court at *Salers*; where the King was so discontented, by reason of the ill success of this enterprize, both with the *Dauphin*, and *Montieur de Annebaut* (who had also sent to sollicite it in the behalf of another) that His Majesty would neither grant it to the one, nor the other: but was pleased to confer it upon me. The Camp being raised, *Montieur de Brissac* had *Capestaing* assign'd him for Garrison, and *Montieur de l' Orge* (Colonel of the Legionaries) *Tuchant* (the place to which they had drawn off all the ammunitions of Corn that had been left in the Camp) assigned him for his. Where three days after all the said Legionaries forsook him, nothing but their Captains remaining behind; who thereupon sent to *Montieur Brissac*, that if he did not come speedily to his relief, he should be constrain'd to abandon the said provisions, and to shift for himself: which made us march with all possible diligence, without being more then half a night only upon our way, and found him totally left alone, saving for *Messieurs de Denez*, and *Fonterailles*, and their servants.

Now there was a Castle upon the Mountain towards *Perpignan*, about a League from *Tuchant*, and on the left hand of *Milan*, and the said Seigneurs *de Brissac* and *de l' Orge* being gone out of the said *Tuchant* to hear Mass at a little Chappel about a Cross-bow shot from thence; at our coming out from Mass we heard very many Harquebuze shot at the said Castle, and discover'd a great many men about it, with a great smoak of Powder, whereupon I ask'd *Montieur de Brissac*, if he were pleas'd that I should go thither with thirty or forty of my men, to see what the matter was; who presently gave me leave so to do: wherefore without any more delay, I presently sent *la Moyenne* my Lieutenant, to get them together, and to bring me a horse, which being suddainly brought, I march'd directly towards the Castle. *Le Peloux* who was Lieutenant to *Montieur de Brissac* had a desire to follow after, as had also *Monbasin*, *St. Laurens* (a Breton) and *Fabrice*, being all Launce-passades belonging to the Company of the said Seigneur, together with fifty or threescore Soldiers of the same. I made very great hast, when so soon as the Enemy had discovered me, as I was beginning to climb the Mountain, they retreated down the other side into a plain which lies below *Tantavel*, where they clapt themselves down under the Olive trees, to stay for the rest of their fellows, that they had left behind them at *Milan*. The Captain of the Castle was *Barennes*, an Archer of the Kings Guard, who had been placed there by *Montieur de Montpezat*, and whilst the said *Barennes* was shewing me the Enemy, appear'd *Peloux* with his Soldiers, and with them a Gentleman called *Chamant*, a very brave man, so that although we knew the Enemy to be above four hundred men (as we were also assured by *Barennes*) we nevertheless concluded to go, and fight them.

This place was all Rock tufted over with a little Copse, thorough which we were to pass to get to them; wherefore we agreed, that *Peloux* should take a little path on the right hand, and I another on the left, and that the first which came up to them, in the plain, should fall upon them, the one in the Front, and the other in the Rear; which we had no sooner concluded, but that the Enemy rose up, and we discovered them all plainly at our ease. *Monbasin*, *Chamant*, *St. Laurens*, and *Fabrice* who were all on horseback, would needs go along with me, at which *Peloux* was a little discontented, forasmuch as they all belong'd to *Montieur Brissac*, as he himself did, excepting *Chamant*, who belonged to *Montieur le Dauphin*. *Artiguedieu*, and *Barennes* likewise went in my Company.

From

From the very beginning of our descent, the Enemy lost sight of us, and we of them, by reason of the wood, and of the Valley, which was pretty large; *Le Peloux* with his Guide took his way, and I mine, when so soon as I came into the Plain, I was as good as my word, for I charg'd the Enemy thorough and thorough; breaking in after such a manner amongst them, that above twenty of them at this encounter were left dead upon the place, and we pursued them fighting, as far as the bank of the River, which might be some four hundred paces or more: But when they saw us to be so few, they rallied, and as I was about to retire, march'd directly up to me, whereupon I made a halt, as they did also at the distance of four or five Pikes length only from one another, a thing that I never saw done before. As for *Peloux*, when he was got to the middle of the Mountain, he began to think that I had taken the better way, which made him suddainly to turn off, and to follow my steps: and fortune also turn'd so well for me, that as we were Pike to Pike, and Harquebuzes to Harquebuzes, at the distance I have already said, grinning and snarling at one another, like two Mastiffs when they are going to fight, *Peloux* and his Company appear'd in the plain; which so soon as the Enemy saw, they turn'd the point of their Pikes towards us, and their faces towards the River, and so fell to marching off, whilst we pursued pricking them forward with our Pikes, and pelting them with our Harquebuzes shot in their Rear: but they march'd so very close, that we could no more break into them as before; and when they came to the bank of the River they made a halt, facing about and charging their Pikes against us, so that although *Peloux*, and his Company made all the hast they could to come in to our relief, we were nevertheless constrain'd to retire fifteen or twenty paces from the Enemy, who immediately all on a thrump leapt into the River, and through water middle deep, pass'd over to the other side. *Monbasin* in this engagement was hurt with a Harquebuzes shot in his hand, of which he remain'd lame ever after, *St Laurens* and *Fabrice* had their horses kill'd under them, and mine was wounded with two thrusts of a Pike; *la Moyenne*, my Lieutenant, was wounded with two Harquebuzes shots in one arm, *Chamant*, who was lighted off his horse, had three thrusts of Pikes in his two thighs, and *Artiguedieu* one Harquebuzes shot, and one thrust of a Pike in one thigh; to be short, of betwixt thirty and five and thirty that we were, there remain'd only five or six unhurt, and only three dead upon the place. The Enemy lost one Serjeant of great repute amongst them, together with twenty or five and twenty others kill'd, and above thirty wounded, as we were told the next day by two *Gascon* Soldiers who came over to us. In the mean time *Messieurs de Brissac* and *de l'Orge* doubting it would fall out as it did, mounted to horse, and came so opportunely to the Castle of *Tantavel*, that they saw all the fight, and were in so great despair at the Charge I had made, that they gave us twice or thrice for lost: and very sorely rebuked *Peloux*, for not having observ'd the agreement we had concluded amongst us; which if he had done, we had infallibly cut them all to pieces, and brought away their two Colours; yet I am apt to believe it might not be altogether his fault (for he was a very brave Gentleman) but his Guides that led him the worse way, as *Peloux* himself since told me. However so it fell out, that the field was mine, with the loss of three men only, and not one of the Gentlemen dyed.

Soon after the Baron *de la Garde* came to *Nice* with the *Turkish* Army, conducted by *Barbarossa*, which consisted of an hundred or six score Gallies, a thing that all the Christian Princes who took part with the Emperor, made a hainous business of, that the King our Master should call in the *Turk* to his assistance; though I am of opinion that towards an Enemy all advantages are good; and for my part (God forgive me) if I could call all the Devils in Hell to beat out the brains of an Enemy, that would beat out mine, I would do it with all my heart. Upon this occasion *Monsieur de Valence*, my Brother, was dispatch'd away to *Venice*, to palliate and excuse this proceeding of ours to the Republick, who of all others seem'd to be most offended at it, and the King would by no means lose their Alliance; who made them an Oration in *Italian*, which I have thought fit to insert here, until he shall think fit to oblige us with his own History; for I cannot believe that a man of so great learning, as he is reputed to be, will dye without writing something; since I who know nothing at all, take upon me to scribble. The Oration was this.

Oration of
the Bishop of
Valence to the
Senate of Ve-
nice.

THe Emperor having been the cause of all the ruines, miseries, and calamities, which have befallen Christendom for these many years; it is a thing (most illustrious Princes) which to every one ought to appear exceeding strange, that his Ministers should be so impudent, and frontless, as to lay the blame thereof to the ibrice Christian King my Lord and Master, and unjustly condemn him for keeping an Ambassador resident in the Court of Constantinople: But I would fain ask those people, whether they can imagine that the practices which have been set on foot by the Command of the Emperor, and the King of the Romans with the Grand Signior for ten years past, have been kept so secret, that the greatest part of Christendom are not fully enformed thereof. Does not every one know what Truces, and what treaties of Peace (not general, but particular) have been concluded, and what offers have been several times made to pay yearly a vast Tribute to the Great Turk, for the Kingdom of Hungary? and yet he makes it a case of Conscience to endure, that a little King should hold that Kingdom under the favour and protection of the Turk, as a thing inconsistent with Christianity, and unbecoming a Christian Prince? To which I could truly add, that at the time when the Peace was concluded betwixt your most Serene Republick and the Turk, the King of the Romans, by the secret practices of his Agents, did all that in him lay, to hinder that Treaty, as by the several Letters and Dispatches that have been intercepted, does most manifestly appear.

The same Ministers of the Emperor do think also, that they discharge themselves from all blame, in keeping a clutter, and farcing their Posts and Gazetts, (as their manner is) with observations of the long abode that the Naval Army of the Grand Signior has, for some months, made in the Ports of France, and under that pretence would, by their passionate calumnies, impose upon the world a new Article of Faith, to wit, that no Prince, for his own defence, either can or ought to derive succours from such, as are of a Religion contrary to his own; not taking notice, that in condemning the King, my Lord and Master, they at the same time accuse David, a valiant King, and a holy Prophet, who seeing himself persecuted by Saul, fled away to Achish, who was an Idolater, and a profess'd Enemy to the Law of God; and not only so, but some time after, moreover rank'd himself in the Squadrons of the Infidels, even then, when they went to fight with the people of his own Religion. They also condemn Asa King of Juda, who called into his aid the King of Syria, to deliver him from the oppression of the King of Israel. They moreover reprob Constantine, a most Christian Prince, and he, who of all the Emperors, has best deserved of the Christian Commonweal, who in most of his expeditions, carried along with him a great number of Idolatrous Goths in his Army. They likewise taxe Boniface, so highly commended by St. Augustine in his Epistles, who, for his own defence, and perhaps to revenge some injury receiv'd, called into Affrick the Vandals, profess'd enemies to our Religion.

They caluminate Narfes (the slave of Justinian, a very valiant, but, above all, a very religious Captain, as may be concluded from the testimony of Saint Gregory, and also by the Churches he has built, both in this illustrious City, and that of Ravenna,) who called in the Lumbards to his aid, a people, at that time, abhorring the name of Christian. Arcadius Emperor of Constantinople (allowed by all Historians for a Prince equally religious, and wise) having in the latter end of his days a desire to substitute some Governor, and Protector, that might be sufficient to preserve the Dignity and Authority of the Empire, turn'd his thoughts towards the King of Persia, an Idolater, and entreated him in his last Will to accept the Tutition, and Protection both of his Son, and the Empire. A choice that was singularly approved by all the Christian Princes of that time, and so much the more, for that the King of Persia not only accepted the charge, but moreover worthily acquitted himself of his trust to the hour of his death. Before Heraclius suffer'd himself to be infected with the poyson of Heresy, he served himself in an infinite number of Wars with Saracen Soldiers. Basile, and Constantine sons to John Emperor of Constantinople, took Apulia, and Calabria, by the means and assistance of a great number of Saracens, which themselves had first driven out of the Isle of Candie. I could say as much of Frederick, who by the help of the Saracens, Lorded it over the greatest part of Italy. I could present before you the Example of Henry, and Frederick, brothers to the King of Castile, who in the time of Pope Clement the fourth, accompanied with Conradin, called the Saracens, both by land and sea, not for the security and defence of their own Country, but to drive the French out of Italy, and with the same Army of Barbarians, in a short time, made themselves Masters of a great part of Sicily. I could speak of Ludovico Sforza, who with several other Princes of Italy, made use of the Forces of Bajazet.

What shall I say of Maximilian of the house of Austria, who not to defend himself, but to ruine your state (most illustrious Senators) tryed to nettle, and incite the Turk against you,

you, to your great prejudice and ruine? as it is faithfully recorded by Signior Andrea Mocenigo, one of your own Historians, together with the remedies you were fain to oppose in that exigency, and distress. If yet neither natural reason, nor examples drawn from holy Scripture, and Christian History were sufficient to confirm you in, or to perswade you into the truth of this cause, I could accompany them with several others, which I am willing to omit, both because I would not tire your Lordships patience, and also for that I believe there can remain no manner of scruple in you, considering, that, by the Examples before alledged, I have already discover'd the weak foundation of that Article of Faith, lately forged by the Imperialists, to serve for their own ends. And which is more, I do say, and will maintain, that the most Christian King my Lord and Sovereign, by the Example of so many renowned and religious Princes, may, without any prejudice to the place he holds, or to the Title of most Christian, which he bears, serve himself in all affairs and necessities, with the aid and assistance of the Grand Signior. And if this with truth and reason may be understood of all his necessary affairs; how much more ought his most Christian Majesty, not only be excused, but highly applauded, who for no need, how great soever he has to defend himself, for no single revenge His Majesty might desire for so many injuries done, and so many wrongs received, so many assassinations, and slaughters executed upon his people, by the Emperor, or by his procurement, would accept of no other succours, but only those which we by experience see are to all Christians, of greater utility, than disadvantage? And if any one of those who adhere to the Emperor's party should demand how the Turkish Army can remain in our Ports, no less for the benefit of Italy, than for our own particular convenience; I could ask him by way of answer, which way he can prove that Christendom has received any detriment by our having received, and refresh'd this Naval Army in our Havens? To which I am certain the wisest, and most affectionate of the Imperial party could return me no answer, unless it were some one, who delights to argue for controversies sake, and takes more pleasure in hearing himself talk, than that he has really a desire to enter into a serious examination of things, to understand the negotiation, and to be enform'd of the reasons thereof. But that we may not leave any thing, that may beget the least imaginable doubt in the minds of such, as are not perfectly inform'd of this Affair, I shall handle the point as succinctly, and with as much brevity, as I can.

So oft as your Serenity has, by the Emperor's Embassadors, been applyed unto, for leave to pass thorough the Territories of any of your Seignior, with his Alman, Italian, or Spanish Forces, immediately thereupon there have been heard a thousand outcries, and complaints of Rapes, Assassinations, and other Riots and disorders of their Soldiers, and it is but a few months since, that the Germans, who pretended to go to Carignan to keep their Easter, to outdo the villany of those, who before had so barbarously treated your subjects in their persons, and so lewdly spoiled them of their Estates, displaid part of their rage, and Insolence against the Church, to the great disgrace, and contempt of Christian Religion, cutting off the ears, nose, and arms of the Crucifix, and other Images representing the Saints who are in Heaven.

This numerous and mighty Army (most Serene Prince) departed from Constantinople, being composed of Soldiers who were strangers to our Religion, and being designed, and accordingly sent for the relief of the King, my Lord and Master, sailed thorough the midst of your Islands, landed in the Dominions of the Church, pass'd thorough the Territories of the Siennois, and Genoeses (people both of them, greater favourers of the Emperor's Greatness, than friends to their own proper liberty) yet is it not to be perceiv'd, nor can any man be found to complain of any insolence offer'd to him: but on the contrary, all men have been treated with all humanity, and free passage granted to all those they met upon the Seas, and just payment made for all the provisions they were necessitated to take for the support of the Army upon their March. An effect of moderation in that rough sort of men, which must chiefly be attributed to the presence, and dexterity of Captain Polin, the King's Embassador; and with so great advantage to him, that never in times past, did either Turkish or Christian Army behave themselves so modestly upon such an occasion.

Who is he (most Serene Prince) that can, or will deny, but that had not this Army been entertain'd by the King, my Master, for the defence of his Frontiers, Christendom had been assaulted by it to their infinite damage? Who is he that will not judge, that this Army (its puissance considered) must have triumph'd over an infinite number of Christian Souls, together with some City of great importance, had not we converted that power to our own advantage, which otherwise must necessarily have succeeded to the general advancement of the Grand Signior's affairs, and to the private benefit of his Captains, who are Enemies to our Faith? This Army then being a Body disposed to Enterprize, and capable of performing high exploits, any man of a sound judgment will confess, that it has been of much greater advantage to Christendom, that it has been employed in the service of his Majesty, my King and Master, than that they had march'd to invade the Christian borders upon their own account. So that besides that it was

needful, and necessary for the King, my Master, to serve himself with this Army, therewith to correct the insolence of the Emperor's people, who had already seized upon four of his Gallies at Toulon, it may moreover be affirmed without reply, that to this private benefit of ours, is conjoynd the publick utility of all Christendom.

I flatter myself (most Serene Prince) clearly to have demonstrated to you, and to have confirm'd by evident reasons, and infallible Arguments, these two principal things. First that the King without prejudice to his title of most Christian, has accepted the succours that have been sent him by the Grand Signior: and in the second place, that these succours so sent have been of greater profit, than disadvantage to the Christian Common-weal: to which I shall add a third, and that with as much brevity, as the importance of the subject will permit; and that is, that the Kings Majesty has not accepted these forces, either out of any ambition of Rule, or out of revenge for injuries received; neither to enrich himself with the spoils of others; nor to recover what has been unjustly usurped from himself; but has only entertained them for his own defence, that is (Illustrious Senators) for the defence of his Kingdom, which the Emperor both by open violence, and clandestine practice, by all sorts of intelligences, and treacheries, contrary to all reason and justice, has evermore labour'd to overthrow: and yet his Ministers are not ashamed to say, that his Cæsarean Majesty has had no other motive to invade the Kingdom of France, but only to break the friendship that was said to be contracted betwixt the Kings Majesty, and the Grand Signior. O tender Consciences! O holy pretences! fit indeed to delude the credulous, and ignorant, but that will hardly pass (Illustrious Senators) with you, who in your admirable and celebrated wisdom, even before I could open my lips, must needs be satisfied in your own bosoms of the contrary, and in your prudence easily discern the foundation of this War to have been no other than a design to ruine that Kingdom, which for these thousand years past has approved it self the true and willing refuge of the oppressed, and the only Sanctuary of all sorts of afflicted persons. I would fain know of these men, who invent these subtil Arguments, what holy motive of Faith spurr'd on the Emperor, combined with the King of England, to invade France on the side of Champagne and Picardy, an expedition that only ended in the burning of some few inconsiderable Villages, and the Siege of Mezieres, very dishonorable for him? What devotion prick'd him on, at a time when Italy liv'd in peace, and assurance, by reason that Naples, Millan, Florence, and Genoa were possessed by several Princes, to come and shuffle all things into discord and confusion? What Religion (I say) moved him to league and combine himself with Pope Leo, to ravish away the state of Millan, which in a direct line of succession appertained to the Children of my King and Master? What mighty zeal for Religion prompted him to cause our King to be murdered by means of a Prince of France, whom, to that end, he had suborned with prayers and tears? when seeing his execrable practice, (before it came to execution) to be wholly detected, he sent the Seigneur de Bourbon, with an infinite number of people into France, in hope to effect that by open force, which (the bounty and providence of God not permitting him) by secret treacheries he could not bring to pass? What inspiration of the holy Ghost might it be, that seven years since conducted the Emperor, with seventeen thousand Foot, and ten thousand Horse, to invade the Kingdom of France, then, when he entred by Picardy, and Provence? What command of the Gospel can ever be found out, such as these men have found, who make a shew of so great devotion to the Christian Name, that can justify to the world the confederacy betwixt the Emperor and the King of England, especially the said King by the proper solicitations, and pursuit of his Cæsarean Majesty being at that time by the Pope declared a Schismatick, a Heretick, and a Rebel? A conspiracy that cannot be baptiz'd by the name of a necessary succour: but an unjust, wicked, and detestable confederacy plotted betwixt them two, to the end that they might divide betwixt them a Christian, and a Chatholick Kingdom, which in all times, when any occasion has presented it self for the propagation of our Faith, has ever shew'd it self prodigal, both of its Blood, and Treasure.

He means
when Henry
the eighth re-
pudiated
Queen Katha-
rine.

But the whole world (most Serene Princes) were too little to satisfy his appetite of Rule; so precipitously is he hurried on by his Ambition and Revenge. Would he not have been sensible of the shameful affront put upon him by the English King in the person of his Aunt, had not the design to subjugate all Christendom transported him to forget that outrage? How often, to frustrate the Turkish attempts, and to prevent the manifest ruine of Hungary and Germany, have means been tryed, and endeavours used, to procure a peace and union amongst those Princes, and still in vain? Whereas now all particular animosities, and private interests, the respect to Religion, the common desire of liberty, the obligation of so many benefits anciently received from our Forefathers, and of late from us, laid aside, and forgot; they are, to our great prejudice, confederated, and united like Herod and Pilate, who from mortal Enemies that they were, became friends, and Associates only in order to the persecution of Jesus Christ.

Shall then this Emperor (most Serene Prince) go about to possess himself of the Kingdom of France

France, and to offend this King, who, after ſo many injuries receiv'd, ſo amicably and ſo freely conſented to the ten years Truce? Shall the Emperor go about to ruine this Prince, who after having been ſo many times unjuſtly invaded in his own Kingdom, and as it were coming from the Obſequies of that moſt Illuſtrious and Serene Dauphin, his Son (ſo baſely by the Emperors corruptions poiſoned) nevertheleſs with the reſt of his Children, and Princes of the Blood, at the peril of his life, went even into the Emperors own Gally, by that ſecurity to manifeſt to him, how much the peace, ſo neceſſary to all Chriſtendom, was by his Maſteſty coveted and deſired? Shall the Emperor go about to ruine, burn, and put to ſpoil this Kingdom, in his paſſage thorough which, he was ſo welcom'd, treated, honored and careſſed, as if he had been an Angel deſcended from Heaven? Shall he attempt, by all undue and all violent ways, to make himſelf Sovereign of this Kingdom wherein for fifty days together, by the courteſie, and bounty of the King my Lord and Maſter, he ſaw himſelf more highly honored, and reſpected, than their own natural Prince, with a power to command all things more abſolute, than if he had been in his own Palace? Shall the Almans go about to make Hinds, and Slaves of thoſe, who for the conſervation of the German liberty, have ſo liberally expoſed themſelves, at the vaſt expence, and loſs of their ſubſtance, and the effuſion of their own blood? Shall the Germans and the Engliſh go about to ruine the Religion, that we with our valiant Armies, and by the Doctrine of an infinite number of men, eminent for piety and learning, have aſſerted and publiſh'd to all the world? Shall the Spaniards a people whom ſo often, and by dint of Arms we have reduced to the Chriſtian Faith, go about in revenge to compel us to forſake that Religion, which ſo long, and with ſo great honor to the name of Chriſt, we have maintained and upheld? If it muſt be ſo that (contrary to all duty and right) we muſt be abandoned by the reſt of the Chriſtian world (which God avert) we who are the Subjects of the King, my Lord and Maſter, may with great reaſon and juſtice, cry unto God for vengeance againſt them all, for ſo foul an ingratitude.

Theſe are returns, by no means ſuitable to the merits of our Forefathers, for (having by the divine aſſiſtance) gain'd ſo many ſignal victories for Chriſtendom under the conduct of Charles Martel in thoſe times when they fought with, and cut in pieces fifty thouſand Saracens, that were come into Spain. Theſe are by no means fit rewards for the deſert of our Anceſtors, who (by the favour of the Almighty) acquir'd great advantages for Chriſtendom, at the time, when by their Forces under the conduct of Charlemain the Infidels and Saracens were driven both out of Spain, and a great part of Aſia. Theſe are by no means acknowledgments proportionable to the reputation our people (by the Grace of God) acquir'd in the time of Urban the ſecond, who without any difficulty, or the leaſt contradiction, diſpoſed our King, his Princes, Nobility, Gentry, and generally the whole body of the Kingdom, againſt the adverſaries of our Faith; inſomuch that altogether, and through our aſſiſtance, they conquer'd the Kingdom of Jeruſalem, and the Holy Land. Theſe are by no means fit recompences for the deſert of ſo many expeditions againſt the enemies of our Faith, fortunately undertaken by our Progenitors, under the Reigns of Philip and Charles of Valois. And when his Holineſs ſhall ſee ſo many Nations confederated, with a miſchievous intent to ruine the reſt of Chriſtendom, and reſolved to oppreſs this Kingdom, which of all others has beſt merited of the Chriſtian Common-weal, I cannot doubt, but that he will lend us ſuch ſuccours, and aſſiſtance as he ſhall judge neceſſary for our protection, and defence. And ſhould his Holineſs do otherwiſe, he would do very much againſt himſelf, and contrary to the duty of an Italian, a Chriſtian, and a Prelate. Of an Italian, forasmuch as our Holy Father does very well underſtand, that the ſervitude, and calamity of Italy, can proceed from no other accident, than from the ruine and deſolation of the Kingdom of France: Of a Chriſtian forasmuch as the name of Chriſt having in all Ages been defended and propagated by this Kingdom, and it being at this time invaded by the means and ambition of the Emperor, and ſo many Nations ſtrangers to our Religion, it cannot in this exigency be deſerted by any but ſuch, as are no very good friends to the Chriſtian Faith: Of a Prelate forasmuch as it were contrary to the duty of his Holineſs, being, as he is, thoroughly informed, and very well in his own knowledg aſſured, that the Emperor, obſtinate in his own will, and reſolute to ſubjugate both the French, Italians, and all other Chriſtians, would never hearken to any overture of accommodation, that has by his Holineſs been propounded to him. Whereas on the contrary the King my Maſter (equally deſirous of his own, and the publick quiet) has often offered to ſubmit all his intereſts, and differences to the judgment of our Holy Father. To diſcharge then the office of a true Prelate, and a true Judge, may he not take arms againſt him, who has not the confidence to deny, but that he is the ſole perturbator of the publick peace, and the univerſal good? Which though his Holineſs ſhould forbear to do, yet to reprove his ingratitude in this reſpect, the very bones of Gregory the third, Stephen the ſecond, Adrian the firſt, Stephen the fourth, Gregory the ninth, Gelafius the ſecond, Innocent the ſecond, Eugenius the firſt, Innocent the fourth, Urban, and ſeveral other Popes would ſtart up; who being perſecuted, partly by
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the Enemies of the Faith, and partly by the Emperors, have been relieved by the Forces of this most Christian Kingdom, and by the Treasure of this Crown, as the sacred Anchor of all Christendom, and have been protected, and restored to the holy Chair. The bones and ashes of Pope Clement would rise up, who being, contrary to all reason, and equity, reduced to the extreme calamity by the Emperor (who at this very time, allyed and confederated with Hereticks, prepares, and stirs up so many Tragedies, for good, and true Christians) was delivered from all his oppressions by the arms of the King my Master, and that at the price of a great number of his people.

I do not believe (Illustrious Senators) that you have in the least forgot the Union, and Alliance, which for seven years past, has been so inviolably observed betwixt your Illustrious Republick, and the Crown of France. Can you forget the strict league that was maintained betwixt you and us in the late Wars? Neither can you have forgot that Enterprize wherein you, and we, in so short time, conquered Constantinople. Can you then endure, that a Nation your forefathers have so loved, honored, and esteemed, should be weakened by the means of your Enemies; a people with whom (neither you, nor we being degenerated from the virtue of our Predecessors) you may yet expect to perform more exploits; and such as may be for the enlargement of your own Dominions, and the universal benefit of all Christendom. I hope you consider (Illustrious Senators) with your wonted prudence, that if (as God forbid) any sinister accident should befall the King, my Lord and Master, the liberty of your most serene Republick, would be without all manner of Remedy, exposed as a prey to him, who aims at nothing less, than to subject us both to the same servile Yoke, as those who have ever been united for the defence of the common liberty. Which though you should not do, yet the very bones of our forefathers would rise up in our favour, those Ancestors who seeing Philip Maria Visconti to have subdued Genoa, and already to have reduced all Tuscany to a deplorable condition, not able to suffer so great an injustice, nor to permit the Territories of so great Princes to be invironed by so dangerous an Enemy, with the Assistance of the Florentines, retook Genoa, and by this means, not only frustrated and repelled the Ambition of that Tyrant, but moreover with the singular applause, and obligation of all Italy, recovered Brescia, Bergamo, and Cremona.

I flatter myself by the remembrance of so many glorious actions, and by so many great examples of the French fidelity, piety and honor, to have been so happy, as to have removed all difficulties, and impediments, wherewith by the calumnies of these of the Imperial party your Lordships may have been prepossessed, and as a most humble servant to you all, do beseech, and conjure you (most illustrious Senators) to consider the miserable estate of Italy, and generally of all Christendom, and before you resolve or declare for either party, not only to hear the most Reverend, and Illustrious Cardinal of Ferrara: but also thoroughly to weigh, and examine what he shall propose to you in the behalf of the King my Master. And once more most humbly beseech your Serene Highness with your accustomed Prudence to consider the Emperor, not only as the cause of the ruine, and misery of Italy: but moreover to look upon him as the Insidiator of the liberty of this most Serene Republick. Acknowledg, acknowledg, I beseech you, the house of Austria for your Capital Enemy, and such a one, as has at all times used all sorts of endeavour to encroach upon, and to usurp the Territories and Dominions of others, and especially those of your most Serene Republick. And on the contrary that most Christian King, my Lord and Master, for your ancient, faithful, and affectionate friend, and remember with what promptitude, and alacrity, he has ever divided his Forces with you, for the recovery of your places unjustly possessed by those of the House of Austria, of which the recovery of Brescia, and Verona may serve for a sufficient proof. Neither is there any cause to fear, that such a friendship can by any means suffer it self to be violated, or dissolved; forasmuch as there having been betwixt that Crown of France, and this Illustrious Seignoury no kind of difference, either ancient, or of later date, and the one holding nothing of the other, the occasions must consequently be wanting upon which the amities of Princes de ordinarily dissolve: but on the other side, their Unity, Alliance, and Conformities are such that the ruine of the one does threaten, and almost assure the calamity, and dissolution of the other.

What opinion the Senate might retain of so nice an affair, I am not able to say, neither do I know whether my Brothers eloquence made them approve of a thing, at which they had before been so highly scandalized: but this I know, that I have ever heard that action highly censured both then and since: and in plain truth, I do believe our affairs were not much better'd by it, but it is not for me to meddle with so great affairs. So soon as these mighty succours of the Turk arrived, every one thought the whole Earth had not been capable to receive them, such judgments men make of things before they come to be tried.

Montieur d' Anguien who was at that time the Kings Lieutenant in Provence, having gathered

gathered together some Ensigns of *Provençals*, came to sit down before *Nice*; where after a great Battery had been made, the assault was given by the *Turks*, and *Provençals* together: but they were repulsed. In the end the Town surrendered, but not the Castle. In the mean time the Duke of *Savoy* solicited the Marquis de *Guaft* for relief, who accordingly with a good Army put himself into the Field. The *Turks* very much despised our people, yet I do not believe they could beat us number for number: they are, 'tis true, stronger men, more obedient and more patient of any hardship, than we are; but I cannot allow them to be more valiant; they have indeed one advantage over us: which is, that they study nothing but War. *Barbareffa* at this Siege was very much displeased, and cast out very tart and passionate language, especially when we were constrain'd to borrow of him powder, and bullet, inso much that he re embarked himself, and departed, without doing any great feats, as also the winter indeed drew on; but they behaved themselves very civilly towards all our confederates in their retreat, and the *Provençals* likewise disbanded.

I had forgot to tell you, that after the ill success at *Perpignan*, the King sent us orders to march straight away into *Piedmont*, and Monsieur d' *Annebaut* (who was Admiral) went to besiege *Cony*, where we sped as ill as at *Perpignan*, and were very well drub'd in giving the assault, for not having well discover'd the breach; and where I saw the brave and valiant Captain *Santo Pedro Corso* behave himself admirably well, who was almost wounded to death. The said Admiral having taken some few little places, and seeing the winter at hand, returned back into *France*, leaving Monsieur de *Foities* in the quality of the Kings Lieutenant there, whom he sent to Garrison at *Gavaret*; and we to *Savillan*, where Monsieur de *Termes* was Governor, who was very glad of our coming, for he stood in need of us. During our abode there, several attempts were made both upon *Turin*, and upon us, and we likewise attempted something upon the Enemy, wherein our fortune was sometimes better and sometimes worse: but there being nothing that particularly concerned me, I shall pass them over, and indeed should I give a relation of all the Actions wherein I have been engaged, I should never have done.

After that the *Turks* were retir'd, as has been said, the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Marquis de *Guaft* laid Siege to *Montdevi*, where the Seigneur de *Dros* a *Piedmontois* was Governor, having with him four *Italian* Companies, and two of *Swisse*, who there behaved themselves exceedingly well, though it be none of their trade to keep places, and there were given two or three Scalados. Monsieur de *Foities*, had no possible means to relieve it, for the King had at that time very few Soldiers in *Piedmont*; and the *Swisse*, who had lost their Captains and Lieutenants with Canon shots, began to mutiny against the Seigneur de *Dros* the Governor, inso much that he was constrain'd to capitulate. Now you must know, that the Marquis de *Guaft* (who was one of the most cautelous and subtle Captains of his time) to take from him all hopes of relief, had counterfeited Letters from Monsieur de *Foities*, wherein he writ him word to shift the best he could for himself, there being no possibility to relieve him: which coming to the Governors hands, and the cheat not being to be discover'd, and the *Swisse* at the same time beginning to mutiny, he surrendered the Town upon condition, to march away with Bag, and Baggage. However the Articles (to the great dishonor of the Marquis de *Guaft*) were very ill observed, and the Seigneur de *Dros* pursued, who sav'd himself upon a *Spanish* Horse, and it was well for him that he did so; for all the Gold in *Europe* would not have sav'd his life, for the hatred the Duke of *Savoy* had conceived against him, being that he, who was his Subject, had revolted to the Enemies side. 'Twas said that he made his escape in the habit of a Priest by the means of an *Italian* Soldier, who had formerly serv'd him: but I believe it was after the manner I have related: but this I can say without lying, that he was one of the bravest men, and the greatest Wits, that ever came out of *Piedmont*, and dyed afterwards very honorably at the Battel of *Serzoller*.

The same day that *Montdevi* was surrendered, I had departed from *Savillan* (to the great regret of Monsieur de *Termes*) with five and twenty Foot, to try if I could find means to put my self into it; for with a great party it would be a matter of extraordinary difficulty; and took with me a Guide, who would undertake to conduct me by the deep vallies, and by a River that runs by *Montdevi*, in which we were to march a great way together, the water being but knee deep, and I do believe by that way I might have got in, though it would have signified nothing if I had, forasmuch as I must have done as the rest did, considering that the strangers by their number gave the Law: but they dearly paid for't, many of them being massacred at their marching out of the

Nice besieged
by the *Turks*.

Barbareffa dis-
gusted.

Siege of *Cony*.

Santo Pedro
Corso.

The *Swisse*
not good for
the keeping of
places.

A device of
the Marquis
de *Guaft*.

Mount *Dev*
surrendered.

Commenda-
tions of the
Seigneur de
Dros.

A combat
near Maupas.

the Town. I had moreover drawn out ten Soldiers, over and above my five and twenty, to convoy me over the *Maupas*, a place so call'd, and within half a mile of *Marennés*, where a man should hardly ever fail of meeting some of the Garrison of *Fossan*. And above, and on the right hand of *Maupas*, there stood an empty Inn, from whence one might discover all that came from *Savillan* straight to *Cairas*, and from *Cairas* to the said *Savillan*. As I descended therefore into the plain that leads directly to *Maupas*, I was there aware of threescore *Italian* Soldiers of *Fossan*, that were scouting towards that Inn, which stands upon an eminence, and presently saw the Party move, who made hast to gain the *Maupas* on that side towards *Cairas*, to fight me in that straight, which made me turn off on the right hand with intent to fall upon their Rear, so soon as I should arrive at the Inn; when they perceiving my design, endeavour'd to recover the road of *Fossan* to retire: but I pursued them so close, that I constrain'd them to take a house, which had a stable directly opposite to it, to which I set fire; who thereupon seeing themselves lost, they began to cry out for Quarter, casting themselves headlong, some out of the Windows, and some by the door, of which my Soldiers dispatch'd some in revenge of one of their companions, very much beloved by them, who was kill'd, and two more wounded, the rest I sent back to *Savillan* bound together with match, forasmuch as they were more in number, than we that took them. I went thence straight to *Cairas*, and at the Mill below *Cairas* found Monsieur de Cental, Governor of the said *Cairas*, who told me that *Montdevi* was surrendred, having yet the Letters in his hand, that had been sent him to that effect. I then presently turned about to recover *Savillan*, and to carry the news to Monsieur de Termes, that he might send it to Monsieur de Boitieres: but as I was on this side *Cairas*, and upon the skirts of the plain near unto some houses there called *les Rodies*, looking behind me I saw a Troop of Horse, that came fromwards *Fossan*, along by the meadow leading towards *Albe* which they then held: which made me to halt at those houses, to see what they would do; in which posture, they drawing nearer, discover'd me; and attempted to come up to me by a little ascent there was, enclosed with hedges on either side: but when I saw them advanced half up the Ascent, I sent out four or five Harquebusiers, who, firing upon them, shot one of their Horses, whereupon they very fairly faced about. Which I seeing, and concluding it was for fear, advanced boldly into the plain, where I had not march'd five hundred paces, but I discovered them again in the said plain (for they had passed a little lower out of sight) being fourteen Launcers, and eight Harquebusiers on horseback, with another who came after leading the wounded horse. I had in all but five and twenty Soldiers, of which seven were Pikes, and Captain *Favas* and my self each of us a Halbert on our necks: Their Harquebusiers came up at a good round trot to charge us, firing all the way as they came, as some of ours also did at them, and their Launces made a shew as if they would charge in amongst us; but it was very faintly; for upon the firing of our Harquebusiers they made a halt, and gave way, at which we took heart, and march'd boldly up to them with good smart claps of Harquebuzes shot, upon which one of their men falling dead to the ground, they very fairly left him behind them, and descending once more into the plain retreated directly towards *Albe*. And thus I retir'd to *Savillan*, it being two hours within night before I got thither, which I thought fit to commit to writing, to the end, that other Captains may take exemple whenever Horse comes to charge the Foot, never to spend more than half of their shot, and reserve the other half for the last extream, which being observ'd, they can very hardly be defeated without killing a great number of the Enemy, who will never venture to break in whilst they see the Harquebusiers ready presented to fire upon them; who being resolute men, by the favour of any little bush, or brake, will hold the Cavalry long in play, the one still firing whilst the other is charging again. For our parts we were all resolv'd never to yield; but rather to fight it out with the sword, fearing they would revenge what we had done in the morning, for the four horse that escap'd to *Fossan* had carried back the news of their defeat.

So soon as Monsieur de Termes understood that *Montdevi* was taken, he resolved in the morning to put himself into *Beme*, which he accordingly did, where being arriv'd he there found two companies of *Swisse*, which were there in Garrison (having receiv'd also the others of *Montdevi*) who immediately abandoned *Beme*, and went to *Cairas*, leaving only the Count's own Company, another of *Italians*, and that of Captain *Renovare*. From thence Monsieur de Termes dispatch'd away a Messenger to me on horseback, writing me word, that if ever I would do the King a timely service, I should immediately come away, and this was the next day after the said Seigneur arrived at *Beme*, which was *Sunday*, and we were but just come from *Mals*.

After

After therefore having eaten a ſnap or two, I immediately put my ſelf into the field to go thither; yet cou'd I not make ſo much haſt; but that it was above three hours within night before I got thither: it being neceſſary for me to paſs thorough uneaſie valleys, forasmuch as we believ'd the Town already to be beſieged, all the Enemies Camp being at *Carru*, but three little miles from *Beme*, and they having skirmiſh'd all the day before the Town. By good fortune Monsieur de St. *Julian* Colonel of the *Swiſſe*, was at the ſaid *Beme*, it being his Garrifon, and Monsieur d' *Auſſun* alſo, who was come to give him a viſit, and to ſee what would be the iſſue of the Siege of *Montdevi*: but it was impoſſible for the ſaid St. *Julian* to detain the *Swiſſe*, for I met all the four Companies already within half a mile of *Cairas*. I had ſo much honor done me, that both the Count, and the Counteſs his Mother, together with ſeveral other great perſons, came to meet me at the Gates of the City, who were very glad of my coming, expecting in the morning to be beſieged; but two days after my arrival their Camp march'd away toward *Trinitat*; having caſt a Bridge over the River, near to *Foſſan*; and the morning that the Camp remov'd, five or ſix light horſe of Monsieur de *Termes*, and four or five Gentlemen belonging to the Count de *Beme* (who ſerv'd for Guides) with five or ſix Harquebuſiers on horſeback of mine, went in purſuit of their Camp. It was ſo great a miſt that they could ſcarce ſee one another, which was the reaſon that they went to the very head of their Artillery, and took the Commiſſary (whom they call the Captain of the Artillery;) and the day before Meſſieurs de *Termes*, d' *Auſſun*, and de St. *Julian* were gone away, having had intelligence that the Enemy were making this Bridge; whereof Monsieur de St. *Julian* went ſtraight to *Cairas*, where the *Swiſſe* likewise would not abide, but went thence to *Carignan*; Monsieur de *Termes* who doubted alſo they might go to *Savillan*, of which he was Governor, went thither; and Meſſieur d' *Auſſun* went in great haſt directly to *Turin*; In ſhort every one was in fear of his own charge.

The Sieur de
Montluc puts
himſelf into
Beme.

The ſaid Bridge was further advanc'd than was imagin'd, for thoſe of *Foſſan* made it in three or four days, that their Camp lay at *Carru*, and at the time that the Commiſſary was taken, the greateſt part of the Army was already paſſ'd over, and was encamp'd towards *Marennas*; particularly the Battaillon of the *Germans*, who were quarter'd in the Caſtle, and the out-houſes of the Palace of Meſſire *Phillibert Canelous*, a Gentleman of *Savillan*.

Monsieur de *Termes* had brought with him to *Beme* Monsieur de *Caillac*, the Commiſſary of the Artillery, who would needs ſtay with me out of reſpect to the great friendſhip betwixt us (which does yet continue) and we were in deſpair of ever getting any thing out of the ſaid Commiſſary priſoner, till it grew to be very late, and then he told, and aſſured us, that the Army was gone to beſiege *Savillan*: At which Monsieur de *Caillac* and I were almoſt at our wits end; for the ſaid Sieur de *Caillac* had his reſidence more at the ſaid *Savillan*, than at any other place, and I alſo, being it was my Garrifon, and where I had continued for ſeven or eight months before. In the end we both of us reſolv'd to go put our ſelves into it at all hazards and adventures that might befall. I had five and twenty Soldiers of mine own on horſeback, which I took together with four or five more of Monsieur de *Termes*, which he had left at *Beme* (to the great grief of the Count, who would never be perſuaded to permit Captain *Favas*, and the reſt of the Company to depart) and about two hours within night, we arriv'd at *Cairas*, where we ſpoke with Monsieur *Cental*, whom we found in a very great chaſe, for that the *Swiſſe* had that day forſook him, and he told us that it was very great odds we ſhould find the Camp lodg'd in the Countrey houſes belonging to *Savillan*, the *Germans* excepted, who were quarter'd as I have ſaid, and took up all the ſpace betwixt that and *Marennas*, thorough which we were to paſs; for my other way it was all ditches and Rivolets very troubleſom to paſs, eſpecially having no Guide with us, which we had not provided our ſelves of, by reaſon we all of us very well know the ordinary way. However we paſſ'd thorough the middle of the Village of *Marennas*, without any encounter at all (forasmuch as the Enemies Cavalry was yet about *Foſſan*) and ſo came to *Savillan*, about two hours after midnight, where at the Gate of the Town we found Captain *Chareze*, Brother to *Boquemar*, whom Monsieur de *Termes* ſent to Monsieur *Boitieres*, deſiring him to aſſure him, that we were all reſolv'd to dye, or to preſerve the place.

Monsieur de *Caillac*, and I then went to find out Monsieur de *Termes* at his Quarters, where ſtealing upon him before he heard any thing of us, we found him writing down the order of the Siege, with his back towards the door, which being open, he never heard nor ſaw us, till I coming behind him, and taking him in my arms ſaid to him: *Did you think to play this Farce without us?* at which he ſuddainly ſtart up, and leap'd about my neck, being ſcarce able to utter a word for joy, and likewise embrac'd Monsieur de *Caillac*, telling me, that he wiſh'd he had given half his eſtate, my Company was there alſo with

me ; to which I made answer, that I would make them to fly , provided he would suddenly find a messenger to carry a Letter to my Lieutenant Captain *Favas* ; and immediately hereupon we dispatch'd thither a Footman of his, who before noon got to *Beme*, where so soon as the said Captain *Favas* had read my Letter, he presently went to acquaint the Count, that he must of necessity depart. The Count was again very importunate with him to stay ; but nevertheless he march'd out about three of the Clock in the afternoon, and left the Flag of my Ensign as he pass'd by *Cairas* with Monsieur *Cental*, who plainly told him that he must not expect to pass without fighting, to which he made answer, that it was also all he did desire. We had given instructions to the Footman, that so soon as he should come to the end of the plain, he should lead him straight towards the Mill of the said Messer *Philibert*, which was about a Harquebuz shot distant from his Palace, and that then he should follow on along the side of the River, preparing himself to fight at the said Mill, not doubting but that he would there certainly meet with the *Germans* : but that nevertheless if he would avoid fighting, he should by all means do it, and make it his only business to get into the Town. A caution that was very much in season, for the *Germans* had dislodg'd the very morning that we pass'd by, and were encamp'd at *Marennnes* : but about two hours after midnight he safely arriv'd, which redoubled the joy, not of Monsieur *de Termes* only ; but moreover of all the other Captains and Soldiers, and the Inhabitants of the Town ; for to say the truth, I had one of the best, and the fullest Companies in all *Piedmont*. And indeed I would never have other than the best men I could choose, for when once I perceiv'd any one not to be right, I ever found one pretence or another to be rid of him.

Two hours before day, Monsieur *de Termes* had news brought him that the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Marquis *de Guast* were come that very night to *Cavillmor*, two miles from *Savillan* ; which made us still more confident that the Camp was advancing with a resolution to besiege us, because they planted themselves upon the way by which we were to receive our relief ; and so soon as the day began to appear there came some from *Marennnes* to give us notice, that all the Infantry was upon the Road towards *Montiron*, and descended into the plain of *St. Fré*, taking the way rather towards *Carignan*, than *Savillan*, of which we had still more and more intelligence.

I then begg'd of Monsieur *de Termes* to give me leave to go out towards *Cavillemor*, to follow in the Rear of their Horse, which he presently granted, causing Captain *Mons* his Ensign with fifty Launces to mount to horse. Now in the time that I was gone to *Beme*, our Colonel Monsieur *de Tais* had sent the Companies of *Boguedemar* and the Baron *de Nicolas* in great diligence to *Savillan*, and my own men being weary, I took only Captain *Favas*, and those who had come in with me, who were pretty well refresh'd, and some forty of the others, that were come overnight. Captain *Lienard* at that time Lieutenant to *Gabarret* with thirty or forty of his Company, and Captain *Breuil* the Baron's Ensign, who (as I was very lately assur'd) is yet living, and has since been shot in the leg of which he is lame (as I am told) with as many of the Company of the said Baron, and went straight to *Cavillemor*, along the banks of a great Rivolet, leading to the said *Cavillemor*, and on the left hand the great high way, when being advanc'd within half a mile of the Town, I was overtaken by one of Captain *Gabarret*'s men, whom he had sent to me, to desire I would stay a little for him, he being mounting to horse to come after me with all possible speed. I therefore made a halt, but (as he was ever very tedious and slow) he made us there to tarry for him above a long quarter of an hour, and so unhappily for me, that had I held on my way without staying for him, I had met with the Duke of *Savoy* at a little Chappel without *Cavillemor*, towards *Savillan*, where he was at Maffs, with only five and twenty Horse for his Guard, the Marquis being gone away with all the Cavalry towards *Rouy*, and already advanc'd above a long mile from thence upon his way. Thus a little delay oftentimes causes a great inconvenience, otherwise we had at this time perhaps light of a good booty : but so soon as the said *Gabarret* came up to us, I went on, and came presently to *Cavillemor*, where the people of the Town enform'd me, that the said Duke could not yet be above half a mile from thence, which made both Captain *Mons*, me and all the Soldiers ready to eat our own flesh, to think what a prize we had lost through the negligence of *Gabarret*, whom to his face we curs'd to all the Devils of Hell.

After we had here staid a pretty space, not knowing what we should resolve to do, we at last began to put our selves upon our return home, when the intelligence we had from *Marennnes* coming into my head, I presently alter'd that resolution, and took the way thorough the Meadows that leads towards that plain, still hearing the Drums of

of the Enemies Camp both before and behind us at the same time; for it is not above half a mile from *Cavillemor* to the fight of the plain, and so soon as we came within sight of it, we discover'd three or four Lacquais that follow'd the Camp. Two or three of our light horse spur'd out to take them, and accordingly brought them in, by whom we learn'd that after them follow'd two Ensigns of Foot, and a Troop of Horse commanded by Monsieur de la Trinitat: the said two Companies of Foot were those of the Count *Pedro d' Apporta* Governor of *Fossan*, which were conducted by a Lieutenant of his call'd Captain *Ascanio*, and the Horse were commanded by the said Seigneur de Trinitat, together with the ammunition, bread, and a good part of the baggage of the Camp, whereof a great deal belong'd to the *Germans* and *Spaniards*, and was guarded by fifty Soldiers of the one nation, and as many of the other; so that they might be some four hundred horses of carriage, or more, and fourscore and ten wagons laden with Provision, and the equipage belonging to the Artillery.

Captain *Mons* thereupon went out to discover Monsieur de la Trinitat, and went so near, that he had his horse shot under him, who presently returning back said these words to me; *Captain Montluc, yonder is enough for us both to give, and to take.* Whereupon I suddainly leap'd upon a little Mare of one of my Souldiers, and taking one of my Serjeants with twenty Harquebusiers along with me, went my self to discover the Enemy, who making no reckoning of those few Horse they had seen, still with Drums beating, held on their March; when being come pretty near, I saw a multitude of men and horses marching along the plain, which was the Baggage, and the Waggon, and afterwards upon the eminence on that side where I was, perceiv'd the two Ensigns and the Horse upon their march, and counted the Foot to be betwixt three and four hundred men, and likewise the Horse to be betwixt thirty, and five and thirty Launces; which having done I presently return'd back to Captain *Mons*, and told him, that having miss'd one great good fortune, we were now to attempt another, to which he made answer that he was ready to do whatever I would command him. Whereupon I desir'd him to stay for me, whilst I went to speak to my Soldiers, which he did, and I spur'd away to them. Captain *Gabarret* was with the said Captain *Mons* on horseback, and Captain *Favas*, *Lyenard*, and *le Breuil* conducted the Foot, when coming up to them, I spoke both to them, and to the Soldiers, telling them, that as God had deprived us of one good fortune, he had put another into our hands, and that although the Enemy were at this time three times as many as we were, yet if we refus'd to fight them upon so fair an occasion, we were unworthy the name of Soldiers, as well out of respect to the honor we should acquire thereby, as in regard to the Riches we saw expos'd before us, which was no contemptible prize. To which all the three Captains made answer, that it was their opinion we ought to fight, whereupon, raising my voice, I spake to the Soldiers, saying, *Well, fellow Soldiers, are not you of the same opinion with these Captains? I for my part have already told you mine, that we ought to fight, and assure your selves we shall beat them, for my mind tells me so, which has never fail'd me in any thing I have ever undertaken, therefore I pray Gentlemen conclude them already as good as our own.*

Now it was a custom I always had, to make the Soldiers believe, that I had a certain kind of presage, which whenever it came upon me, I was sure to overcome: a thing that I only pretended to amuse the Soldiers, that they might think themselves secure of the victory, and have ever found an advantage by it; for my confidence often emboldned the most timorous, and simple fellows, nay sometimes the most crafty knaves amongst them are easie to be gull'd, as these were, who thereupon with one voice cry'd out, *Let us fight Captain, let us fight.* I then declar'd to them, that I would place four of my Pikes in the Rear, to keep every one from flinching back, which if any one should offer to do, they should kill him, with which they were very well content: but I had much ado to make the said Pikes to stay behind, according to that agreement, so ardently forward was every one to be the first to fight, though it was very necessary they should do so, for that evermore disorders are most likely to happen in the Rear.

I then began to march, when so soon as the Enemy discover'd the Foot, they made a halt upon the edge of a great hollow, that had in the process of time been worn by the land floods, which stretch'd it self in length till it ended under the Hill where we were. I saw them in the plain with their Launces all advanc'd, not offering to move, and saw also Captain *Ascanio* upon a little gray Nag, who plac'd his Pikes all in file along the hollow, and then spur'd up to the Waggon to draw them up at the end of the hollow, and then to the Baggage placing them behind, and afterwards to the Horse, by which order and diligence, I knew him to be a brave man, and fell to consider with my self, what would be the issue of the fight, of which I now began to be in some doubt,

thorough the good order of this Chief. I nevertheless nothing alter'd my resolution; but whilst Captain *Ascanio* was busie ordering his Battail, I was as diligent to order mine, giving the Harquebusiers to Captain *Gabarret*, who was on horseback. And you must take notice, that the Enemies Foot was upon the top of the hollow directly over against us. I took then the three Captains with the Pikes, and left order with the Harquebusiers by no means to shoot till they came within the distance of four Pikes, and to Captain *Gabarret* by all means to see this order observ'd, which he also did. I then desir'd Captain *Mons* to lend me five and twenty of his Launceers to help me to kill; for they were so many that in a whole day, though they had had one hand tyed behind them, we should have had much ado to dispatch them, and with the rest he was to fight their Cavalry, though they were a great many more then ours. To which he readily consented, and gave five and twenty of his Launces to the younger *Tilladet* (the same who is now call'd Monsieur de *Saintlorens*) and moreover to Captain *Ydron* some light horse of the said Company, who are both of them yet living, as also several others, who were of the same Troop.

The Imperialists defeated,

These orders being given, all of us both Foot and Horse march'd directly towards the Enemy, and when I expected their Harquebusiers should have thrown themselves into the hollow, so soon as they should see our men come full drive upon them, they quite contrary march'd straight up to our men, and all at a clap gave fire within less than four Pikes length of one another. Now I had given order to our men, that so soon as they had power'd in their shot, without standing to charge again, they should run up to them, and fall to the Sword, which they also did, and I with the Pikes ran to the end of the hollow, and fell in desperately amongst them. In the mean time *Ydron* and *Tilladet* charg'd Monsieur de *Trinitat*, and put him to rout, and our Harquebusiers and theirs threw themselves altogether into the hollow: but ours had the upper hand, and our Pike men had thrown away their Pikes, and were fallen to't with the Sword, and so courageously fighting we came all up to the Wagons, Captain *Mons*, and all, which were all overturn'd in a moment, and all their men put to flight towards two houses which stood in the bottom of the plain, where, still pursuing our Victory, and the Horse still firing amongst them, very few of them reach'd the houses. At the houses some particular men were taken to Quarter: but of the rest very few were sav'd, and those who were left alive were so grievously wounded, that I do verily believe they had little benefit of their mercy. Our *Gens d'Armes* in these days wore great cutting Fauchions, wherewith to lop off armes of Male, and to cleave Morions, and indeed in my life I never saw such blows given. As for the Cavalry they were all taken running away towards *Fossan*, Monsieur de *Trinitat* excepted, and five others, who being better mounted than the rest, escaped; though young *Tilladet* with two others only pursu'd him within two Harquebuzes shot of *Fossan*, and took one who attended one of the Colours, which the Ensign that carried it, had thrown upon the neck of him who carried off his horse. Presently after we began to march, leading off the Wagons, and Baggage, which were of necessity to return by the same way they had come from *Marennnes*, forasmuch as the Carriages could pass no other way, and there I saw so great a disorder amongst our people, that had twenty of the Enemies horse turn'd back upon us, we had certainly been defeated; for all the Soldiers both Foot and Horse were so laden with Baggage, and with horses they had taken, that it had been impossible for Captain *Mons* to have rallied so much as one Launce, or I two Harquebusiers: insomuch that we left all the dead unris'd and untouch'd; but the Country people of *Marennnes* came thither presently after, and performed that office for them, and have since several times told us, that they got there above two thousand Crowns; for not above three or four days before, these two Captains had muster'd for three months. The booty is very often the occasion of ruine, wherefore Captains ought to be exceeding careful, especially when they know there are enemies Garrisons near at hand, that may fall out upon them; though it is a very hard thing to take order in, for the avarice of the Soldier is such, that he oftentimes quails under his burthen, and no reason will serve his turne.

After this defeat we return'd to *Savillan*, where we found that two Country fellows had given an Alarm to Monsieur de *Termes*, having brought him news that we were all defeated, and indeed we found him almost at his wits end, but afterwards he was the most overjoy'd man, that ever he had been in his life. There a man might have had flesh enough good cheap; for we took above forty German Whores and more than twenty Spanish, which kind of Cattel was the greatest cause of our disorder. We had an intention to have shar'd all the spoil equally amongst us, and found that we were but an hundred forty and five men, and fifty horse, but every one begg'd that he might keep what

what he had gotten, promising upon that condition to make me a present, forasmuch as I had not made it my business to look after spoyl, which I consented to, seeing every one was content, and they gave me six hundred Crowns, as also the horse presented Captain *Mons*, but how much I am not able to say, and this we did that day in the Rear of their Camp. Of our people there was slain upon the place one Soldier only belonging to Captain *Baron*, with five or six more hurt, and one Corporal of mine, who all recovered. There are a great many both of the Horse and Foot yet living, who were present at this business, who when they shall read this Book, I am certain will not give me the lye. I cannot remember (which I wonder at my self for) whether Monsieur de *Caillac* was with us at the engagement or no, or whether Monsieur de *Termes* did not detain him at home, but I am sure that if he was not there, he was in *Savillan*, and may very well remember all this to be true.

Now the design of the Marquis de *Guaft* soon discovered it self, which was to put himself into *Carignan*, and there to raise a Fort, and leave in it a strong Garrison of Foot, as he did; and the very day that I gave them this defeat he encamp'd at a Village near *Carmagnolle*, on the right hand of the Road from *Recoins* to the said *Carmagnolle* (I have forgot the name) and at midnight sent the greatest part of his Cavalry to get over the Bridge at *Lombriasse*, over which an hour or two before there had passed two Light horse of Monsieur de *Termes* (who had been with us at the fight, and were stollen away with their booty, fearing they should be made to discount) who gave intelligence to Monsieur d' *Aussun*, and Signior *Francisco Bernardin*, who were both at *Carignan*, sent thither by Monsieur de *Boitieres*, on purpose to dismantle that place, calling to mind that Monsieur de *Termes*, and the said Signior *Francisco* had told him four months before, that the Marquis would do so, and possess himself of it in order to the raising of some Fortifications there, which would be very prejudicial to the Kings Service.

I had nothing to do to write this, if it were not for a caution to the young Captains, who shall read this Book, that they must never attempt to retreat at the head of an Army, to which they are not strong enough to give Battel. But (as I was saying) so soon as these Light horse had spoke with Monsieur d' *Aussun*, and told him of the defeat we had given them, he had a great mind (as his heart was in a right place) to do something also before he retir'd: but the said Signior *Francisco* understanding by these Light horse where the Enemy was, presently concluded, that by break of day they would certainly be upon them, which made him very importunate with Monsieur d' *Aussun* to retire: but he would by no means hearken to him, and so soon as day appear'd, they saw the Marquis de *Guaft*, all the Infantry, and part of the Horse marching all along the side of the River, when the Marquis advancing he caus'd Monsieur d' *Aussun* to be talk'd withal, only to hold him in play, which Signior *Francisco* perceiving, call'd out to him, that the Marquis did only this to amuse him; but he was deaf as before, and would believe nothing (a man cannot avoid his Destiny) till two Light horse he had sent out upon the Road towards *Lombriasse*, came and brought him an account of the truth: but it was too late, for already the greatest part of their Cavalry was got over. There was but two Boats there, but they were very large, and they had begun to pass an hour after midnight.

Upon this Monsieur d' *Aussun* commanded Signior *Francisco* to retire as far as the Bridge of *Loges*, and there to make a halt, which he did. Foot he had none, but the Chevalier *Abfal*, with his single Company, to whom he gave order to march softly, after the said Signior *Francisco*, and halt very often to relieve him, if occasion were, which he accordingly obeyed, when on a suddain came up fifty or threescore of the Enemies Horse to begin the skirmish. It is very true, that besides his own Troop, and that of Signior *Francisco*, he had thirty Launces of the Company of Monsieur de *Termes*, commanded by the elder *Tilladet*, which had parted from Monsieur de *Termes* seven or eight days before, by the command of Monsieur de *Boitieres*, and at his entreaty to send them, which the said Monsieur de *Termes* very much repented after, wanting them himself, at the time when he expected a Siege. The said Seigneur d' *Aussun* then began himself also to retire, dividing his men into three Squadrons, whom the Enemy follow'd very close: his Lieutenant, call'd *Hieronimo Magrin*, commanded the first Squadron, whom the Enemy sometimes beat up to the second, commanded by Monsieur de *Aussun*, and otherwhiles the said *Hieronimo* recharg'd the Enemy, who were continually supplied by a great number of fresh men, and who, as they found themselves the stronger, charg'd Captain *Hieronimo* with might and main, driving him back into the Squadron of Monsieur d' *Aussun*, who thereupon gave a charge, and repell'd the said Enemies up to their main body, which again charg'd the said Seigneur d' *Aussun*, and beat him back to the forenam'd Captain *Tilladet*, and at the same time another Troop of the Enemy, besides those,

Monſieur d' *Auſſun* defeated, and taken priſoner.

thoſe, who came up upon the Gallop, charg'd the ſaid *Tilladet*, who was advanc'd to relieve Monſieur d' *Auſſun*; ſo that the Enemy was four times ſtronger in Horſe, than we were, and freſh ſupplies, as they landed, ſtill came up to them, inſomuch that all was put to rout and confuſion, Monſieur d' *Auſſun* beaten down to ground his Lieutenant, and above fifty more taken priſoners, Captain *Tilladet* twice taken, and reſcued by his men, who cloſing together, and often facing about, made good their retreat in ſpite of the Enemy even to the Bridge of *Loges*. Signior *Franciſco Bernardin*, who ſtood drawn up cloſe by the Bridge, ſeeing this torrent coming upon him, and knowing that he with his Troop was not ſufficient to remedy the diſorder, took it into conſideration, and paſſed over the Bridge, where he again made head, by which means a great many more of our People ſav'd themſelves, who under his protection ſac'd about at the end of the ſaid Bridge. In the mean time the Chevalier *Absal*, who had taken his way a little on the left hand, was ſtill retreating a foot pace, and often made a halt, which was the reaſon that he could never recover the Bridge; for one part of the Enemy ſeeing the victory already ſecure, ran up to him, who having ſeen all our Cavalry routed and defeated, any man may judge what courage he, or his men, could have, who were all cut to pieces, their Colours taken, and himſelf upon a little horſe very hardly eſcap'd.

Diſpute be-
twixt Mr. d' *Auſſun*, and
Signior *Franciſco Bernardin*.

After this manner was Monſieur d' *Auſſun* defeated, more out of vanity to do ſome notable feat, than out of any default of courage or conduct; for in the firſt place he order'd his Troops ſo well, that they all fought, and ſecondly himſelf was taken, overthrown to ground, with his Sword bloody in his hand, for his horſe was killed under him, and would he have been ſatisfied with reaſon, he had never enter'd into diſpute with Signior *Franciſco Bernardin*, who had perform'd all, both in his perſon, and conduct, that a brave Leader ought to do. But the King, after the ſaid Seigneur d' *Auſſun* was ſet at liberty, made them friends; for Signior *Franciſco* had ſent him a Challenge for the wrong he had done him, in reporting to the Marquis de *Guaſt*, and elſewhere, that he had abandon'd him in time of need: but Monſieur d' *Auſſun* made him an honorable ſatisfaction, and indeed both the one and the other had very well perform'd their duty, though had Monſieur d' *Auſſun* taken the advice of Signior *Franciſco*, he had not been defeated; neither was it reaſonable, that he ſhould throw himſelf away to no purpoſe, when he ſaw it was too late to repair the fault committed in deferring the time of their retreat ſo long, as at laſt to be forc'd to do it in the face of an Army. I could give ſeveral exemples of it, if it were convenient ſo to do, where the advice of retreating at the head of an Army, has been as fatal, as it was here, witneſs *Monchant*, where Monſieur le Mareſchal de *Sirozzy* loſt the Battail, not for want of courage, for he was there deſperately wounded; nor through default of conduct, for he had order'd his men for his retreat to *Lufignan*, as well as any man upon earth could have done. I could alſo inſtance le Seigneur *Marion de Santa Fiore*, who loſt me almoſt all my Cavalry near unto *Piance*, in attempting the ſame at the head of an Army. Many others out of inconfideration have committed the ſame error, as I have already inſtanc'd, and I could name ſeveral others, which would be too tedious to recount. But, I beſeech you, fellow Captains, deſpiſe not my counſel, for many brave and prudent Leaders having loſt themſelves after this manner, no good is to be expected. A man is only to attempt what he can, and ought to do, and not attaque his Enemy, and offer to retreat in the face of an Army ſtronger than himſelf.

The danger
of retreating
at the head of
of an Army.

Cavignan fortified.

The Marquis de *Guaſt*, at the ſame inſtant, with all his Camp, paſſed the Bridge, and put himſelf into *Cavignan*, where he deſigned a Fort enclosing the Bourg within it, which he was not long in doing, forasmuch as the ditches that enclosed the ſaid Bourg and the City, very much contributed to the work; and he there left two thouſand *Spaniſh*, and as many *German* Foot, with Signior *Pedro de Colonne* to command them: wherein, in truth, he made a very prudent choice, and deceived none in the good opinion they had conceiv'd of him; for he was a man of great judgment and valour: having then left *Ceſar de Naples* at *Carmagnolle* with ſome Enſigns of *Italians* (the number of which I have forgot) and two thouſand *Germans*; and at *Reconis*, four Enſigns of *Spaniards*, (that is to ſay, *Loys Quichadou*, *Don Jean de Guibarra*, *Mandoffa*, and *Argillere*) and his Cavalry at *Pingues*, *Vinuu*, and *Vigon*, he afterwards (having firſt ſent back the remainder of his Camp to *Quiers*, and the Duke of *Savoy* to *Verſeil*) retired himſelf to *Milan*.

The Character of *Pedro de Colonne*.

A notable enterprize carried on by a Merchant.

Sometime after Monſieur de *Termes* carryed on an enterprize, that was never diſcovered to any but to Monſieur *Boitieres*, and my ſelf, not ſo much as to Monſieur de *Tais*, though he was our Colonel; and it was thus. There was a Merchant of *Barges*, a great friend,

friend, and servant to Monsieur de Termes, and a good *French* man, call'd *Granuchin*, who, coming from *Barges* to *Savillan*, was taken by some Light horse belonging to Count *Pedro d' Apporte*, Governor of *Fossan*, and being a prisoner was sometimes threatened to be hang'd; and sometimes promised to be put to ransom, with so great uncertainty, that the poor man for seven or eight days together was in despair of his life: but in the end he bethought himself to send word to the Count, that if he would be pleased to give him leave to talk with him, he would propound things that should be both for his advantage and his honor. The Count thereupon sent for him, where, being come, *Granuchin* told him, that it should only stick at himself if he were not Lord of *Barges*, for that it was in his power to deliver up the Castle into his hands, the City not being strong at all. The Count greedy to listen to this enterprize, presently clos'd with him about it, agreeing and concluding, that *Granuchin* should deliver up his wife and his son in Hostage; and the said *Granuchin* propos'd the manner of it to be thus; saying, that he was very intimate with the Captain of the Castle, and that the provisions that were put into it ever pass'd thorough his hands, and that moreover he had a share in some little Traffick they had betwixt them, to wit, betwixt the said Captain of the Castle, call'd *la Mothe*, and himself; and that the *Scotch* man, who kept the Keys of the Castle was his very intimate friend, whom he also evermore had caus'd to get something amongst them, and whom he was certain he could make firm to his purpose; not the Captain *de la Mothe* nevertheless; but that he was sick of a Quartan Ague, that held him fifteen or twenty hours together; so that he almost continually kept his bed; and that so soon as he should be at liberty, he would go and complain to Monsieur de Termes of two men that were reputed Imperialists, who had told him, and given the Enemy intelligence of his Journey, and that after having left his wife and his son in hostage, he would go and demand justice of Monsieur de Boitieres, by the mediation of Monsieur de Termes, and then would go to *Barges* to the Castle, and that upon a Sunday morning he would cause fifteen or twenty Soldiers that *la Mothe* had there, to go out (leaving only the *Scotch* man, the Butler, and the Cook within) to take those who had told him, as they should be at the first Mass in the morning, and in the mean time the Count should cause forty Soldiers to march, who before day should place themselves in ambush in a little Copse about an Harquebuze shot distant from the Postern Gate, and that so soon as it should be time for them to come, he would set a white Flag over the said Postern. Now there was a Priest of *Barges*, who being banish'd thence, lived at *Fossan*, that was a great friend to *Granuchin*, and had labour'd very much for his deliverance, and he also was call'd into the Council, where amongst them it was concluded, that the said Priest on a night appointed, should come to a little wood the half way betwixt *Barges* and *Fossan*, where he was to whistle, to give notice that he was there, and that if he had corrupted the *Scot*, he should bring him along with him, to resolve amongst themselves how the business should be further carried on.

Things being thus concluded, *Granuchin* writ a Letter to Monsieur de Termes, wherein he intreated him to procure for him a safe-conduct from Monsieur de Boitieres, that his Wife and his Son might come to *Fossan*, there to remain pledges for him, for he had prevail'd so far by the intercession of certain of his friends, that the Count was at last content to dismiss him upon a ransom of six hundred Crowns; but that if he was not abroad, and at liberty, no man would buy his goods, out of which he was to raise that sum; which safe-conduct if he should obtain in his behalf, he desir'd he would please to deliver it to a friend of his he nam'd in *Savillan*, to whom he also had writ to desire him to make what hast he could to send his Wife and Son to the said *Fossan*.

All this being accordingly procur'd, and done, and the said *Granuchin* set at liberty, he forthwith came to *Savillan* to find out Monsieur de Termes, to whom he gave an account of the whole business. Whereupon Monsieur de Termes (who already began to feel himself falling sick of a disease that commonly held him fourteen or fifteen days at a time) sent for me, to whom he communicated the enterprize, where it was by us all three concluded, that *Granuchin* should go talk with Monsieur de Boitieres, and inform him at large of the whole design. To which purpose Monsieur de Termes gave him a Letter to Monsieur de Boitieres, who, having received and read it, made no great matter of the business, only writing back to Monsieur de Termes, that if he knew *Granuchin* to be a man fit to be trusted, he might do as he thought fit: by which slight answer Monsieur de Termes enter'd into an opinion, that Monsieur de Boitieres would be glad he should receive some baffle, or affront, (and indeed he did not much love him) which

which made him once in mind to break off the design, and to meddle no more in it: but seeing the said *Granuchin* almost in despair to think, that the business should not go forward, and I being more concern'd than he, that such an opportunity of trapping the Enemy should be lost, earnestly entreated Monsieur de Termes to leave the whole business to my care; which he made great difficulty to grant, ever fearing, that should any thing happen amiss, Monsieur de Boitieres would do him a courtesie to the King, as the custom is: for when any one bears a man a grudge, he is glad when he commits any oversight, that the Master may have occasion to be offended, and to remove him from his command; condemning him for that he would not be govern'd by the wife: but in the end with much importunity, he was content to refer the management of the business wholly to my discretion.

The said *Granuchin* departed then to go to *Barges*, where he made discovery of all to Captain *la Mothe* and the *Scotch* man, to whom Monsieur de Termes writ also, and the night appointed being come, they both went out, and alone (for *Granuchin* was very well acquainted with the way) and came to the wood, where they found the Priest; with whom they agreed, first that that the said Count should acquit *Granuchin* of his ransom, giving him as much as the Soldiers, that took him, had taken from him, and moreover appoint him an Apartment in the Castle with the Captain he should put into it, with a certain Pension for his support; and secondly that he should marry the *Scotch* man to an Inheretrix there was in *Barges*, and also find out some handsom employment for him, forasmuch as he was never after to return either into *Scotland*, or into *France*. All which was agreed and concluded betwixt them, and moreover that the Priest should bring all these Articles sign'd and seal'd with the Arms of the said Count to a Summer house in the fields belonging to the Brother of the said Priest, to which he sometimes repair'd a nights; and that the Sunday following the business should be put in execution.

Having accordingly received all these obligations, *Granuchin* returned again to *Savillan*, where he gave us an account of all, and shew'd us the Bond. Now there was only three days to Sunday, wherefore we made him presently to return, having first agreed that he should bring along with him two Guides of the very best he could find out; not that he should however discover any thing to them of the business, but only shew them some counterfeit Letters, wherein mention should be made of some Wine he had bought for me.

The Guides came accordingly by Saturday noon to *Savillan*, when, seeing them come, I took Captain *Favas* my Lieutenant apart, and privately in my chamber communicated to him the whole design, telling him withal, that I had made choice of him for the execution of it; which he made no scruple to undertake (for he had mettle enough) and it was agreed that he should tie the Guides together, and that they were by no means to enter into any high way, or Road: but to march cross the fields. We had much ado to persuade the Guides to this, forasmuch as they were to pass three or four Rivers, and there was Snow and Ice all along, so that we were above three hours disputing this way: but in the end the two Guides were content, to each of which I gave ten Crowns, and moreover a very good Supper.

We were of advice, that we should not take many men, that less notice might be taken; and at that time we were making a Rampire at that Gate towards *Fossan*, where, in order to that work, we had broken down a little part of the wall, and made a Bridge over the Grasse, over which to bring in earth from without. By this breach I put out Captain *Favas*, and with him four and thirty more only, and so soon as we were without, we tyed the Guides for being lost, and so he set forwards. Now the Enemies assignation, and ours was at the same hour; so that *Granuchin* had directed them the way on the right hand to come to this Copse, and ours he had ordered to march on the left hand, near to the walls of the City; who, so soon as they were come to the Postern, there found *Granuchin* and the *Scot* ready to receive them, it being the hour that the *Scotch* man us'd to stand Centinel over the said Postern, so that they were never discover'd, and he disposed them into a Cellar of the Castle, where he had prepar'd a Charcoal fire, with some Bread and Wine. In the mean time the day began to break, and as the Bell rung to low Mals in the Town, the *Scot*, and *Granuchin* commanded all the Soldiers in the Castle to go take these two men (that *Granuchin* had accused to have betrayed him) at Mals, so that there remain'd no more in the Castle, but only *la Mothe* himself, his valet de Chambre, who also trayl'd a Pike, the Butler, the Cook, the *Scotch* man and *Granuchin*.

The *Scot* then pull'd up the Bridge, and call'd out Captain *Favas*, making him to skulk behind certain Bavins in the base Court, kneeling upon one knee, which being done, they

they went to set up the white Flag upon the Postern; soon after the Priest arriv'd, and with him about forty Soldiers, who were no sooner entred in, but the *Scotch* man shut the Gate, and at the same instant Captain *Favas* and his Company flew upon them, who made some little resistance, insomuch that seven or eight of them were slain; but *Granuchin* sav'd the Priest, and would not endure he should have the least injury offered to him. In the mean time a Country fellow, as he was coming from a little house below the Castle, saw the *Spanish* Soldiers with their red crosses enter in at the Postern Gate, and thereupon ran down into the Town to give the Alarm, and to tell them that the Castle was betray'd; at which news, the Soldiers who had been sent out to take the two men at Mass, would have return'd into the Castle; but ours shot at them, though so high as not to hit them, taking upon them to be enemies, and crying out *Imperi, Imperi, Savoy, Savoy*, which was the reason that the Soldiers fled away to *Pignerol* carrying news to Monsieur de *Boitieres*, that *Granuchin* had betrayed the Castle, and that the Enemy was within it. Monsieur de *Boitieres* thereupon in a very great fury, dispatched away a Courier to Monsieur de *Termes*, who lay sick in his bed, and almost distracted at the disaster, often crying out, Ah Monsieur *Montluc* you have ruin'd me, would to God I had never hearkened to you: and in this error we continued till the Wednesday following. In the mean time the Soldiers who had enter'd were clap'd up in the Cellar, my Soldiers taking the Red Crosses, and moreover setting up a white Flag with a Red Cross upon a Tower of the Castle, and crying out nothing but *Imperi, Imperi*.

Things being in this posture, *Granuchin* immediately made the Priest to subscribe a Letter, wherein he had writ to the Count, that he should come, and take possession of the Town and Castle, for that *Granuchin* had kept his word with him, and then sent for a Labourer, who was tenant to the Brother of the said Priest, to whom he caused the Letter to be given by the Priest himself, saying, and swearing to him, that if he made any kind of Sign, either in giving the Letter, or otherwise, that he would presently kill him; making him moreover deliver several things to the messenger by word of mouth; The fellow went away, and upon a mare of his own made all the hast he could to *Fossan*, it being but twelve miles only, immediately upon whose coming the Count resolv'd that night to send away a Corporal of his call'd *Janin*, with five and twenty of the bravest men of all his Company, who about break of day arriv'd at *Barges*. So soon as he came to the Castle, *Granuchin*, the Priest, and the *Scot* were ready to let him in at the foresaid Postern, whilst Captain *Favas* went to plant himself behind the Ravins as before, although *Granuchin* was something long in opening the Gate, both because he would clearly see, and observe whether the Priest made any sign, and also for that he had a mind those of the City should see them enter; when so soon as it was broad day, he opened the Postern, telling them that the Soldiers who came in with the Priest were laid to sleep, being tir'd out with the long labour they had sustain'd the day before, and so soon as they were all in, the *Scot* suddainly clap'd to the Gate, and as suddainly Captain *Favas* start up, and fell upon them, without giving them time, saving a very few, to give fire to their Harquebuzes, as ours did, who had them all ready; nevertheless they defended themselves with their Swords, so that six of mine were hurt, and fifteen or sixteen of this Company were slain upon the place, of which Corporal *Janin* was one (which was a very great misfortune to us) together with a Brother of his, the rest were led into the Cellar ty'd two and two together, for there were already more prisoners in the Castle, than Soldiers of our own.

Now this fight continuing longer than the former, the Enemy in fighting still cry'd out *Imperi*, and ours *France*; insomuch that their cries reach'd down into the City, and especially the rattle of the Harquebuz shot, so that to avoid being so soon discovered, their design being to Train the Count thither (for to that end tended all the Farce) they all got upon the walls of the Castle, and from thence cryed out *Imperi* and *Savoy*, having on their red crosses, as I said before. Now the Country fellow that had been sent with the Letter to the Count, did not return with those men up to the Castle, but staid at his Master's Country house by the way, wherefore he was again suddainly sent for, and another Letter deliver'd to him by the hands of the Priest to carry to the said Count to *Fossan*, wherein he gave him to understand, that Corporal *Janin* was so weary he could not write, but that he had given him in charge to render him an account of all, and that he was laid down to sleep. So soon as the Count had read this Letter, he put on a resolution to go, not the next day which was Tuesday, but the Wednesday following (when God intends to punish us, he deprives us of our understandings, as it

happened here in the case of this Gentleman.) The Count in the first place was reputed one of the most circumspect (and as wise as valiant) Leaders they had in their whole Army, which notwithstanding he suffered himself to be gull'd by two Letters from this Priest, especially the last, which he ought by no means to have relyed upon; nor to have given credit to any thing, without having first seen something under his Corporal's own hand, and should have consider'd whether or no it were a plausible excuse, to say, that the said Corporal was laid down to sleep. But we are all blind when we have once set our hearts upon any thing of moment. Believe me, Gentlemen, you that are great undertakers of Enterprizes, you ought maturely to consider all things, and weigh every the least circumstance, for if you be subtle, your Enemy may be as crafty as you. *A Trompeur trompeur et demy*, says the Proverb, *Harm watch harm catch*, And *The cunning'st snap may meet with his match*. But that which most of all deceived the Count was, that the Tuesday those of the Town, who thought themselves to be become Imperialists, and yet in some doubt by reason of the various cries they had heard during the fight, had sent five or six women to the Castle under colour of selling Cakes, Apples, and Chestnuts, to see if they could discover any thing of Treason (for all those that remain'd in the Town had already taken the Red Cross;) whom so soon as our people saw coming up the Hill, they presently suspected their business, and resolving to set a good face on the matter, went to let down the little draw bridge to let them in. My Soldiers then fell to walking up and down the base Court with their red crosses, all saving three or four that spake very good *Spanish*, who fell to talk with the Women, and bought some of their Wares, taking upon them to be *Spaniards*, insomuch that they afterwards returning to the Town, assur'd the Inhabitants that there was no deceit in the business: and moreover brought a Letter which *la Mothe* writ to a friend in the Town, wherein he entreated him to go to Monsieur de Botieres, and to tell him, that he had never consented to *Granchin's* treachery; which Letter he delivered to one of the Women, knowing very well, that the party to whom it was directed, was not there to be found; but would be one of the first to run away, as being a very good *French* man: but their design was, that the Letter should fall into the hands of those of the Imperial party, as accordingly it did.

As the Count was coming on Wednesday morning, our people in the Castle discover'd him marching along the plain, and the people of the Town went to meet him without the Gate, where being come, he ask'd them if it were certainly true, that the Castle was in his hands, to which they made answer, that they believed it so to be: but that at the entrance of his men the first time, there were a great many Harquebuzes shot off within, and a very great noise was made: and that on the Munday morning, when the others entred, they likewise heard a very great noise, that continued longer than the former, and that they once thought they heard them cry one while *France*, and another *Imperi* and *Duco*: but that notwithstanding they had yesterday sent their Wives into the Castle with Fruit, Bunns and Chestnuts, whom they had permitted to enter, where they saw all the Soldiers with red crosses. The Count hearing this, commanded his Lieutenant to alight, and to refresh his horses and men, bidding those of the Town speedily get something ready for him to eat; for so soon as he had taken order in the Castle, he would come down to dinner, after which he would take their Oath of Fidelity, and so return back again to *Fossan*. Now you must know it is a very steep and uneasy ascent from the Town to the Castle, by reason whereof the Count alighted, and walk'd it up on foot, accompanied with a Nephew of his, another Gentleman and his Trumpet. So soon as he came to the end of the Bridge, which was let down, and the Gate shut; but the Wicket left open, so that a man might easily pass, and lead his horse after him; *Granchin* and the Priest being above in the window, saluting him, desir'd him to enter; to which nevertheless he made answer, that he would advance no further, till he had first spoken with Corporal *Janin*; seeing then that he refused to enter, *Granchin* in his hearing said to the Priest (to get him from thence) *Pray Father go down, and tell Corporal Janin that my Lord is at the Gate, where he stays to speak with him*, and at the same time himself also departed from the window, pretending to go down; whereupon Captain *Favas* and his Soldiers ran to open the Gate, which was only bolted, and all on a suddain leap'd upon the Bridge. Seeing this, the Count who was one of the most active men of all *Italy*, and who held his horse by the bridle (the best one of them, that ever that Country bred, and which I afterwards gave to Monsieur de *Tais*) vaulted over a little wall which was near to the Bridge, drawing his horse after him, with intent to have leap'd into the Saddle (for there was no horse so tall (provided he could lay his hand upon the Pommel) but he could arm'd at all pieces, vault into the Seat) but he

he was prevented by the Baſtard of *Bazordan*, call'd *Janot* (yet living, and then of my Company) who by miſfortune being he either could not, or would not, get over the wall to lay hands upon him, let fly at him an Harquebuze, which taking the default of his Arms, went into his belly, piercing thorough his bowels almoſt to the other ſide, of which ſhot he ſunk down to the ground. Captain *Favas* took his Nephew, and another the Trumpet, but the other Gentleman eſcap'd down the Hill, crying out that the Count was either kill'd or taken; whereupon the Lieutenant, and all his Company ſkulked to horſe in ſo great a fright, that they never look'd behind them till they came to *Foffan*. Had it ſo fallen out that *Janin* at the ſecond entry had not been ſlain, they had not only ſnap'd the Count, and by degrees all his whole Troop (for they might have compell'd him to have ſpoke to them, with a dagger at his reins ready to ſtab him ſhould he make a ſign) but moreover might perhaps from hence have ſpun out ſome contrivance againſt *Foffan* it ſelf; for one Enterprize draws on another.

Count *Pedro*
Governor of
Foffan wounded.

Theſe things being done, they in the evening diſpatch'd away Captain *Milhas* (a Gentleman of my Company) to bring me the news, and to relate to me from point to point how all things had paſſed; together with a Letter from the ſaid Count, wherein he entreated me, ſeeing he was my priſoner, and that greater advantage was to be made of his life than of his death, to do him the courteſie, as to ſend him with all ſpeed a Phyſician, a Chirurgeon, and an Apothecary. Captain *Milhas* arriv'd juſt at the time that they open'd the Gates of the City, ſo that he found me putting on my cloaths, and there related to me the whole buſineſs, thereby delivering me from the great anxiety, and trouble wherein from Sunday till Wednesday I had continually remain'd; for though I was really concerned for the place, yet was I much more afflicted for the loſs of my Lieutenant, and my Soldiers, who were moſt of them Gentlemen, and all very brave men. Immediately upon the news, I ran to Monsieur *de Termes* his Lodgings, whom I found ſick a bed: but I dare ſay, that neither he nor I were ever ſo overjoy'd; for we both very well knew, that had it fallen out otherwiſe, there were Rods in piſs. So ſoon as I departed from him, I preſently ſent away a Phyſician, a Chirurgeon, and an Apothecary, whom I mounted upon three horſes of my own for the more ſpeed; neither did they either ſtop or ſtay until they came thither: but it was impoſſible to ſave him, for he died about midnight, and was brought to *Savillan*, whom every one had a deſire to ſee, even Monsieur *de Termes* himſelf, as ſick as he was, and he was very much lamented by all. The next day I ſent the Body to *Foffan*, but detain'd the Nephew, and Trumpet with the reſt that were taken priſoners at *Barges*, until they ſhould ſend me back the Wife, and Son of the ſaid *Granuchin*, which the next day they did, and I alſo deliver'd up all the Priſoners.

His death.

I beſeech you, Captains, you who ſhall ſee and hear this Relation, to conſider whether or no this was a ſtratagem for a Merchant; believe me, the eldeſt Captain would have been puzzled, and have had enough to carry it on with ſo much dexterity, and reſolution as he did; wherein although Captain *Favas* was the performer of it, when it came to execution; nevertheleſs the Merchant was not only the original contriver, but alſo a principal Actor throughout the whole buſineſs, having the heart in order to his revenge, to expoſe his Wife and Son to the extreameſt danger. In reading of which (fellows in Arms) you may learn diligence with temper, and take notice what ſleights, and policies were uſed, and continued for the ſpace of four days together, ſuch as no man either of theirs, (or which is more, of our own) could poſſibly diſcover, both parties being held equally ſuſpended. The Count for a prudent Cavalier, behav'd himſelf herein with very great levity, eſpecially upon the ſecond Letter; but he repair'd his fault when he reſuſed to enter the Caſtle, without firſt ſeeing his man; though that caution ſignified nothing as it fell out. Whenever therefore you deſign an enterprize, weigh every thing, and never go hand over head; and without precipitating your ſelves, or being too eaſie of belief upon light foundations, judge and conſider whether there be any appearance, or likelyhood in the thing; for I have ſeen more deceived than otherwiſe, and whatever aſſurance is given you, or whatever promiſes may be made, be ſure to raiſe your Counter-battery, and never rely ſo wholly upon him, who is to carry on the work, but that you have ſtill a reſerve to ſecure your venture, ſhould his faith, or conduct fail. It is not, I confeſs, well done to condemn him who has the management of an affair, if it do not ſucceed; for men ſhould always be attempting however they ſpeed, and hit or miſs 'tis all one, provided there be neither treaſon nor abſurdity in the caſe. Men muſt try, and fail; for being we are to conſide in men, no one can ſee into their

hearts: but however go warily to work. I have ever been of opinion (and do think that every good Captain ought to have the same) that it is better to assault a place upon a surprize, where no one is privy to the design, than to have perhaps some Traytor for your Guide; for as much as you are certain there can be no counter-treason against you; and though you fail, you retire with the less danger, for your enemy can have laid no ambuscados to entrap you.

Cesar de Naples being this day at *Carmagnolle*, had there news brought to him of the Count's disaster and death, at which he was extremely afflicted; and to secure *Fossan*, would send thither three Companies of *Italians*, which had formerly been in Garrison there, to wit, that of *Blaise de Somme* a *Neapolitan*, that of *Baptista* a *Millanese*, and that of *Rauffanne* a *Piedmontois*, who nevertheless refus'd suddainly to depart (fearing we would fight them by the way) and would not stir till they might have a good and strong Convoy; and the *Germans* he had with him would not be perswaded to go, by which means he was constrain'd to send to *Reconis* to the four *Spanish* Companies which were in Garrison there; that is to say, that of *Don Juan de Guebara* Camp-Master, of *Louys de Quichadou*, *Aquilbert*, and *Mendoza*, which made it two days before they durst set out to march. In the mean time Monsieur de Termes was advertised by his spy, that the said *Italian* Companies were to set forth the next morning, to go put themselves into *Fossan*, and that they were to have two Troops of Horse to conduct them: but he had heard nothing that the *Spaniards* were to go.

A design to
cut off the
succours of
Fossan.

The said Seigneur was at this time but newly recovered of his sickness, who the same morning communicated the affair to me, and at the very instant we concluded to draw four hundred Foot out of all our Companies, all pick'd and choice men, to wit, two hundred Harquebusiers, and as many Pikes wearing Corslets. Captain *Tilladet* (who had lost but two or three of all his Launces) was not yet return'd to *Savillan*, which was the reason that Monsieur de Termes his Company was not so strong; and on the other side Monsieur de Bellegarde his Lieutenant was gone to his own house, and had taken some few with him, by which means Captain *Mons* could make but fourscore Horse in all; and the Spy told us, that the *Italian* Companies were to take the same way by which their Army had march'd when they went to *Carignan*, which was by the Plain, where we before had fought the *Italians*. We therefore concluded to take the way of *Marennes*, and to be there before them; when as we were going out of the Town Monsieur de Cental arriv'd, who came from *Cental*, having with him fifteen Launces of Seigneur *Mauré*, and twenty Harquebusiers on horseback, which hindred us a little, forasmuch as he entreated Monsieur de Termes to give him a little time to bait his horses, for he was also of necessity to pass the same way we were design'd to march, to go to his Government of *Cairas*. To whom we made answer, that we would go but very softly before, and stay for him at *Marennes*: but that he should make hast; for in case we should hear the Enemy was passing by, we could not stay for him. Monsieur de Termes had once a great mind to have gone along with us himself; but we entreated him not to do it, both because he had been so lately sick, and also that the Town being left in a manner naked, should any misfortune happen to us, it would be in great danger to be lost.

Being come to *Marennes*, we there made a halt, staying for Monsieur *Cental*, where we order'd our Battail in this manner, to wit, that the Captains *Gabarret* and *Baron* should lead the two hundred Corslets, and I the two hundred Harquebusiers, with whom I presently took the Vanne, the Corslets following after me, and so march'd out of the Village. Captain *Mons* also divided his Horse into Troops: but to whom he gave the first I am not able to say, they being all Camrades, but I do believe it was either to *Masset*, *Mousserie*, *Ydron*, or the younger *Tilladet*; and when we had march'd a little way, before we would discover our selves to the valley, thorough which the Enemy was to pass, we made a stand. I then took a Gentleman along with me call'd *la Garde* (he being on horseback) and advanc'd a little forward to discover the valley, where presently on the other side in the plain of *Babe*, (a Castle belonging to the *Castellano* of *Savoy*) I discover'd the three *Italian* Companies, and the Cavalry marching directly towards *Fossan*. At which I was ready to run mad, cursing Monsieur de Cental, and the hour that ever he came, thinking there had been no more than those I saw on the other side, who were already got a great way before us; when being about to return to tell the rest, that they were already pass'd, and looking down into the valley (for before I had only look'd into the plain on the other side) I discover'd the *Spanish* Foot shewing them to *la Garde* (who before saw them no more than I) having almost all of them yellow breeches; and moreover saw their Arms glitter against the Sun,

by

by which we knew they were Corslets. We never dream'd of meeting any more than the three *Italian* Companies only, so that had we not by accident made some stay in expectation of Monsieur *Cental*, we had met the *Spaniards* and the *Italians* together, and do verily believe had been defeated, considering what defence the *Spaniards* made alone. I presently then went and gave the rest of the Captains an account of what I had seen, advising them withal, by no means as yet to discover themselves; for the *Spaniards* had made a halt, and stood still. I also began to lose sight of the *Italians*, who march'd directly to *Possan*: it was a very great oversight in them to separate themselves at so great a distance from one another; *la Garde* then return'd, and told me, that Monsieur *Cental* was coming hard by, bringing a Trooper along with him, whom I made to stay above, keeping always his eye on the *Italians*, whilst I, with *la Garde*, went down to number their men, who let fly some Harquebuze shot at me: but I notwithstanding went so near, that I made shift to count them, to betwixt four and five hundred men at the most, and presently return'd to the top of the Hill, where I saw their Cavalry returning towards them, having left the *Italians*, who were already a great way off, and clean out of sight. I then sent the Soldier to my Companions to bid them presently march, for the *Spaniards* began to beat their Drums to return. The Troops of Horse they had were those of the Count de *Saint Martin d'Est*, Kinsman to the Duke of *Ferrara*; who himself was not there, but his Lieutenant only, and of *Rozalles* a *Spaniard*. Their Companies of Foot were those of Don *Juan de Guibara*, *Aguillere*, and *Mendoza*, with one half of that of *Louys de Guichadou*, he with the other half having put himself into the Castle of *Reconis*. Here Monsieur de *Cental* and Captain *Mons* came up to me, they two only, and saw as well as I, that the said *Spaniards* put themselves into file, which we judg'd to be eleven or thirteen in File, and in the mean time their Cavalry came up to them.

Now they had already discover'd us, although they had hitherto seen no more than five, and I for my part was particularly known, when I went down to discover, by the Serjeant of *Mendoza*, who had been taken at the defeat of the *Italians*, and deliver'd three days after; whereupon they plac'd all their Cavalry before, and only twenty or five and twenty Harquebusiers at the head of them, a great Company at the head of their Pikes, and the remainder in the Rear; in which order with Drums beating they began to march. I took my Harquebusiers which I divided into three Squadrons, the first whereof I gave to Captain *Lienard*, the second to *le Pallu* Lieutenant to Monsieur de *Carces*, who had his two Companies at *Savillan*, and I my self led the third in the Rear of them, the Corslets following after; where, at the first coming up, I had *la Garde* killed by my side. The Enemy still held on their march, without making any shew of breaking, firing upon us all the way with very great fury, and we also upon them, so that I was constrain'd to call Captain *Lienard* to come and join with me, forasmuch as a Squadron of Harquebusiers was drawn off from their Front, to reinforce their Rear. I likewise call'd up *le Pallu*, and after this manner they march'd on till they came within sight of the Castle of *St. Fré*, which was three miles, or more, continually plying us with their Harquebuze shot. I had once almost put them to rout, at the passing over a great ditch, near to a house where was a base Court, where we pursued them so close, that we came to the Sword, whereupon twenty or five and twenty of them leap'd into the base Court, and there some of ours falling in pell-mell amongst them, they were all cut to pieces, whilst in the interim of that execution, the rest got over the ditch: Our Cavalry had thought to have charg'd them, but did not, being kept off by the Harquebuze shot, by which many of their horses were slain, and as for Captain *Gabarret* and *Baron*, they committed an error, who, seeing us in the ditch, all shuffled pell-mell together, forsook their horses, and took their Pikes, yet could they not come up in time, which if they had, and that the Corslets could have march'd at the rate the Harquebusiers did, they had there been infallibly defeated: but it was not possible, being hindred by the weight of their Arms, so that the Enemy march'd on, still ridding ground, till being come near to a little Bridge of Brick, I left our Harquebusiers still fighting, and gallop'd to our Cavalry, that was in three Bodies, Monsieur de *Cental* leading his own, which still keeping at distance out of the reach of the shot march'd sometimes before, and sometimes a little on one side, to whom, coming up to him, I said, *Ah Monsieur de Cental will you not charge? do you not see that the Enemy will escape us, if they once get over that Bridg, and immediately recover the wood of St. Fré? which if they do, we are never more worthy to bear Arms, and for my part I will from this hour forswear them.* Who in a great fury made answer, that it stuck not at him, but that I was to speak to Captain *Mons*, which I also did, saying to him these words. *Hah Camrade! must we this day receive so great a disgrace, and lose so fair an opportunity, because your Horse will not charge?* Who thereupon answered, *What would you have us do, your Corslets*

Encounter
betwixt the
Imperialists
and the
French.

sets cannot come up to the fight, would you have us fight alone? To which I made answer, swearing for rage, that I had no need of Corslets, wishing they were all at *Savillan*, since they could not come up to fight; he then said to me, go speak to the foremost Troop, and in the mean time I will advance; I then spur'd to them, where I began to remonstrate to Monsieur de *Termes* his Gentlemen, that it was not above nine or ten days since we had fought with the *Italians*, and beaten them, and now that we should fight with the *Spaniards* to obtain greater honor, must they escape from us? Who thereupon with one voice all cryed out, *It does not stick at us, It does not stick at us.* I then ask'd them if they would promise me to charge so soon as I should have made the Harquebusiers berake themselves to their Swords, to run in upon them, which they did assure me they would upon pain of their lives. There was at that time amongst them a Nephew of mine call'd *Serillac* (who after was Lieutenant to Monsieur de *Cypierre* at *Parma*, and there taken prisoner with him, and since slain at *Montepullsianne*, and, in truth, amongst these thirty Launces there were the best men that Monsieur de *Termes* had in all his Troop) to whom I said; *Serillac, thou art my Nephew, but if thou dost not charge in the first man amongst them, I henceforth disclaim thee, and thou shalt no more be any Kinsman of mine;* who immediately return'd me answer, *You shall presently see, Uncle, whether I will or no.* Which said he clap'd down his Beaver, as also did all the rest, to charge. I then cryed out to them to stay a little, till I first got up to my men, and thereupon ran to my Harquebusiers, where being come, I told them, that it was now no longer time to shoot, but that we must fall on to the Sword. Captains, my Camrades, whenever you shall happen to be at such a feast as this, press your followers, speak first to one, and then to another, bestir your selves, and doubt not but by this means you will render them valiant throughout, if they but half so before. They all on a suddain clap'd hands to their Swords, when so soon as Captain *Mons*, who was a little before, and Monsieur de *Cental*, who was on one side, saw the first Troop shut down their Beavers, and saw me run to the Harquebusiers, and in an instant their Swords in their hands, they knew very well that I had met with Lads of mettle, and began to draw near. I for my part lighted from my horse, taking a Halbert in my hand (which was my usual weapon in fight) and all of us ran headlong to throw our selves in amongst the Enemy. *Serillac* was as good as his word, for he charg'd in the first, as they all confes'd, where his horse was kill'd at the head of the Enemies Harquebusiers, and our own Horse, with seven Harquebuzes shot. *Tilladet, Lavit, Ydron, Montseier, les Maurens, and les Masses,* all *Gascon* Gentlemen of the same Troop, and companions of the said *Serillac*, charg'd the Horse thorough and thorough, whom they overturn'd upon the head of their own Foot. Monsieur de *Cental* also charg'd in the Flank, quite thorough both Horse and Foot, Captain *Mons* charg'd likewise on the other side, so that they were all overthrowen, and routed both Horse and Foot. And there we began to lay about us, above fourscore or an hundred men being left dead upon the place. *Rozalles*, Captain to one of the two Troops of Light horse, with four others got away, as also did Don *Juan de Guibara* upon a Turk with his Page only, who happened to be on horseback, being shot thorough the hand, of which he ever after remain'd lame, and I do believe is yet living.

The Imperialists overthrowen.

The good fortune of Mr. de Montluc.

This is the true relation of this fight, as it pass'd, there being several at this day alive, who were present at it, and I desire no other testimony to prove whether I have fail'd in one tittle of the truth. Monsieur de *Cental* carried away prisoner with him the Lieutenant of the Count St. *Martin*, he having been taken by some of his people, together with some others both of Horse and Foot, and with us went Captain *Aguillere*, and *Mendoza* the Lieutenant of *Rozalles*, he that carried the Cornette, and he that carried that of the Count Saint *Martin*, (though they had not their Colours with them) and all the rest both of Horse and Foot to *Savillan*. In ten days were all these three Actions performed, to wit, the rout of the *Italians*, the death of Count *Pedro d'Apparte* at *Barges*, and this defeat of the *Spaniards*. I must needs therefore say, for what concerns my self, that if ever God accompanied the fortune of a man, he went along with mine; and do stedfastly believe, that had he not put to his Almighty Arm, we had been overcome. But he sent us *Cental*, who deferr'd the time in very good season for us, which had it fallen out otherwise, a more fuious combat had never been heard of then that had been; for if they were brave and hardy, we were nothing indebted to them. Ours was a marvellous spritely little Body, and (that I may leave nothing imperfect) I would not that any one should imagine, that the Corslets came not up to the fight for want of courage, nothing hindering them from advancing so fast as need requir'd, but the weight of their Arms: for we had scarce made an end, when they arriv'd upon the place of Battel, cursing their arms, that had hindred them from having part of the feast.

Now these three Companies and a half of *Spaniards* thus defeated, the three that went to *Fossan*,

those who were retir'd with the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Marquis de *Gust*, and the four thousand *German* and *Spanish* Foot, which were left in *Carignan*, had altogether very much weakened the Enemies Camp; so that after some time Monsieur de *Boitier* resolv'd (having Monsieur de *Tais* and de *St. Julien* with him) to draw all his Forces in the several Garrisons together, to make a flying Army. To this end he sent me order, with my own Company, the two Companies of Monsieur de *Carces*, and that of Count *Landriano* an *Italian*, to meet him at *Pignerol*. He also sent to Monsieur de *Termes*, that he should only keep two Companies with him at *Savillan*, namely those of *Gabarret*, and *Baron*; where also the Quarters were so good, that the forenamed Gentlemen were very glad, that Monsieur de *Termes* invited them to stay with him. I will write a word or two to serve for a caution to my fellow Captains, and to shew them, that they ought to consider all the inconveniences that may happen to them, and to provide remedies against every accident that may befall.

Monsieur de *Termes* had a mind to perform an exploit at *Castilholle* in the Marquisate of *Saluzzo*, upon three Ensigns of the Enemies, that had put themselves into three Palaces, one close by another, having Bastion'd the Streets in such manner, that they could go from one Palace to another, within their own lines, and his design was to kill two Birds with one stone; that is, to accompany me as far as *Castilholle*, and with two field pieces he intended to carry along with him to force the Palaces, and that from thence I should go on to *Pignerol*, and he (taking the two Companies of *Baron* and *Nicholas* to guard the Artillery) would return to *Savillan*. Now all the Enemies Forces were quarter'd at *Pinguons*, *Vimus*, and *Vigon*, and in two or three adjacent places; so that I had no great stomach to this enterprize, forasmuch as the Enemies strength lying so near to the said *Castilholle*, they might in seven or eight hours time have intelligence of any thing should there be attempted, and consequently in as much more be upon us: But Monsieur de *Termes*, who had set his heart upon this design, would hear no argument of mine to the contrary, especially being that not four months before Monsieur de *Aussun* and *St. Julian* had at the same place defeated two Companies, and taken their Captains, where I was present with them, they having borrowed me of Monsieur de *Boitier*, and my Company also: but I represented to him, that these were the same Captains, that having paid their ransoms, were newly come out of prison, and who having seen the error whereby they had lost themselves before, had doubtless now provided against such surprizes. For after a man has once been trapp'd in a place, he must have a damnable thick skull, if, when he shall be again expos'd to the same danger, he look not better about him than before, and become wise at his own cost. And I have heard great Captains say, that it is convenient to be beaten sometimes, because a man becomes more circumspect by his disasters: but I am very glad that I never was, and had rather learn to be wise at another mans expence than my own.

All my remonstrances could do no good, so that in the beginning of the night we began to march, and an hour before day arrived at the place. Monsieur de *Termes* then planted his Canon within an hundred paces of one of the Palaces, which *le Baron* and *Nicholas* immediately undertook to guard, and Captain *Pallu*, the Count de *Landriano* and my self were to fight. I won one of the Palaces, not that which was batter'd by the Artillery, but by breaking thorough from house to house, till at last I had broke a hole into the Palace it self, thorough which nevertheless they kept me from entring (besides I very well remembered the Hole where I had been so well cudgell'd, in the voyage to *Naples*) which made me set fire to a little house adjoyning to the said Palace. They then retir'd into one of the others, the fight having continued until two of the clock in the afternoon, without any other laying to a helping hand, save our four Companies only. I there lost fifteen or sixteen of my men, Monsieur de *Carces* as many of his, and the Count de *Landriano* escaped not scot-free. We had notwithstanding compell'd them to quit the other, which the Artillery had batter'd, and to retreat to the third; where, being we were to unwall two Gates, some were of opinion not to make any further attempt, but that Monsieur de *Termes* should return with all speed to *Savillan*, and I, with my four Companies to take my way directly to *Pignerol*, which (to my great grief) was concluded; for I would either have made an end, or, with the remainder of my men, have perish'd in the attempt. And it is a vice that has ever been observ'd in me, that I have always been too obstinate in fight: but let them all say what they will, I have ever done better than worse. But Monsieur de *Termes* consented to give over, fearing he might lose some Captain, for which he might afterwards receive a rebuke, the King's Lieutenant having no knowledge of the enterprize; and I march'd on straight to *Barges*. When I came to *Bourg* the night fell upon me, and I had yet three long miles of plain to march over, before I could come to *Cabours*, where I intended

ded to bait, and to take three or four hours repose; when being entred into the Plain, I sent Captain *Lienard* (who was with me) to go speak with Monsieur *de Boitieres*, to know what kind of way it was to *Cabours* (for I had never been in that Country before) who brought me word that it was all plain. I then made a halt, and fell to discourse with Captain *Lienard*, that we had set out from *Savillan* the night before, that in seven or eight hours *Cesar de Naples* might have intelligence of our motion, and that two days before it had been known all over *Savillan*, that I was to go to *Pignerol*; of which *Cesar de Naples* might have notice, and it was not above six or seven miles to *Vigon*, where the greatest part of their Cavalry lay, wherefore we could not possibly pass over this plain without running a manifest danger, which (especially in the night, where there is no shame) we might without any dishonor avoid. Captain *Lienard* confess'd that all this might be, but that nevertheless I had no other way to go, unless I would go three or four miles about, and pass the streight near to the source, where he thought we should however meet with water. Upon this my Guides overhearing our discourse, told me that there was water up to the middle of the thigh, and there was not a man amongst them, but was of a contrary opinion to mine: but I, contrary to the opinion of all, turn'd on the left hand, and took the way directly towards the Mountain, finding the water, by good fortune, but knee deep, so that we recover'd the side of the Mountain leading straight to *Barges*, whither we did not however expect to come till break of day; which we did without sleeping from the day we set out: For the evening we slept not, at night we began to march, all day long we fought at the Palaces, and the night after we march'd to *Barges*, which was eight and forty hours. I have done the like without sleeping five or six times in my life, and six and thirty several times. You must (fellow Soldiers) enure your selves betimes to labour and hardship, without sleeping, or eating, to the end, that in time of need, you may support all sorts of toyl, and travel with patience.

Now you must know, that my suspicion was not vain, for *Cesar de Naples*, having had intelligence of our design, parted from *Carmagnolle* with five hundred Harquebusiers on horseback, drawing out of *Vinus* and *Vigon* five hundred Horse, with which he came, and laid an Ambuscado in the middle of the plain, about a Cross-bow shot on the one side of my way, where he lay all night; so that when I came to *Barges*, a little after Sun-rise, as I was just laid down to sleep, I heard the Arrillery of *Cabours*, which shot at them as they went off; for they were of necessity to pass by the Suburb of the said *Cabours*. I was not certainly enform'd of this Ambuscado, till three days after my coming to *Pignerol*, that Monsieur *de Boitieres* put himself into the field, at which time we went directly to *Vigon*, to force the Cavalry that were there, for Foot they had none at all; where we gain'd the houses adjoining to the Gate: but being we could not enter the Town, our Camp retreated a mile off, and in the night the Cavalry secretly abandoned the place; insomuch that at break of day, when we had thought to have gone on to the assault (Monsieur *de Boitieres*, having sent for two pieces of Canon from *Pignerol*) we found no body there, and the place totally empty. The same also did those of *Vinus*, *Pingues*, and the other places, withdrawing themselves to *Carmagnolle*.

The nature of
the French.

I thought fit to discourse this affair, and commit this passage to writing to rouse up our Capitans spirits, that they may look about them, and whenever they shall find themselves engaged upon the same account, may carefully compute, what time the Enemy may have wherein to be advertis'd of their motion, and also what time is requir'd wherein to make their retreat. Whereupon if you shall find, that your Enemy has time enough to take you upon your march, and that you are not strong enough to fight them, never scruple to turn out of your way, for the trouble of going three or four leagues about; for it is better to be wary, than to be kill'd or taken. You must not only have your eye at watch, but your understanding also. 'Tis under your vigilance and care, that your Soldiers repose, consider therefore every thing that may happen, always measuring the time, and taking things at the worst, and despise not your Enemy. If you have the art, with chearful and frolick expressions to cajole and rouse up the Soldier, by times representing to him the danger of a little delay, you may make them do what you list, and without giving them leisure to sleep, convey them and your selves into a place of safety, without engaging your honor, as several, whom I have known taken a bed *a la Françoise* (as the saying is) have done. Our Nation cannot suffer long, as the *Spaniard* and *German* can; yet is not the fault in the air of *France*; nor in the nature of the people, but in the Chief. I am a *French* man, impatient (they say) and moreover a *Gascon*, who exceed the other *French* in choler and impatience, as I think they do in valour; yet have I ever been patient of all sorts of toyl and suffering, as much as any other could be, and have known several of my time, and others whom I have bred, that have enur'd and hardned themselves to all pain and travel, and believe me (you that com-

command in arms) if you your selves be such, you will make your Soldiers the same in time. I am sure, had not I done so, I had been kill'd or taken. But let us return to our Subject.

The next day we went to pass the River of *Pau*, over which we made a Bridge of Wagons for the Foot only, the Horse fording it over at great ease, it being no more than bel-ly deep: we were all night in passing, and at break of day when they were almost all got over, I with a Company of Harquebusiers went up close to the Town, where I fell to skirmishing, having some Horse also with me. *Cesar de Naples* then immediately put his men in order to quit *Carmagnolle*, and began to march, retiring towards a River there to retreat to *Quiers*. Where had it not been that our Cavalry fetch'd a great compass to get clear of the ditches, we had certainly fault, and perhaps defeated them, as (to say the truth) we might have done however, had some been so disposed. I'm sure it stuck not at our Companies; nor at Monsieur de *Tais*: But Monsieur le President *Birague*, if he will speak the truth, knows very well where the fought lay, for he was then in the Army with Monsieur de *Boitieres*, and both heard and saw all they said and did, and knows very well that I with two hundred Harquebusiers pursued them upon their retreat, firing all the way for above a mile and a half together, and ready to tear my flesh to see how faintly they advanc'd, which shew'd they had no great stomach to fight.

'Tis an ill thing when a Generall is in fear of being beaten, and whoever goes timorously to work will never do any thing to purpose: had there been no greater men in the Company than my self, without trifling after that manner, I had done as I did by the *Spaniards*, which I defeated but fifteen days before. There were a great many excuses however on all sides, why we did not fight, and not only there, but also throughout all *Piedmont*, where they spoke of us God knows with what Characters of honor. After the report of this Cowardise (for it can be call'd by no other name) was spread abroad, Monsieur de *Boitieres* was not very well satisfied with himself: but I shall leave this discourse, and fall upon some other Subject; only this I must say, that the world had after, no great opinion of him; he was ill obey'd, and worse respected: if there was any fault on his part or not, I leave others to judge, and there are enough yet living, that can tell better than I; yet was he a prudent and a good Cavalier: but God makes no body perfect at all points.

Three or four days after came *Ludovico de Birague*, who propos'd an enterprize to Monsieur de *Boitieres*, which was, that in case he would leave Monsieur de *Tais* about *Boulongne* (where he was Governor) with seven, or eight Companies of Foot, that then he would engage to take *Cassantin*, *St. Germain*, and *St. Jago*; a thing that, because Monsieur de *Boitieres* was upon the design of breaking the Bridge at *Carignan*, he made very great difficulty to consent unto, until the said Bridge should first be broken down: but Monsieur de *Termes* being come with his own Company, and the two Companies of the Baron de *Nicolas*, it was concluded amongst them, that Monsieur de *Tais* might be spar'd to go with Signior *Londiné*, with seven Ensigns, being that still there would remain five or six; the three Companies of Monsieur de *Dros*, which he had again recruited, and seven or eight others of *Italians*. I do not well remember whether Monsieur de *Strozzi* was himself yet arriv'd or no, for the last nam'd were his men: but it may suffice, that we made up, what *French* and *Italians*, eighteen Ensigns besides the *Swisse*. It was therefore concluded in the Council, that before they should take in hand the breaking of the Bridge, they should first see how the enterprize of the said Signior *Ludovico* should succeed, which should it miscarry, and that they were defeated, all *Piedmont* would be in very great danger. But in a few days after news was brought to Monsieur *Boitieres*, that they had taken *St. Germans* and *St. Jago*, with four or five other little enclos'd Towns. Neither must I forget that Monsieur de *Tais* stiffly insisted to have had me along with him, insomuch that there arose some dispute about it: But Monsieur de *Boitieres* protested he would not undertake to break the Bridge unless I was there: Monsieur de *Termes*, Monsieur d' *Aussun*, the President *Birague*, and Signior *Francisco Bernardin* stood very high on Monsieur *Boitieres* his side, so that I was constrained to stay, very much against my will, I having a very great desire to have gone along with Monsieur de *Tais*, both because he lov'd me, and had as great confidence in me as in any Captain of the Regiment; as also that he was a man of exceeding great mettle, and would seek all occasions of fighting: however the foremention'd news being brought, the breaking of the Bridge was concluded, and after this manner.

It was order'd that I with five or six Companies of *Gascons*, should go fight the hundred *Germans*, and hundred *Spaniards* that had every night kept Guard at the end of the Bridge, ever since our Army had been at *Pingues*. To which I made answer, that I would not have so many; for being to pass thorough narrow ways, so great a number of men would make so very long a File, that the sixth part of them could never come up to

I

fight;

The enter-
prize of break-
ing the
Bridge of *Ca-
rignan*.

fight: and in short, that I would only have an hundred Harquebusiers, and an hundred Corslets, to be equal to the Enemy; not doubting, but, before the Game was done, to make it appear, that our Nation were as good, as either *German* or *Spaniard*: but withal that *Boguedemar*, *la Pallu*, and another Captain (whose name I have forgot) should bring all the rest of the men after, at the distance of three hundred paces, to assist me in case the Enemy should sally out of *Carignan*, to relieve their own people. Which accordingly was left to my discretion.

Order for
breaking the
Bridge.

There was a house on the left hand the Bridge, which it was order'd the *Italians* (who might be between twelve and fourteen Ensigns) should possess themselves of, to favour me, should the Enemy make a Sally; that Monsieur de *Boitieres* should advance with all the Cavalry, and the *Swisse* within half a mile; that Captain *Labardac* with his Company should advance on the other side of the River, with two pieces of Canon, to make some shot at a little house which was on the Bridge end on our side, where the Enemy kept their Guard, and that Monsieur de *Salcede* (who but a little before was come over to us) with three or fourscore Country fellows (every one bringing a hatchet along with him) should attempt to break the Bridge. For whom also seven or eight Boats were prepared wherein to convey themselves under the said Bridge, where they were to cut the Posts, not quite thorough, but to the thickness of a mans leg, and that being done, to cut the long beams that supported the Bridge above, which dividing from one another the Pillars would totter and break of themselves; they had moreover certain fire works deliver'd to them, which they were made to believe, being applyed to the Pillars, would in a short time burn them down to the water. Every one then going to execute the orders they had received; I with my two hundred men, chosen out of all the Companies, went full drive directly towards the Bridge, where I could not however so soon arrive, but that the Canon had already made one shot at the little house, had broken into it, and kill'd a *German*, whom at my coming I found there not quite dead. And although it was night, yet the Moon shone out so clear that we might easily see from the one end to the other, saving that by intervals there fell a mist, which continued sometimes half an hour, and sometimes less, during which we could not see a yards distance from us.

Now either frighted at the report of the Canon, or at the noise I made at the house (it being not above an hundred paces distant from the Bridge) the Enemy took their heels, and fled away towards *Carignan*, after whom I sent some Harquebuzer shot: but follow'd no further than the end of the Bridge. At the same time also Monsieur de *Salcede*, with his Boors and his Boats, arriv'd underneath, who at his first coming presently fastned his artificial fires to the Pillars: but it was only so much time thrown away, and he must of force make the fellows fall to't with their Axes, who having ty'd their Boats fast to the said Pillars, began to lay on at that end where the *Swisse* were, cutting on straight towards me, who kept the other end of the Bridge towards the Enemy.

This fury of the Clowns lasted for four long hours, continually laying on upon the Pillars, insomuch that though they were rank'd four and four together, and of a very great thickness, yet before we had any disturbance, they were all cut to the very place where I was. Monsieur de *Salcede* ever caused one Company to rest themselves upon the Bank of the River, where he had caus'd a little fire to be made, and from hour to hour made them to relieve one another; during which employment, the Enemy sent out thirty or forty Harquebusiers to discover what we were doing, just at a time when the Fog fell, whom I could neither see nor hear for the noise of the axes, 'till they were got within four Pikes length of me, and let fly amongst us, which having done they immediately retir'd: yet could they not see us by reason of the mist. Messieurs de *Termes* then and de *Moneins* with three or four horse came up to us to know the meaning of those Harquebuzer shots; and sent back to Monsieur de *Boitieres* to tell him that it was nothing, and that for them we nothing desisted from the work, themselves alone still remaining with me. They had not staid an hour but that the mist again began to fall, and the Enemy as soon return'd upon us, that is to say, six hundred *Spaniards* chosen men, and six hundred *German* Pikes, *Pedro de Colonne* (as I have since understood) having order'd the business thus. That two hundred Harquebusiers again chosen out of the six hundred should charge full drive directly upon us, the other four hundred to march at an hundred paces distance, in the Rear of them, and the six hundred *Germans* two hundred paces after all. Now I had plac'd the Captains who led the Ensigns after me, against a great ditch bank some two hundred paces behind me, and sometimes Captain *Favas* my Lieutenant, and sometimes *Boguedemar* came to me to see what we did, and again return'd back to their place. On that side of the Bridge towards the *Swisse* we peradventure had broken down some twenty paces, having begun to cut the beams above, and found that as the Bridge divided it fell down for fifteen or twenty

twenty paces together, which gave us hope that we should make an end of the work. In the mean time Monsieur *de Salcede* still made the Pillars to be cut over again, yet not quite thorough; but only a little more then before, which was the reason that he had divided his workmen into three parts, whereof one was in the Boats, the other upon the Bridge cutting the Traverse beams, and ten or twelve by the fire side. As God is pleas'd sometimes to be assisting to men, he this night wrought a real miracle; for in the first place, the two hundred Harquebusiers came up to me, finding me in such a posture, that scarce one Soldier had his match cock'd, for they went by turns ten or a dozen at a time to the Country mens fire to warm their hands, having two Centinels out a hundred paces from me, upon the way towards the City and not doubting but the *Italians* on their side would also have the same, for they were a little nearer than I; but it was a little on one side. How they order'd their business I cannot tell, for I had no more than my two Centinels, who came running in to me, and as they came in with the Alarm, the *Spaniards* also arriv'd crying out *Spain, Spain*, all the two hundred Harquebusiers firing upon us together. Whereupon Messieurs *de Termes* and *de Moneins* being on horseback, and alone, ran unto Monsieur *de Boitieres*, who had already seen the beginning of the disorder; and note that almost all the two hundred men I had at the end of the Bridge ran away straight to the Ensigns, and on a suddain the Ensigns also fled, and in like manner at the same time the *Italians* who were on our left hand did the same, neither once looking behind them till they came to the head of the Cavalry, where Monsieur *de Boitieres* himself stood. Our word was *St. Pierre*, but that did me no good; seeing which, I began to cry out *Montluc, Montluc*, you cursed cowardly whelps will you forsake me thus? By good fortune I had with me thirty or forty young Gentlemen, who had never a hair on their faces, the handsomest and the bravest youth that ever was seen in one little Company, who thought I had run away with the rest: but hearing my voice, returned immediately towards me; with whom, without staying for any more, I charg'd straight to the place, from whence the shot came whizzing by our ears: but to see one another was impossible for the mist that fell, together with the thick smoak that was mixt with it, and in running up to them my men discharg'd all together, crying out *France*, as they cry'd out *Spain*; and I dare affirm that we fir'd at less than three Pikes distance, by which charge their two hundred Harquebusiers were overturn'd upon the four hundred, and all of them upon the six hundred *Germanians*; so that all in a rout, and confusion, they fled full speed towards the City, for they could not discover what we were. I pursu'd them about two hundred paces: but my pursuit was interrupted, by the great noise in our Camp (I never heard the like) you would have sworn they had been all stark staring mad, calling and bawling upon one another: yet these great bawlers are none of the greatest fighters. There are a sort of men who bustle up and down, call, command, and keep a great clutter, and in the mean time for one step advance, retire two paces backward: but this hideous noise was the reason, that I could never discover the enemies disorder; neither could they discover ours, by reason of the great outcry they made, at their entrance into the City, which was no other than a Postern near to the Castle, into which three or four men only could march a-breast. Thus then I return'd to the end of the Bridge, where I found Monsieur *de Salcede* all alone, with ten or a dozen of the Country fellows whose turn it was to rest; for the others that were in the Boats, cut the Ropes, and fled away with the current of the River straight to *Montcalier*, those on the top that were cutting the traverse beams, on that side towards the *Swisse* leaving their axes and hatchets upon the Bridge, cast themselves into the water, which was there no more than waist deep, they being not yet come to the depth of the River. The *Swisse*, likewise, who heard this dismal noise, fell to running towards *Carmagnolle*, having an opinion that both we and all our Camp were in a rout, and taking the two Cannons along with them made all the hast they possibly could to recover *Carmagnolle*. I sent one of my Soldiers after the run-aways, to enquire news of my Lieutenant Captain *Favas*, whom he met (having rallyed thirty or forty of his men) returning towards the Bridge, to see what was become of me, believing me to be slain; who presently dispatch'd away to *Boguedemar*, *la Pallu* and some other Captains, who had made a halt, rallying some part of their men, whom he caus'd in all hast to march directly towards the Bridge, telling them, that I had beaten back the Enemy, who thereupon came at a good rate, to seek me. Captain *Favas* was the first that came, all torn and tatter'd like a skare-crow; forasmuch as the Soldiers in a crowd all run over his belly as he thought to have rallyed who found Monsieur *de Salcede* and me at the end of the Bridge consulting what we were best to do. So soon as he came he gave us an account of his fortune, and that of the rest of his companions, when seeing him so accoutred, we turn'd all into laughter; but the hubub in our Camp continued above a long hour after.

Disorder in
the night.

The other Captains being come up to us, we concluded to make an end of breaking down the Bridge; or there to lose our lives: whereupon I presently took fifty or three-score Soldiers, and Monsieur de Salcede the ten or twelve Country fellows he had left, giving order to Captain Favas, Boguedemar and la Palla to remain at the end of the Bridge, and to set out Centinels almost as far as the Gates of the City. I believ'd that the *Italians* notwithstanding the hurly-burly in our Camp, were yet at their post, and therefore commanded Captain Favas himself to go and see if they were there or no; who at his return found, that I had caused fifteen or twenty Soldiers to take up the axes the Peasants had left upon the Bridge, who, together with the ten or twelve Country fellows, were cutting the cross beams above; where he told us, that he had been at the house, but that he had found no body there. This news put us a little to a stand, what we were best to do: but nevertheless we stopt not to execute our former resolution; and so soon as the tumult was a little over, came Messieurs de Termes and de Moneins, who brought me a Command from Mr. de Boitieres immediately to retire. The said Sieur de Moneins alighted from his horse, for Monsieur de Termes could not for his Gout, and came to me on foot, where he found that since the disorder, we had at two cuttings made above thirty paces of the Bridge to fall, and were falling upon the third, each of them being fifteen, or twenty paces long; who thereupon return'd to Monsieur de Boitieres to acquaint him how all things had pass'd, Monsieur de Salcede having lost almost all his Peasants: but that our Soldiers had taken their axes, with which they did wonders in cutting, and that all the Captains and Soldiers, Monsieur de Salcede and I were resolved to die rather than depart from thence, till first the Bridge was totally broken down. Monsieur de Boitieres thereupon sent him back to protest against me for any loss, that might happen contrary to his command, which the said Sieur de Moneins did, telling us moreover, that the said Sieur de Boitieres was already upon his march to return, though he halted within a mile of us; which I conceive he did to the end, that by that means he might draw me off; for he wanted no courage, but he was always in fear to lose. Whoever is of that humor, may perhaps make a shift to save himself, but shall never achieve any great conquests. Monsieur de Termes had made a stop at the end of the Bridge, so soon as he had heard Monsieur de Boitieres to be upon his march, and return'd no more back with Monsieur de Moneins to carry my answer; but presently sent orders to his Company not to stir from the place where he had left them, and so we cut on all the remainder of the night, till within an hour of day, that we march'd towards the little house upon the Hill. Monsieur de Moneins return'd again to us, just at the instant when the last blow was given, and Monsieur de Termes ran to his Company, to cause them to advance a little towards us, that they might favour our retreat, and Monsieur de Moneins ran towards Monsieur de Boitieres, whom he found expecting his return; so that having deprived the Enemy of a great convenience, we retir'd without any manner of impediment at all. I was willing to commit this to writing, not to magnifie my self for any great valour in this Action; but to manifest to all the world, how God has ever been pleased to conduct my fortune. I was neither so great a Fop, nor so fool hardy, but that could I have seen the Enemy, I should have retir'd, and perhaps have run away as fast as the rest, and it had been madness, and not valour to have staid. Neither is there any shame attends a rational fear, when there is great occasion; and I should never have been so senseless, as with thirty or forty Foot only to have stood the fight.

The Bridge
broken down.

Captains by this may take exemple, never to run away, or (to put it into a better phrase) to make a hasty retreat, without first discovering who there is to pursue them, and moreover having seen them, to attempt all ways of opposition till they shall see there is no good to be done. For after all the means that God has given to men have been employed, and to no purpose; then flight is neither shameful nor unworthy: but believe me (Gentlemen) if you do not employ it all, every one will be ready to say (nay, even those who have run away with you) if he had done this, or if he had done that, the mischief had been prevented, and things had fallen out better than they did; and such a one vapours most and speaks highest, who perhaps was himself the first that ran away. Thus shall the reputation of a man of honor (let him be as brave as he will) be brought into dispute with all the world. When there is no more to be done, a man ought not to be obstinate, but to give way to fortune, which does not always smile. A man is no less worthy of blame for wilfully losing himself, when he may retire, and sees himself at the last extremity, than he who shamefully runs away at the first encounter: Yet the one is more dirty than the other; and this difference there is betwixt them, that the one will make you reputed rash and hair-brain'd, and the other a Poltron and a Coward. Both extremes are to be avoided. You are never to enter into these ridiculous and senseless resolutions, but when you see your selves fallen into the hands of a barbarous and merciless Enemy; and there indeed you are to fight

it to the last gasp, and sell your skin as dear as you can. One desperate man is worth ten others. But to fly, as they did here, without seeing who pursues you, is infamous and unworthy the courage of a man. It's true that the *French* man is accus'd for one thing, that is, that he runs and fights for company: and so do others as well as they. There are ill workmen of all Trades. Now after the place was surrendred, I will tell you how I came to know the Enemies disorder. It was by the people of *Carignan* themselves, and from Signior *Pedro de Colonna's* own mouth, who related it to *Susanne*, in the presence of Captain *Renovard*, who conducted him to the King by the command of Monsieur d'*Anguien*, according to his capitulation after the Battel of *Serizolles*, which you shall have an account of in its proper place.

The breaking of this Bridge was not undertaken but upon very mature consideration, and the Enemy soon after began to be very much distress'd, being no relief was to be had from *Quiers*, as before they had every night duly received. So soon as Monsieur de *Tais* and Signior *Ludovico de Birago* had heard the success of this enterprize of the Bridge, they sent word to Monsieur de *Boitieres*, that if he would come into those parts where they were, they believ'd they might carry *Ivrée*. Whereupon both Monsieur de *Boitieres* and his Council were of opinion, that he ought to go, leaving Garrisons at *Pingues*, *Vinus*, *Vigon* and other places, nearest to *Carignan*. And as I remember Monsieur d'*Aussun*, with twelve or fourteen *Italian* Ensigns, and three or four of ours, his own and some other Troops of Horse (which I have forgot) remain'd behind to command in chief. The Enemy had no Horse at all at *Carignan*, which was the reason they were kept so short on every side.

Monsieur de *Boitieres* then departed, with Messieurs de *Termes*, de *St. Julien*, President *Birague*, and the Sieur de *Mauré*, and went to joyn Forces at *St. Jago* and *St. Germaine*, and afterwards sat down before *Ivrée*, where we did just nothing, because it was not possible to break the Causey that damm'd up the water; which thing could it have been done, we had infallibly taken the place, forasmuch as there was no other defence but the River on that side: but we were constrain'd to let it alone, and to go to besiege *St. Martin*, which also we took upon composition, after it had stood out two or three hundred Canon shot; and some other places thereabouts. And as we were returning towards *Chivras*, in the interim of the Siege of *Ivrée*, Monsieur de *Boitieres* had notice given him, that Monsieur d'*Aussun* was coming to command in his stead.

The King, in truth, was highly dissatisfied with him; both for that he had suffer'd *Carignan* at so much leisure to be fortified, and also upon other particular accounts. A man must walk very upright to satisfy all the world. The said Sieur de *Boitieres* was however very angry at it; and 'twas said thereupon withdrew from before *Ivrée* in despite, which otherwise in the end 'twas thought he might have taken: but I am not of that opinion. So it was that Monsieur d'*Anguien* arrived, bringing with him for supplies seven Companies of *Swisse*, commanded by a Colonel call'd *le Baron*; and, as I remember, it was at this time, that Monsieur de *Dros* with seven or eight Ensigns, what of *Provençals* and *Italians*, came up also, and Monsieur de *Boitieres* retir'd to his own house in *Dauphiné*. There is much to do in this world, and those who are in great command are never without vexation; for if they be too adventurous, and come by the worst, they are look'd upon as fools and mad men; if tedious and slow, they are despised, nay reputed Cowards; the wise therefore are to observe a mean betwixt both. Our Masters in the mean time will not be paid with these discourses, they expect to have their business done, but we must ever be prating, and censuring others, when were we in the same condition we should find we had enough to do.

The End of the First Book.

THE

THE
COMMENTARIES
OF
Messire Blaize de Montluc,
MARESCHAL of
FRANCE.

The Second Book.



Mr. d' Angui-
en the Kings
Lieutenant in
Piedmont.

Monfieur de
by Montluc sent
Monfieur d'
Anguien to
the King.

1544.

The Sieur de
Montluc made
a Gentleman
Waiter.

At the arrival of this brave and generous Prince, which promis'd great successes under his conduct, he being endu'd with an infinite number of shining qualities, as being gentle, affable, valiant, wise and liberal; all the *French* and all those who bore arms in our favour, did very much rejoyce, and particularly I, because he had a kindness for me, and was pleased to set a higher esteem upon me than I could any way deserve. After he had taken a view of all the Forces, Magazines and Places that we held, and that he had taken order for all things after the best manner he could, about the beginning of *March* he dispatch'd me away to the King, to give his Majesty an account how affairs stood, and withal to acquaint him, that the Marquis de *Guaft* was raising a very great Army, to whom new succours of *Germans* were also sent, and moreover that the Prince of *Salerna* was also coming from *Naples* with six or seven thousand *Italians* under his command. It was at the time when the Emperor and the King of *England* were agreed, and combin'd together jointly to invade the Kingdom of *France*, which they had also divided betwixt them. I had waited at Court near upon three weeks for my dispatch, having already acquitted my self of my Commission, which was in sum only to demand some succours of the King, and to obtain leave to fight a Battel. And about the end of the said Month came Letters also to the King from Monsieur d' *Anguien*, wherein he gave him notice that seven thousand *Germans* were already arriv'd at *Milban*, of the best of those the Emperor had had before *Landreci*, where there were seven Regiments of them; but being he could not at that time fight with the King, he commanded the seven Colonels to choose each a thousand out of their respective Regiments, ordering them to leave their Lieutenants to get their Regiments ready, and so sent them into *Italy* to joyn with the Marquis de *Guaft*. Wherefore the said Monsieur d' *Anguien* humbly besought his Majesty to send me speedily away to him, and also requested him, that he would please to do something for me, as a reward for my former services, and an encouragement to more for the time to come. Upon which Letter his Majesty was pleased to confer upon me the Office of a Gentleman Waiter (which in those times was no ordinary favour; nor so cheap as now a days) and made me to wait upon him at Dinner, commanding me in the afternoon to make my self ready to return into *Piedmont*, which I accordingly did. About two of the Clock Monsieur de *Annebant* sent for me to come to the King, who was already entred into the Council, where there was assisting Monsieur de *St. Pol* the Admiral, Monsieur le Grand *Efcuyer*, *Galliot*, Monsieur de *Boiffy* (since grand *Efcuyer*) and two or three others, whom I have forgot, together with the *Dauphin* who stood behind the Kings Chair; and none of them were set, but the King himself, Monsieur de *St. Pol*, who sat hard by him, and the Admiral on the other side of the Table over against the said Sieur de *St. Pol*.

So

So soon as I came into the Chamber, the King said to me, Montluc, *I would have you return into Piedmont to carry my determination, and that of my Council to Monsieur d'Anguien, and will that you hear the difficulties we make of giving him leave to fight a Battel according to his desire, and thereupon commanded Monsieur de St. Pol to speak.* The said Monsieur de St. Pol then began to lay open the enterprize of the Emperor, and the King of England, who within six or seven weeks were determin'd to enter into the Kingdom, the one on the one side and the other on the other; so that should Monsieur d'Anguien lose the Battel, the whole Kingdom would be in danger to be lost: for as much as all the Kings hopes (for what concerned his Foot) resided in the Regiments he had in Piedmont, for that in France there were no other but what were now Legionary Soldiers, and that therefore it was much better, and more safe to preserve the Kingdom than Piedmont, concerning which they were to be on the defensive part, and by no means to hazard a Battel, the loss whereof would not only lose Piedmont; but moreover give the Enemy footing on that side of the Kingdom. The Admiral said the same, and all the rest, every one arguing according to his own fancy. I twitter'd to speak, and offering to interrupt Monsieur de Galliot as he was delivering his opinion, Monsieur de St. Pol made a sign to me with his hand, saying *not too fast, not too fast*, which made me hold my peace, and I saw the King laugh. Monsieur le Dauphin said nothing, I believe it is not the custom, though the King would have him present, that he might learn; for before Princes there are evermore very eloquent debates, but not always the soundest determinations; for they never speak but by halves, and always sooth their Masters humor, for which reason I should make a very scurvy Courtier; for I must ever speak as I think. The King then said these words to me, Montluc, *have you heard the Reasons for which I cannot give Monsieur d'Anguien leave to fight?* to which I made answer, *that I had both heard and weigh'd them very well; but that if his Majesty would please to give me leave to deliver my opinion, I would very gladly do it: not that nevertheless for that his Majesty should any ways alter what had already been determin'd in his Council.* His Majesty then told me that he would permit me so to do, and that I might freely say whatsoever I would. Whereupon I began after this manner. I remember it as well as it had been but three days ago; God has given me a very great memory in these kind of things, for which I render him hearty thanks; for it is a great contentment to me now that I have nothing else to do, to recollect my former fortunes, and to call to mind the former passages of my life, to set them truly down without any manner of addition; for be they good or bad you shall have them as they are.

SIR,

I Think my self exceedingly happy, as well that you are pleased I shall deliver my poor opinion upon a subject that has already been debated in your Majesties Council, as also that I am to speak to a Warlike King; for both before your Majesty was call'd to this great charge, which God has conferr'd upon You, and also since, you have as much tempted the fortune of War, as any King that ever rul'd in France, and that without sparing your own Royal Person any more than the meanest Gentleman of your Kingdom; wherefore I need not fear freely to deliver my opinion, being to speak both to a King and a Soldier. (Here the Dauphin, who stood behind the Kings Chair, and just over against me, gave me a nod with his head, by which I guess'd he would have me to speak boldly, and that gave me the greater assurance, though, in plain truth, I had ever confidence enough, and fear never stop'd my mouth.) Sir, said I, we are betwixt five and six thousand Gascons upon the List, for your Majesty knows that the Companies are never fully compleat; neither can all ever be at the Battel; but I make account we shall be five thousand, and five or six hundred Gascons compleat, that I dare make good to your Majesty upon my Honor: Of these every Captain and Soldier will present you with a List of all their names, and the places from whence we come, and will engage our heads to you, all of us to fight in the day of Battel, if your Majesty will please to grant it, and give us leave to fight. 'Tis the only thing we have so long expected and desir'd, without sneaking thus up and down from place to place, and hiding our heads in corners. Believe me, Sir, the world has not more resolute Soldiers than these are, they desire nothing more than once to come to the decision of Arms. To these there are thirteen Ensigns of Swisse: Of which the six of St Julien I know much better than those of Swisse. le Baron, which Fourly commands, yet I have seen them all muster'd, and there may be as many of them as of ours. These will make you the same promise we do, who are your natural Subjects, and deliver in the names of all to be sent to their Cantons, to the end that if any man fail in his duty, he may be cashier'd, and degraded from all practise of Arms for ever. A condition to which they are all ready to submit, as they assured me at my departure.

The Sieur de Montluc's speech to the King to obtain leave to fight a Battel.

Gascons.

Italians, Pro-
vençals, and
Fribourgers.

Gens d' Ar-
mes.
Archers.
Light horse.

parture. And being of the same Nation, I make no doubt but those of le Baron will do the same. Your Majesty may have taken notice of them all before Landrecy. Here then, Sir, are nine thousand men, or more, on which you may depend, and assure your self that they will fight to the last gasp of their lives. As for the Italians and Provençals which are under Monsieur des Cros, and also the Fribourgers that came to us before Ivreé; I shall not take upon me to become security for them, but I hope they will all do as well as we, especially when they shall see how we lay about us (at which I lifted up my arm (in the earnestness of speaking) as if I were going to strike, whereat the King smil'd.) You should also, Sir, have four hundred men at arms in Piedmont, of which there may well be three hundred, and as many Archers, as well disposed as we. You have four Captains of Light horse, which are Messieurs de Termes, d' Aussun, Francisco Bernardin and Mauré, each of which ought to have two hundred Light horse, and amongst them all they will furnish you with five or six hundred Horse, all which are ambitious to manifest the zeal they have to your Service. I know what they are, and what they will do very well. The King then began to be a little angry to hear that the Companies of the Gens-d' Armes were not all compleat: but I told him that it was impossible; forasmuch as some of them had obtained leave of their Captains to go home to their own houses to refresh themselves, and others were sick: but that if his Majesty would please to give leave to those Gentlemen who would beg it of him, to be present at the Battel, they would very well supply that default. Since then, Sir, said I, (continuing my discourse) that I am so happy as to speak before a Soldier King, who would you have to kill ten thousand Foot, and a thousand or twelve hundred Horse, all resolute to overcome or dye? Such men as these, and so resolv'd, are not so easily defeated; neither are they Novices in War. We have have several times attack'd the Enemy upon equal terms, and for the most part beaten them. And I dare boldly say that had we all of us one arm ty'd behind us, it would not be in the power of the Enemy to kill us all in a whole days time, without losing the greatest part of their Army, and the choicest of their men. Imagine then when we have both our arms at liberty, and our weapons in our hands, how easie it will be to beat us. Truly, Sir, I have heard great Captains discourse, and say that an Army of twelve or fifteen thousand men is sufficient to confront an Army of thirty thousand; for 'tis not the crowd but the courage that overcomes, and in a Battel the one half of them never comes to fight. We desire no more than we have, let us deal it out. (The Dauphin all this while stood laughing behind the King's Chair, and still made signs to me, for by my behaviour I seem'd already to be in Battel.) No, no, Sir, these are not men to be beaten, and if these Lords who have spoken, had once seen them at their work, they would alter their opinion, and so would your Majesty too. These are not men to lye dozing in a Garrison, they require an Enemy, and have a mind to shew their valour; they beg leave of you to fight, and if you deny them, you take away their spirits, and give it to your Enemies, who will be puffed with vanity to see themselves fear'd, whilst your own Army shall moulder away to nothing. By what I have heard, Sir, all that these Lords stumble at, who have deliver'd their opinions before you, is the apprehension of losing the Battel, and that makes them always cry, if we lose, if we lose; but I have not heard one of them tell you, if we win it, what great advantages will thereby accrue. For Gods sake, Sir, fear not to grant our request, and let me not return with such a shame upon me, that men shall say you durst not trust the hazard of a Battel in our hands, who so voluntarily and chearfully make a tender of our lives to do you service.

The Sieur de
Montluc's re-
ply to Monsieur
de St. Pol.;

The King who had very attentively hearkened to me, and that was delighted at my gestures and impatience, turn'd his eyes towards Monsieur de St. Pol, who thereupon said to him, Sir, will you alter your determination at the importunity of this Coxcomb, that cares for nothing but fighting, and has no sence of the misfortune; nor the inconveniences that the loss of a Battel would bring upon you? Believe me, Sir, 'tis a thing of too great importance to be referr'd to the discretion of a young hair-brain'd Gascon. To whom I made answer in these very words. My Lord, assure your self I am neither a Bragadochio nor so arrant a Coxcomb as you take me for; neither do I say this out of Bravado, and if you will please to call to mind all the intelligences his Majesty has received since we return'd from Perpignan into Piedmont, you will find that wherever we encountred the Enemy, whether on horseback or on foot, we have always beaten them, excepting when Monsieur d' Aussun was defeated; who also miscarried through no other default than for attempting to retreat at the head of an Army, which a prudent Captain never ought to do. It is not yet three months (I am sure you have heard it, for it is known to all the world) since the two brave Combats we fought both on foot and on horseback in the plain over against St. Fré, first against the Italians, and since against the Spaniards, and both in ten days time; and Monsieur d' Aussun fifteen days before he was taken, fought and defeated an entire Regiment of

of Germans. Consider then we that are in heart, and they in fear; we that are Conquerours, and they beaten; we who deſpiſe them, whiſt they tremble at us; what difference there is betwixt us. When ſhould it be that the King ſhould give us leave to fight, if not now, that we are in this condition in Piedmont? It muſt not be when we have been beaten, that his Maſteſty ought to do it; but now that we are in breath, and fleſh'd with conqueſt. Neither is there any thought to be taken, ſave only to take good heed that we aſſault them not in a Fortreſs as we did at the Bicoque: but Monsieur d' Anguien has too many good and experienced Captains about him to commit ſuch an error; and there will be no other queſtion, if not how to tempt them into the open field, where there ſhall be neither hedge nor ditch to hinder us from coming to grapple with them, and then, Sir, you ſhall hear news of one of the moſt furious Battels that ever was fought, and I moſt humbly beſeech your Maſteſty to expect no other news but that of a great and glorious victory, which if God give us the grace to obtain (as I hold my ſelf aſſured we ſhall) you will ſo ſtop the Emperor and the King of England in the miſt of their Carreer, that they ſhall not know which way to turn them. The Dauphin ſtill continued laughing more than before, and ſtill making ſigns, which gave me ſtill the greater aſſurance to ſpeak: All the reſt then ſpoke every one in his turn, and ſaid, that his Maſteſty ought by no means to rely upon my words: only the Admiral ſaid nothing, but ſmiled; and I believe he perceiv'd the ſigns the Dauphin made me, they being almoſt oppoſite to one another; But Monsieur de St. Pol reply'd again, ſaying to the King; *What, Sir, it ſeems you have a mind to alter your determination, and to be led away at the perſwaſion of this frantick fool:* to which the King made answer, *By my Faith, Cozen, he has given me ſo great reaſons, and ſo well repreſented to me the courage of my Soldiers, that I know not what to ſay.* To which Monsieur de St. Pol reply'd, *Nay, Sir, I ſee you are already chang'd;* (now he could not ſee the ſigns the Dauphin made me, as the Admiral could, for he had his back towards him) whereupon the King directing his ſpeech to the Admiral, ask'd him what he thought of the buſineſs, who again ſmiling return'd his Maſteſty this answer, *Sir, will you confeſs the truth? You have a great mind to give them leave to fight, which if they do, I dare not aſſure you either of victory or diſgrace; for God alone only knows what the iſſue will be: but I dare pawn my life and reputation, that all thoſe he has named to you will fight like men of honor; for I know their bravery very well, as having had the honour to command them.* Do only one thing, Sir, (for we ſee you are already half overcome, and that you rather encline to a Battel than otherwiſe) addreſs your ſelf to Almighty God, and humbly beg of him, in this perplexity, to aſſiſt you with his Council, what you were beſt to do. Which having ſaid, the King, throwing his Bonnet upon the Table, lift up his eyes towards heaven, and, joining his hands, ſaid; *My God, I beſeech thee, that thou wilt be pleaſed to direct me this day what I ought to do for the preſervation of my Kingdom, and let all be to thy honor and glory.* Which having ſaid, the Admiral ask'd him, *I beſeech you, Sir, what opinion are you now of?* When the King, after a little pauſe, turning towards me, with great vehemency cryed out, *Let them fight, let them fight.* Why then, ſays the Admiral, *there is no more to be ſaid, if you loſe the Battel, you alone are the cauſe, and if you overcome the ſame, and alone ſhall enjoy the ſatisfaction, having alone conſented to it.* This being ſaid, the King and all the reſt aroſe, and I was ready to leap out of my ſkin for joy. The King then fell to talking with the Admiral about my diſpatch, and to take order for our Pay which was a great deal in arrear. Monsieur de St. Pol in the mean time drew near unto me, and ſmiling ſaid, *thou mad Devil, thou wilt be the cauſe either of the greateſt good or the greateſt miſchief that can poſſibly befall the King* (now you muſt know that the ſaid Sieur de St. Pol had not ſpoken any thing for any ill will that he bore me, for he lov'd me as well as any Captain in France, and of old, having known me at the time when I ſerv'd under Mareſchal de Foix) and moreover told me, that it was very neceſſary I ſhould ſpeak to all the Captains and Soldiers; and tell them that the confidence his Maſteſty repoſ'd in our worth and valour had made him condeſcend to permit us to fight, and not reaſon, conſidering the condition he was then in. To whom I reply'd, *My Lord, I moſt humbly beſeech you not to fear, or ſo much as doubt but that we ſhall win the Battel, and aſſure your ſelf, that the firſt news you will hear will be, that we have made them all into a Fricaffé, and may eat them if we will.* The King then came to me and laid his hand upon my Shoulder, ſaying, *Montluc, recommend me to my Cozen d' Anguien and to all the Captains in thoſe parts, of what Nation ſoever, and tell them that the great confidence I have in their fidelity and valour has made me condeſcend that they ſhall fight, entreating them to ſerve me very well upon this occaſion, for I never think to be in ſomuch need again as at this preſent, that now therefore is the time, wherein they are to manifeſt the kindneſs they have for me, and that I will ſuddainly ſend them the money they deſire,* To which I made answer, *Sir, I ſhall obey your commands, and this*

The Battel concluded,

Words of Mr. de St. Pol to the Sieur de Montluc.

Montluc's answer.

The King's ſaying to the Sieur de Montluc.

His answer will

will be a cordial to chear them, and a spur to the good disposition they already have to fight, and I most humbly beseech your Majesty, not to remain in doubt concerning the issue of our fight, for that will only discompose your spirit; but chear up your self in expectation of the good news you will shortly hear of us; for my mind presages well, and it never yet deceived me; and thereupon, kissing his hand, I took my leave of his Majesty. The Admiral then bid me go and stay for him in the Wardrobe, and whether it was Monsieur de Marchemont or Monsieur Bayart that went down with me, I cannot tell: but going out, I found at the door Messieurs de Dampierre, de St. André and d'Affier, with three or four others, who demanded of me, if I carried leave to Monsieur d'Anguien to fight, to whom I made answer in Gascon, *bares y barem aux pics, & patacs*; go in presently, if you have any stomach to the entertainment, before the Admiral depart from the King, which they accordingly did, and there was some dispute about their leave: but in the end his Majesty consented they should go: which nothing impair'd their feast; for after them came above a hundred Gentlemen post to be present at the Battel. Amongst others the Sieurs de Farnac and de Chatillon, since Admiral, the Son of the Admiral d'Annebaut, the Vidame of Chartres, and several others; of which not one was slain in the Battel, save only Monsieur d'Affier, whom I lov'd more than my own heart, and Chamans who was wounded when I fought the Spaniards in the plain of Perpignan; some others there were that were hurt, but none that dyed. There is not a Prince in the world, who has so frank a Gentry as ours has, the least smile of their King will enflame the coldest constitution, without any thought of fear, to convert Mills and Vineyards into Horses and Arms, and they go Volunteers to dye in that bed which we Soldiers call the bed of honor.

Praise of the
French Gen-
try.

Being arrived soon after at the Camp, I acquitted my self of my charge towards Monsieur d'Anguien, and presented him my Letters from the King, who was infinitely overjoy'd, and embracing me in his arms, said these very words: *I knew very well that thou wouldst not bring us peace*, and turning to the Gentlemen about him, *Well my Masters*, said he, *the King is pleased to gratifie our desire, we must go to't*. I then gave him an account of the difficulty I had met with in obtaining that leave, and that the King himself was the only cause of it, which ought the more to encourage us to behave our selves bravely in the Battel. He was moreover very glad when I told him, that the forementioned Lords were coming after me, being certain that several others would also follow after them, as they did. Bidding me by all means go discharge my self of his Majesties commands to all the Colonels, Captains of the *Gens-d'Armes*, Light horse and Foot; which I did, not observing one that did not mightily rejoyce, when I gave them to understand, what assurance I had given the King of the victory. Neither did I satisfy my self with speaking to the Officers only; but moreover went amongst the Soldiers, assuring them that we should all be highly recompenc'd by the King, making the matter something better than it was; for a man must now and then lye a little for his Master.

Carignan
blocked up.

During the time of my absence Monsieur d'Anguien had block'd up Carignan, being he could not carry it by fine force without infinite los, quartering in the mean time at Vimiers and Carmagnolle, and soon after the arrival of these Gentlemen, the Marquis de Guast departed with his Camp upon Good Friday from Ast, and came to lodge at the Mountain near Carmagnolle, and upon Easter day remov'd his Camp to Cerizolles. The Company of the Count de Tande, was this day upon the Guard, to which Captain Vaurines was Lieutenant, who sent word to Monsieur d'Anguien, that the Camp was upon their march, and that their drums were plainly heard. Monsieur d'Anguien thereupon commanded me presently to mount to horse, and to go in all hast to discover them, and to bring him certain intelligence of their motion, which I also did, Captain Vaurines giving me twenty Launciers for my Guard. I went so far that I discover'd the Cavalry, who march'd thorough the Woods belonging to the Abby of Desteffarde, and heard the Drums, some marching before and some following after, which put me to a stand to guess what the meaning of this order might be. At my return I found Monsieur d'Anguien, Messieurs de Chatillon, de Dampierre, de St. André, Descars, (the Father of these now living) d'Affier and de Farnac, in the Chamber of the said Seigneur d'Anguien, talking with him, having caused their Arms to be brought and laid upon the Beds in the said Chamber, where I made a report to him of what I had seen, whereupon all the Gentlemen cryed out to him, *Let us go, Sir, let us go to fight to day, for it is a good day, and God will assist us*. Upon which the said Seigneur commanded me to go bid Messieurs de Tais and de St. Julien to draw out their Regiments into the field, at the same time sending another Gentleman to the *Gens-d'Armes* and the Light horse to do the same, which was perform'd in an instant, and we drew out of Carmagnolle into a plain leading toward

The Sieur de
Montluc sent
to discover
the Enemy.

toward *Cerizolles*, where we were all drawn up into Battalia. Monsieur de *Mailly* Master of the Ordinance was there ready with his Artillery, as soon as any of us all, and we heard the Enemies Drums almost as plainly as we heard our own. In my life did I never see so chearful an Army, nor Soldiers so well disposed to fight, as this of ours was, excepting some of the great ones of the Army, who were evermore persecuting Monsieur d' *Anguien*, not to put it to the hazard of a day, representing to him what a blow it would be to the King should he lose the Battel, which might perhaps occasion the loss of the Kingdom of *France*; and others were still perswading him that he ought to fight, the King having granted leave, and expecting he should now so do; so that amongst them they put this poor Prince, being yet very young, into so great a perplexity, that he scarce knew which way to turn him, nor what to do. You may imagine whether I was not mightily pleased with these doings, and whether I would not have spoke at mouth, had I had to do with my match; neither as it was could I altogether forbear. The Lords who were lately come from Court, were all for fighting, and I could very well name both the one and the other, if I so pleased; but I shall forbear to do it; for I have not taken my Pen in hand to blemish any one: but the Admiral *Chatillon* and Monsieur de *Jarnac*, who are both living, know it as well as I. Both the one and the other had reason for what they said, and were not prompted by any fear of their own persons; but only the apprehension of losing all withheld them; and some perhaps (as I have often seen) argue against their own inclinations, and the plurality of voices, to the end that if any thing fall amiss, they may afterwards say, *I was of a contrary opinion, I told him as much, but I was not to be believed.* Oh there is great cunning in dawbing, and in our trade especially of all others.

Monsieur d' *Anguien* in suspense concerning the Battel;

Diffimulation amongst Soldiers.

Just as we should have march'd to go to fight, four or five drew Monsieur d' *Anguien* aside, alighting from their horses, where they entertained him walking up and down for above half an hour, whilst every one gnash'd their teeth for rage that they did not march: in the end the result of all was, that all the Regiments of Foot should return to their Quarters, and also the Artillery and the *Gens-d'Armes*, and that Monsieur d' *Anguien* with four or five hundred Horse, and some of the Captains of his Council, should go to the plain of *Cerizolles* to discover the Enemies Camp; that I should bring after him four hundred Harquebusiers, and all the rest to retire to their Quarters. I then saw a world of people ready to run mad for vexation, and do verily believe that if God had so pleas'd that Monsieur d' *Anguien* had march'd according to his determination, he had won the Battel with very little difficulty; for the Drums that I had heard return into the Enemies Rear, were all the *Spanish* Foot, who went back to draw off two pieces of Canon, which were set fast in such manner that they could not be stirr'd either backward or forward; so that we had had nothing to fight with but the *Germans*, the *Italians* and the Horse, none of which, nor even the Marquis himself, could have escap'd us. But after we had stood above three hours facing the Enemy, which were in a plain betwixt *Sommerive* and *Cerizolles*, who expected no other but to fight; (and the Marquis told Monsieur de *Termes* since (being a prisoner) as he has assured mee, that he was never in his life in so great fear of being lost as that day, for his chiefest hopes was in the *Spanish* Harquebusiers) Monsieur d' *Anguien* return'd back to *Carmagnolle* as discontented as ever Prince was, and at the descent of a Wood, as we were upon our return to the said *Carmagnolle*, I said to him as we rid along, Messieurs de *Dampierre* and de *St. André* being by, these words; Sir, Sir, this morning what you arose what could you have desir'd of God Almighty more than what he has this day given you; which is to find the Enemy you have so much desired in the open field; where there was neither hedge nor ditch to obstruct you? but I perceive you are more enclined to believe those who counsel you not to fight than those who advise you to it. At which he fell to swear and curse, saying, that hereafter he would believe no one but himself, by which I well perceiv'd him to be nettled, so that still going on to appease him, I said, No Sir, no, in Gods name believe no body but your self; for we all know very well that you desire nothing more then to fight, and God will prosper you, and so went on streight to *Carmagnolle*, next to the blood, remembering what I had so largely promised to the King in his Council.

The Marquis de *Guast* in fear.

A saying of the Sieur de *Montluc* to Mr. d' *Anguien*.

So soon as the said Seigneur came to *Carmagnolle*, he presently call'd a Council of War, and I at my arrival found our whole Regiment both Officers and Soldiers up to the ears in mutiny, demanding their pay: but they held them in hand with the coming of Monsieur *Langey*, who brought some money along with him. I was then entreated by Monsieur de la *Molle* the elder, who commanded two Ensigns, and the next day was slain, to speak to Monsieur d' *Anguien* in the behalf of all, and that he would bear the blame; and as we were all waiting in the Hall, by fortune Messieurs de *Dampierre* and de *St.*

Resolution to
fight.

André came in, and finding all in mutiny said to us these words; *Have a little patience I beseech you, till Monsieur d' Anguien rise from the Council* (and I do believe they had been talking to him by the way, for I found him riding betwixt them) and so they entred into the Chamber, where they staid not long, but came out again. Monsieur de *Dampierre* came out first, who, because Monsieur d' *Anguien* immediately followed him, looking at me, he laid his finger upon his mouth, for a sign that I should say nothing, and Monsieur d' *Anguien* all in rage went straight to his Chamber, and the other Colonels and Captains every one to his own quarters; but we stirr'd not from thence. Presently after Messieurs de *Dampierre* and de St. *André* came out into the Hall, and said to us these words: *Get you home to your Quarters, and prepare your selves, for to morrow we must fight*; as they came out we take notice of those who were for fighting, all of them smiling upon us, by which also we guess'd before hand how the matter went. In the evening when I accompanied Monsieur de *Dampierre* to his lodging, he told me the whole story, and what Monsieur d' *Anguien* had propounded to the Council, insisting upon the Error he saw he had committed in not fighting, by which he had lost an advantage that he could not again recover, entreating them all to consider of it, and to resolve upon a Battel. Whereupon some fell again to discourse the same thing they had said before, of what a loss it would be to the King, with many other reasons to divert him from that resolution; and others maintain'd the same opinion they had ever done, that he ought to put it to a Battel: But Monsieur d' *Anguien*, who saw himself fallen into the same dispute that before, broke out in a violent passion, saying, *that he was resolved to fight at what price soever, and that if anyone should any more dispute the contrary, he should never think so well of that man again, so long as he liv'd*. Whereupon one in the Company, who before had so highly argued against it, made answer: *O Sir, is it then a resolution you have taken that you will fight?* yes replied Monsieur d' *Anguien*, then says the other *there is no more to be said*; and thereupon it was concluded, that every one should repair to his command, and that an hour before day, we should be all in the same Plain where we had been the day before, to march directly towards the Enemy, wherever he was to be found; which was accordingly perform'd, some remonstrating in the mean time to the Captains and Soldiers, that it would be out of season to stand upon telling them out their pay in the face of the Enemy, and that they were to stay till the Battel was over, which was only a device to amuze those who were so importunate for their Pay.

The Sieur de
Montluc com-
mands all the
Harquebusi-
ers.

The order of
the Battel of
Cerizolles
fought the 11.
of April, 1544

Now being we had the day before left the Enemy in the Plain betwixt *Sommerive* and *Cerizolles*, Monsieur d' *Anguien* did not very well know whether they might be at *Sommerive* or at *Cerizolles*, notwithstanding that the Governor of *Sommerive* had sent him word, that the Camp intended to quarter there. Signior *Francisco Bernardin* therefore sent out three or four of his Light horse towards the said *Cerizolles*, who went so near that they discover'd their Camp, which was already in arms, and the Drums beginning to beat. That which had made them return to *Cerizolles*, was to stay for the *Spanish Foot*, who were gone for the two pieces of Canon, as has been said before. Monsieur de *Termes* likewise sent out again three or four of his people also, and in the mean time we march'd underneath toward *Sommerive*; but so soon as the Light horse return'd with the same intelligence, we turn'd on the left hand, and come up into the Plain, where the whole Army was, and there made a halt. And there Monsieur d' *Anguien* and Monsieur de *Tais* gave me all the Harquebusiers to lead, for which honor I returned him my most humble thanks, telling him *that I hoped, by Gods assistance, to acquit my self so well of my charge, that he should remain satisfied with my service*, and said as much to Monsieur de *Tais*, who was my Colonel, and who came and commanded all the Captains and Lieutenants, that I would take, to obey me equally with himself.

I then took four Lieutenants, namely *le Brueil* (whom I have mentioned before) *le Gasquet*, Captain *Lienard* and Captain *Favas*, who was my own Lieutenant. To *Favas* and *Lienard* I gave the right wing, and my self with the two other took the left, leading towards the little house, that was afterwards so much disputed; and it was ordered that the *Swisse* which were commanded by Monsieur de *Boitieres* (who a little before the rumor of the Battel had been recall'd from his own house) and we should fight together in the Vantguard: the Battel was to be conducted by Monsieur d' *Anguien*, having under his Cornet all the young Lords that came from Court, and the Rear-guard was commanded by Monsieur d' *Ampierre*, wherein were four thousand *Fribourgers*, and three thousand *Italians*, led by the Sieur de *Dros* and *des Cros*, together with all the Guidons and Archers of Companies. Now there was a little Eminence, that dipt towards *Cerizolles* and *Sommerive*, which was all on a little Copse, but not very thick: The first of the Ene-

my

my that we saw enter into the Plain to come towards us, were the seven thousand *Italians* conducted by the Prince of *Salerna*, and in the flank of them three hundred *Launciers*, commanded by *Rodolpho Baglione*, who belonged to the great Duke of *Florence*. The Skirmish began by this little Hill, on the descent whereof the Enemy had made a halt just over against us, and so soon as the skirmish was begun, I gave one Squadron to Captain *Brueille*, being that which was nearest to me, and the hindmost to Captain *Gasquet*, about two hundred paces distant the one from the other, and of my own I gave forty or fifty *Harquebusiers* to a Serjeant of mine called *Arnaut de St. Clair*, a valiant man and one that very well understood his business, and I myself stood for a reserve. Being at the foresaid little house, I discover'd three or four Companies of *Spanish Harquebusiers*, who came full drive to possess themselves of the house, and in the mean time *Favas* and *Lienard* fought the *Italians* in the valley on the right hand. The skirmish grew hot on both sides, the Enemy one while beating me up to the house, and I again other whiles driving them back to their own party; for they had another that was come up to second the first, and it seem'd as if we had been playing at Base: but in the end I was constrain'd to call Captain *Brueille* up to me, for I saw all their Foot embody together, with a Troop of Horse to flank them. Now had I not so much as one horse with me, notwithstanding that I had advertised Monsieur d' *Anguien* that their Cavalry was also with the *Harquebusiers* that came up to me. Let it suffice, that of a long time nobody came, insomuch that I was constrained to quit the house; but not without a great dispute, which continued for a very great space. I then sent back Captain *Brueille* to his place, the skirmish continued for almost four hours without intermission, and never did men acquit themselves better. Monsieur d' *Anguien* then sent Monsieur d' *Aussan* unto me, commanding me to repose myself of the house, which was neither of advantage nor disadvantage to me; to whom I made answer, *Go and tell Monsieur d' Anguien that he must then send me some Horse, to fight these Horse that flank their Harquebusiers* (which he also saw as well as I) *for I am not to fight Horse and Foot together in the open field.* He then said to me, *It is enough for me that I have told you*, and so return'd to carry back my answer to Monsieur d' *Anguien*; who thereupon sent Monsieur de *Moneins* to tell me, that one way or another he would that I should regain it, with whom also came the Seigneur *Cabry*, Brother to Seigneur *Mauré*, bringing with him threescore Horse, all *Launciers*, and Monsieur de *Moneins* might have about some five and twenty, he being then but beginning to raise his Troop. To whom I return'd the same answer I had given before to Monsieur d' *Aussan*, and that I would not be cause of the loss of the Battle: but that if they would go charge those Horse that flank'd the *Harquebusiers*, I would quickly regain the house. They then answer'd, that I had reason, and that they were ready to do it. Whereupon I presently sent to Captain *Brueil* to come up to me, and to Captain *Gasquet* to advance to his place, and immediately Captain *Brueil* coming up on the right hand, and the Horse in the middle, we march'd at a good round trot directly up to them; for we were not above three hundred paces distant from one another. All this while the skirmish never ceased, and as we drew within a hundred or six score paces off them, we began to fire, upon which the Cavalry fac'd about, and their Foot also, and I saw their *Launciers* turn their backs, retreating to their Troops. Monsieur de *Moneins*, and Seigneur *Cabry* went immediately hereupon to Monsieur d' *Anguien*, to tell him what they had seen their Cavalry do, and that if he did not send me up Horse to second me, I could not choose but be routed. I sent back Captain *Brueil* and *Gasquet* into their places.

The beginning of the Battle.

Monsieur de Montluc's contest about the fight.

Now there was a little Marish near unto *Cerizoller*, and a great hollow way, which hindred the Enemy that they could not come up to us drawn up in Battalia: and the Marquis de *Gnaft* had caused six pieces of Artillery to pass over this marish, and they were already advanc'd a good way on this side, when seeing their people driven back, they were afraid that the whole Army followed the pursuit, and that they should lose their Canon. Wherefore they presently made the *Germans* to pass over this marish, and thorough the said hollow way, who, so soon as they came into the plain, drew up again into Battalia; for it was not possible for them to pass, but in great disorder, and in the mean time the Cavalry and *Spanish Harquebusiers* came up to me as before; insomuch that having no Horse with me, I was necessitated to quit them the place, and to retire to the place from whence I came.

Now I had discover'd their *German Foot* and their Artillery, and as I was retiring Monsieur de *Termes* and Signior *Francisco Bernardin* came, and plac'd themselves on the

the right hand of our Battaillon, and upon the skirt of the Hill (which was very straight) and over against the Battaillon of the *Italians*; for their Launciers were exactly opposite to our Pikes. Monsieur de Boitieres with his Company, and that of the Count de Tande advanc'd on the left hand of our Battail, and the *Swisse* were three or four score paces behind us, and a little on the one side: In the mean time our Harquebusiers that were conducted by Lienard and Captain Favas sometimes beat back the Enemy as far as their main Battalia, and sometimes the Enemy repell'd them up to ours. I saw then that I must of necessity disarm our Battaillon of the Harquebusiers that made our flank on that side where Monsieur de Boitieres stood, and give them to them, where-with to make a Charge, which they did, and with great fury beat them up to their Battail; and it was high time; for their Harquebusiers had almost gain'd the flank of our Horse. I therefore ran up to them, and we began a furious skirmish, which was great, and obstinately fought, for all our Squadrons were closed up together, and it continued a long hour or more.

A furious
skirmish.

Now the Enemy had placed their Canon by the side of the little house, which play'd directly into our Battaillon; Monsieur de Mailly then advanc'd with ours, and placing himself close by us, began to shoot at those of the Enemy by the little house; for there where we maintain'd the skirmish he could not do it, without killing our own men: when, looking towards our own Battail, I saw Monsieur de Tais, who began to march with his Pikes, charg'd directly towards the *Italians*; whereupon I ran up to him, saying, *Whither do you go, Sir, whither do you go, you will lose the Battel; for here are all the Germans coming to fight you, and will charge into your flank.* The Captains were the occasion of this, who ceased not to cry out to him, *Sir, lead us on to fight; for it is better for us to dye hand to hand, than stand still here to be killed with the Canon.* 'Tis that which terrifies the most of any thing, and oftentimes begets more fear than it does harm; but however so it was, that he was pleased to be rul'd by me, and I entreated him to make his men kneel on one knee, with their Pikes down; for I saw the *Swisse* behind laid at their full length squatt to the ground, so as hardly to be seen; and from him I ran to the Harquebusiers. The Enemies Harquebusiers by this time were beginning to retire behind the house, when, as I was going up to charge straight up to them, I discover'd the Front of the *Germans* Battaillon, and suddainly commanded the Captains *Bruelle* and *Gasquet* to retire by degrees towards the Artillery, for we were to make room for the Pikes to come up to the fight, and I went to our Battel, where being come, I said to my men these words.

The Canon
frights more
than it hurts.

Th Sieur de
Montluc's
Speech to his
Soldiers.

A pardonable
mistake in a
Soldier not
well read in
History.

*Oh my fellow Soldiers let us now fight bravely, and if we win the Battel we get a greater renown, than any of our Nation ever did; It was never yet read in History, that ever the Gauls fought the Germans Pike to Pike, but that the Germans defeated them, and to set this honorable mark upon our selves, that we are better men than our Ancestors, this glory ought to inspire us with a double courage to fight so as to overcome, or dye, and make our Enemies know what kind of men we are. Remember, Camerades, the message the King sent to us, and what a glory it will be to present our selves before him after the victory. Now, Sir, said I to Monsieur de Tais, it is time to rise, which he suddenly did, and I began to cry out aloud, Gentlemen, it may be there are not many here who have ever been in a Battel before, and therefore let me tell you, that if we take our Pikes by the hinder end, and fight at the length of the Pike, we shall be defeated; for the Germans are more dextrous at this kind of fight than we are: but you must take your Pikes by the middle as the *Swisse* do, and run head-long to force and penetrate into the midst of them, and you shall see how confounded they will be.* Monsieur de Tais then cryed out to me to go along the Battail, and make them all handle their Pikes after this manner, which I accordingly did, and now we were all ready for the Encounter.

The Sieur de
Montluc's ad-
vice to the
Pikes, con-
cerning the
manner of
their fight.

The *Germans* march'd at a great rate directly towards us, and I ran to put my self before the Battail, where I alighted from my horse; for I ever had a Lacquey at the head of the Battaillon ready with my Pike; and as Monsieur de Tais and the rest of the Captains saw me on foot, they all cry'd out at once, *Get up, Captain Montluc, get up again, and you shall lead us on to the fight.* To whom I made answer, *that if it was my fate to dye that day, I could not dye in a more honorable place than in their Company, with my Pike in my hand.* I then call'd to Captain *la Barre*, who was Serjeant Major, that he should always be stirring about the Battaillon, when we came to grapple, and that he and the Serjeants behind and on the sides should never cease crying, put home, Soldiers, put home, to the end that they might push on one another.

The *Germans* came up to us at a very round rate, insomuch that their Battail being very great, they could not possibly follow; so that we saw great windows in their body, and several Ensigns a good way behind, and all on a suddain rush'd in among them,

them, a good many of us at least, for as well on their side, as ours, all the first Ranks, either with push of Pikes or the Shock at the encounter, were overturn'd; neither is it possible amongst Foot to see a greater fury; the second Rank and the third were the cause of our victory; for the last so pushed them on, that they fell in upon the heels of one another, and as ours press'd in, the Enemy was still driven back: I was never in my life so active and light as that day, and it stood me upon so to be; for above three times I was beaten down to my knees. The *Swisse* were very sly and cunning; for till they saw us within ten or a dozen Pikes length of one another, they never rose; but then like savage Boars they rush'd into their flank, and Monsieur de *Boitier* broke in at a * Canton. Monsieur de *Termes* and Signior *Francisco* in the meantime charg'd *Radolpho Baglione*, whom they overthrew, and put his Cavalry to rout. The *Italians*, who saw their Cavalry broken, and the *Lansquenets* and *Germans* overthrown and routed, began to take the descent of the valley, and as fast as they could to make directly towards the Wood. Monsieur de *Termes* had his horse killed under him at the first encounter, and by ill fortune his leg was so far engaged under him in the fall, that it was not possible for him to rise, so that he was there by the *Italians* taken, and carried away Prisoner, and, to say the truth, his legs were none of the best.

A furious Charge.

* Or Corner.

The Sieur de *Termes* taken prisoner.

Now you are to take notice, that the Marquis de *Gnaft* had composed a Battaillon of five thousand Pikes, namely two thousand *Spaniards* and three thousand *Germans*, out of the number of six thousand, being the same that Count *Laudron* had brought into *Spain*, where he had remain'd ten years, or more, and who all spoke as good *Spanish* as natural *Spaniards*. He had formed this Battaillon only to claw away the *Gascons*; for he said that he feared our Battaillon more than any of the other, and had an opinion that his *Germans* (being all chosen men) would beat our *Swisse*. He had placed three hundred Harquebusiers only in the nature of a forlorn hope, at the head of this Battaillon, which he reserved to the forenamed effect, and all the rest maintained the skirmish. Now as he was by the little house on the same side with the *Germans*, he saw the *Fribourgers*, who were all arm'd in white, and took them for the *Gascons*, and thereupon said to his men, *Hermanos, hermanos, a qui estant todos Gascones, farrais á ellos*. They were not gone two hundred paces from him, but that he perceived our Battail, which start up, and saw his error when it was too late to help it, for we all wore black arms.

A mistake of the Marquis de *Gnaft*.

This Battaillon of five thousand Pikes march'd then at a good round rate directly upon the *Fribourgers*, and they were of necessity to pass hard by Monsieur d' *Anguien*, who by some body or other was very ill advised; for as they pass'd by he charg'd with his *Gens d' Armes* quite thorough their Battaillon in the Flank, and there were slain and wounded a great many brave and worthy men, and some of very considerable equality, as Monsieur d' *Affier*, le Sieur de *la Rochechouart*, with several others, and yet more at the second charge; there were some who pass'd and repass'd quite thorough and thorough; but still they clos'd up again, and in that manner came up to the *Fribourgers* Battalia, who were soon overthrown without so much as standing one Push of Pike, and there died all their Captains and Lieutenants who were in the first rank and the rest fled straight to Monsieur des *Cros*: but this Battaillon of *Spaniards* and *Germans* still at a very great rate pursued their victory, and overthrew the said Sieur des *Cros*, who there dyed and all his Captains with him; neither could Monsieur d' *Anguien* any way relieve him, forasmuch as all the horses almost of his Cavalry, in these two furious, but inconsiderate charges were wounded and walk'd fair and softly over the field towards the Enemy. He was then in the height of despair, and curst the hour that ever he was born, seeing the overthrow of his Foot, and that he himself had scarce an hundred Horse left to sustain the shock, insomuch that Monsieur de *Pignan* of *Montpellier* (a Gentleman of his) assured me, that he twice turn'd the point of his Sword into his Gorget, to have offered violence to himself, and himself told me at his return, that he was then in such a condition, he should have been glad any one would have run him thorough. The *Romans* might have done so; but I do not think it becomes a Christian. Every one at that time passed his censure upon it according to his own fancy. For our parts we were as well as heart could wish, and as much pleased as the Enemy was afflicted; but let us return to the blows, for there were yet both to give and to take. The cowardise of the *Fribourgers* occasioned a great loss on that side of the field; in my life I never saw such great lubbers as those were, unworthy ever to bear Arms, if they have not learnt more courage since. They are indeed neighbours to the *Swisse*, but there is no more comparison betwixt them than betwixt a *Spanish* Horse and an Ass. It is not all to have a great

The error of Monsieur d' *Anguien*.

Monsieur d' *Affier* and Mr. de *la Rochechouart* slain, and the Sieur des *Cros*.

Monsieur d' *Anguien* routed.

The Cowardise of the *Fribourgers*.

number

number of men upon the list; but to have those that are true bred; for a hundred of them are worth a thousand of the other. And a brave and valiant Captain with a thousand men, that he knows he may trust to, will pass over the bellies of four thousand.

The Marquis
de Guast rou-
ted.

After the same manner that Monsieur d' Anguien had seen his people massacred before his eyes, without any power to relieve them, did the Marquis de Guast behold his people also trampled under foot by an equal fortune, so wantonly she play'd on both hands with these two Generals; for as he saw *Rodolpho Baglione* and his *Germans*, both of them routed and overthrown, he took his horse and retreated towards *Ast*. Monsieur de *St. Julien*, who that day discharg'd the Office of Camp-Master and Colonel of the *Swisse*, was on horseback (and, to say the truth, he was but weak of person and wanted strength to support any great burthen of arms on foot) saw their Battail overthrown on the one side and ours on the other, and before he went to Monsieur d' Anguien saw us *Swisse* and *Gascons* amongst the five thousand *Spaniards* and *Germans*, killing on all hands. And then it was that he turned back and overtook Monsieur d' Anguien near to the Wood that leads towards *Carmagnolle*, but very poorly accompanied, and cried out to him, *Sir, Sir, face about, for the Battel is won, the Marquis de Guast is routed, and all his Italians and Germans cut to pieces*. Now this Battailon of the *Spaniards* and *Germans* had already made a halt, giving themselves for lost, when they saw neither Horse nor Foot of their own come up to them; by which they very well knew that they had lost the Battel, and began to take on the right hand straight towards the mountain from whence they had departed the day before. I thought I had been the cunningst snap in all the whole Army, having contriv'd to place a row of Harquebusiers betwixt the first and second rank, to kill all the Captains first, and had said to Monsieur de *Tais* three or four days before, that before any of ours should fall, I would kill all their Captains in the first rank: but I would not tell him the secret till he had given me the command of the Harquebusiers, and then he called to him *Burre* the Serjeant Major, bidding him presently make choice of the Harquebusiers, and to place them after that manner. Upon my faith I had never seen nor heard of the like before, and thought my self to be the first Inventor of it; but we found that they were as crafty as we, for they had also done the same thing, who never shot no more than ours, till they came within a Pikes length, and there was a very great slaughter, not a shot being fir'd but it wrought its effect.

Monsieur d'
Anguien pur-
sues the victo-
ry.

Great sla-
ughter
Ba-
zil

The *swisse* re-
veng'd for
the foul play
at *Montdevi*.

So soon as Monsieur d' Anguien understood the Battel to be won, which before (by the defeat of those on his side of the field, and those cowardly *Fribourgers*, to encourage whom he had done all that in him lay) he had given over for lost; he presently put himself in the Rear of those *Germans* and *Spaniards*; which as he was doing, several of those who had taken fright, and were shifting for themselves, rallied up to him, some of which now appeared wonderful eager of the pursuit, who had run away but a little before, and others had broke their bridles on purpose to lay the fault of their own fear upon the poor horses, who by this means were to bear more than the weight of their Masters. He had a little before the Battel, by good fortune, sent to *Savillan* for three Companies of very good *Italian* Foot, to be present at the business, who being as far as *Recomis* upon their way from thence heard the thunder of the Artillery, by which being assured that the Battel was begun, they mounted all the Harquebusiers they could on horseback, and coming all the way a gallop, arrived in so opportune a season, that they found Monsieur d' Anguien in pursuit of the Enemy, not having one Harquebusier in company with him; where, alighting from their horses, they put themselves in the Rear of them, whilst the said Seigneur d' Anguien with his Cavalry, one while in their Flank and another in their Front, still push'd on the victory. Hee then sent a Trooper to us in all hast, to bid us turn that way, for there was more work to do, which messenger found us at the Chappel hard by the Gate of *Cerizolles*, having just made an end of killing with so great fury and slaughter, that not so much as one man remained alive, save only a Colonel call'd *Aliprando de Mandruca* Brother to the Cardinal of *Trent*, who being laid amongst the dead with seven or eight wounds upon him, *Canbois* a light horse belonging to Monsieur de *Termes*, as he came thorough the dead bodies, saw him, being yet alive, but stript stark naked, spoke to him, and caused him to be carried to *Carmagnolle*, to redeem Monsieur de *Termes* in case he should recover and live, as he afterwards did. The *Swisse*, in killing and laying on with their two-handed Swords, still cied out *Montdevi, Montdevi*, where those of their Nation had received no quarter, and in short, all that made head against us on our side of the field were slain.

We

We had no sooner received the command from Monsieur d' *Anguien*, but that immediately the Battaillon of the *Swisse* and ours turn'd towards him: I never saw two Battaillons so soon reunited as these were; for of our selves we rallied, and drew up into Battalia as we went, marching all the way side by side. In this posture the Enemy, who went off at a great rate, firing all the way, and by that means keeping the horse at distance, discovered us coming up to them, who so soon as they saw us advanc'd within five or six paces, and the Cavalry in their Front ready to charge in amongst them, they threw down their Pikes, surrendring themselves to the horse: but here the Game began, some killing and others endeavoring to save, there being some who had fifteen or twenty men about him, still getting as far as they could from the crowd, for fear of us Foot, who had a mind to have cut all their throats; neither could the Cavalry so well defend them, but that above half of them were slain; for as many as we could lay our hands on were dispatch'd. Now you shall know what became of me.

Another body of the Imperialists defeated.

Monsieur de *Valence*, my Brother, had sent me a *Turkish* horse from *Venice*, one of the fleetest Coursers that ever I yet saw; and I had an opinion which all the world could not dispossess me of, that we should win the Battel, wherefore I gave my said horse to a servant I had, an old Soldier, in whom I repos'd a very great confidence; bidding him be sure always to keep behind our Battaillon of Pikes, and telling him that if it pleased God I did escape from the skirmish, I would then alight, and engage with the Pikes, and that when we came to close, if he should see our Battaillon overthrown, that then he might conclude me to be slain, and should save himself upon the horse; and on the contrary, if he should see us prevail over the Enemies Battaillon, that then he should still follow, (without offering to break in) in the Rear of our Battaillon, when so soon as I should be certain of the victory, I would leave the execution, and come to take my horse to pursue the Cavalry and try to take some prisoner of Condition.

I had a whim came into my head that I should take the Marquis de *Gust*, or dye in the attempt, trusting to the swiftness of my horse; for which I had already in my imagination swallow'd a mighty ransom, or at least some remarkable recompence from the King. Having then a while follow'd the victory, I staid behind, thinking to find my man; and indeed I was so weary with fighting, running, and moreover so spent with straining my voice to encourage the Soldiers, that I was able to do no more, when I was assaulted by two great mastiff *Germans*, who had thought presently to have done my business; but having rid my self of one of them, the other betook him to his heels, but he went not very far; in truth I there saw very brave blows given. I then went to seek out that Son of a whore my man; but the Devil a man that I could find, for as the Enemies Artillery plaid upon our Battaillon, and very often shot over, the shot falling behind it, had remov'd my Gentleman from the place where I thought to find him; who very discreetly went, and put himself behind the *Swisse*; when seeing the disorder of the *Fribourgers* and *Provençals*, he very learnedly concluded us to be in the same condition, and thereupon fled back as far as *Carmagnolle*. Thus are men oftentimes deceived in their choice; for I should never have suspected that this fellow would so soon have had his heart in his breeches, and have run away with so little ado. I then found Captain *Mons*, having no more than one servant only with him, who had done a great deal better than mine; for he had kept a little pad Nag ready for him, upon which he took me up behind him, for I was extremely weary, and so we pass'd on, still seeing the *Germans* knock'd down all the way as we went, till being sent for by Monsieur d' *Anguien*, we both alighted and went on foot, till the entire defeat of the *Germans* and *Spaniards*; when presently I saw my man come back, calling him a hundred Rogues and Cowards, for so basely running away; who replyed *that he had not done it alone, but in company with better men and better clad than himself, and that he had only run away to bear them company*; by which pleasant answer my anger was appeased, and upon my word he hit upon it in a lucky hour; for I was very near showing him a trick of a *Gascon*.

A conceit of the Sieur de Montluc.

We then rallied together some twenty or five and twenty Horse, what of those of Monsieur de *Termes*, of Signior *Francisco Bernardin* and the Sieur de *Mauré*, and rid a round gallop after the Marquis de *Gust*, and with us moreover a Gentleman whose name I have forgot, but he was one of those who came post from Court to be at the Battel, and as we went we met by the way two light horse leading prisoner Signior *Carlo de Gonzaga*, whom they had taken in the rear of the Enemies party, which still more encourag'd us to spur forward. So soon as we came so near to the Enemy as to discover what posture they were in, we perceived that they were rallied and closed up

The Enemy
rallies upon
their retreat.

to the Crupper, still marching on in very good order, at a good round trot, and their Launces ready in the Rest. Which made me say to those of our Company, these people are ready for us, and therefore I do not think it convenient to charge in amongst them, lest instead of taking some of the chief of them, it fare with us as with the *Scotch* man who took a *Tartar*. So that we return'd without attempting any thing more upon them; but I am yet of opinion, that had not that rascally man of mine play'd me that dog-trick I had taken some man or other of Command amongst them. As we were upon our return, the Gentleman I spoke of before accosting me, said these words, *Jesu! Captain Montluc, what danger was this Battel in once to day of being lost? To which I (who had neither seen nor heard of any disorder, and thought that the last we had defeated had been those of Carignan, who were drawn out of their Garrison to be present at the Battel) made answer, why, which way were we in any danger, seeing that all day we have had the victory in our hands? I perceive then, said he, that you know nothing of the disorder has happened, and thereupon told me all that had befallen in the Battel. As God shall help me, I do believe, that had he given me two stabs with a dagger, I should not have bled, for my heart was shrunk up, and I was sick at the news, in which fright I continued for three nights after, starting up in my sleep, and dreaming continually of a defeat.*

The Sieur de
Montluc
Knighted up-
on the place
of Battail by
Monsieur d'
Anguien.

Thus then we arriv'd at the Camp, where Monsieur d' Anguien was, to whom I went, and making my horse curvet, said to him sportingly these words; *What think you, Sir, am I not as pretty a fellow on horseback as I am on foot?* to which he made answer (though yet very melanco'y) *you will always behave your self very well, both in the one posture and in the other*, and bowing his body was pleased to embrace me in his arms, and knighted me upon the place; an honor I shall be proud of so long as I live, both for being perform'd upon the field of Battel, and by the hand of so generous and so great a Prince. Accursed be he that so basely deprived us of him. But no more of that; I then said to him, *Sir, have I served you to day to your satisfaction?* (for Monsieur de Tais had already told him, that I had fought with them on foot) to which he replied, *Yes, Captain Montluc, and so well that I will never forget how bravely you have behaved your self; neither, do I assure you, will I conceal it from the King. Why then, Sir, said I, it lies in your power to do me the greatest kindness that ever you can do a poor Gentleman so long as you live:* At which words, drawing me apart, that no body might hear, he asked me what it was that I would have him do for me, to which I made answer, that it was to dispatch me suddenly away with news of the success of the Battel to the King; telling him withal, that it was an office more properly belonging to me than any other, considering what I had said to his Majesty and his Council, to obtain leave to fight; and that the last words I had said to the King were, that he was only to expect news of the victory. To which, turning towards me, he made answer, that it was all the reason in the world, and that I should be sent before any other. And so all the Army returned victorious to *Carmagnolle*: but as I expected to have been sent away post in the night, I was told that Monsieur *Descars* had gained every one to speak for him, that he might go. Monsieur de Tais had also passed his word to me; but in the end he suffered himself to be overcome, as also did Monsieur d' Anguien, which was the greatest misfortune that possibly could have befallen me: for having overcome the King's Council and their deliberation, and that his Majesty had done me the honor to condescend to my opinion; here to have carried him the certain news of what I had promised and assured him so few days before, I leave every one to judge whether I should have been welcom or no; and what wrong I had done me, especially having been that day in a great and honorable command, and acquitted my self of it to my Generals content. It had been a great good fortune for me, and also a great honor, to have carried to the King what I had before promised, and assured him of; there was however no remedy, and I was forced to submit, though they had much ado to appease me: but it was to no purpose to be angry or to complain of the injury was done me. I have since repented me a thousand times that I did not steal away the same night, which if I had done, I would have broke my neck or have been the first that should have brought the news to the King, and, I am confident, he would not only himself have taken it in good part, but moreover have made my peace with others. But I, from that time forward, gave over all thoughts of advancement, and never after expected to come to any thing, which made me beg leave of Monsieur d' Anguien to be dismiss'd, that I might return into my own Country. Which said Seigneur promised me great matters (knowing me to be discontented) and Monsieur de Tais did the same, using all the persuasions he could to make me stay: but I press'd my departure so much that at last I obtain'd leave, upon my promise to return; and for

The Sieur de
Montluc dis-
contented.

far-

further assurance of me, the said Sieur d' Anguien made me accept a Commission from him for the speedy raising of one thousand or twelve hundred Foot, to bring into Piedmont, to recruit the Companies, for in plain truth we had lost a great many men.

Now I shall tell you what advantages accrued to the King from this victory, which I only had from Monsieur de Termes; to whom the Marquis de Guast had told it, lying wounded in bed of a Harquebuzer shot in his thigh. He told him that the Emperor and the King of England were agreed at one and the same time to enter the Kingdom of France, each on his own side, and that the Emperor had sent him the seven thousand Germans purposely to make him so strong, that Monsieur d' Anguien might not dare to fight him, and afterwards to march directly to Lombrias there to throw a Bridge over the River, and to put into Carignan the provisions that he brought along with him, and as much more as he could provide besides, and thence to draw out the four thousand Spanish and German Foot, who were to return towards Ivre, leaving four thousand Italians in their stead; which being done, he was to send back the seven German Colonels, with their Regiments to the Emperor. That then there would still remain with him in his Camp five thousand Germans, and as many Spaniards, with which at the same time, that the King of England should enter the Kingdom, he was to descend by the valley of Ostia, thorough which he should march straight to Lyons, where he should meet no body to oppose him but the Inhabitants of the City, nor any Fortrefs at all: where lying between the two Rivers he might command all the territories of the Duke of Savoy, together with Dauphiné and Provence. All this was told me by Monsieur de Termes after his return; an enterprize that had not been hard to execute had we not won the Battel, in which betwixt twelve and fifteen thousand men of the Enemy were slain. The victory was very important, both in respect of the Prisoners, which were many of them very considerable, as also for the Baggage, which was exceedingly rich; and besides many places surrendered out of fear, and in the end Carignan it self, of which I shall not meddle with the particulars, because I was not present at the surrender. Had they known how to make their advantage of this Battel, Millan had been in a tottering condition: but we never knew how to improve our victories to the best. It is also very true that the King had at this time enough to do to defend his Kingdom from two such powerful enemies.

The great advantages that the winning of the Battail of Cerizolles brought to the King.

His Majesty having intelligence of the great preparation that was made both by the one and the other, withdrew the greatest part of his Forces out of Piedmont, where I arriv'd at the time when Monsieur de Tais had received a command to bring away all the men he could; for I never could stay long at home, and never hated any thing so much as my own house, so that although I had once put on a resolution (for the wrong that had been done me) never to go any more into that Country, yet when it came too't I could not forbear to go. Monsieur de Tais had made choice of two and twenty Ensigns, the Companies whereof were now very well recruited; to which he moreover raised a new Company, which, at my request, he was pleased to give to Captain Castetgelineux, who had been assisting to me in the raising, and conducting of my men, and had formerly carryed my Ensign in the Kingdom of Naples. And so we began to set forwards towards France, dividing our Companies into five and five. Of these I had the first Division, and went before to Suzanne, to prevent the Soldiers from getting thither before us, and to take order for the provisions, much of which I found upon the way going thither, which made me redouble my diligence. I arrived in the night two hours before day, at Villame, and at the Inn where I alighted, found Signior Pedro de Colonna, whom Captain Renovard carried prisoner to the King, according to the capitulation at Carignan. They were already got up and the said Captain Renovard carried me into the Chamber of the said Signior, who at my coming told me, that he understood it was I who had broken the Bridge at Carignan, and that had commanded the Harquebusiers at the Battel. After which, falling into discourse concerning the said Bridge, I told him, that had his people follow'd their fortune, they had found no body to fight with, but my self and some forty men at most; and that our whole Camp was in so great disorder, that had he pursued them, we had all been defeated; and Captain Renovard also assured him, that what I said was true. At which, after a little pause turning towards me he said: *E voi dicete che si la nostra Gente seguto havessi la sua fortuna: no havena a combattere piu di voi co quarante soldati, & havessimo poste in fuga tata la vostra gente. Io vi dico che si voi havessi seguita la nostra m' havereste messo fuori di Carignano, per che la mia gente havia pigliato il spavento*

coffi forte che la citta no era bastante di vassellari. Which in English is this. You tell me that if our people had followed their fortune, they had had to deal with no more of yours than forty Soldiers only, and had put your whole Camp to flight. And I tell you, that had you pursued your fortune, you had driven me out of Carignan, forasmuch as my people had taken so terrible a fright, that the strength of the City had not been sufficient to reasssure them: And thereupon told us the great disorder his people were in, saying, that he had once thought the Spaniards had been men without fear, but that he was now satisfied, they had as much of that passion about them as other men; and that he was then in so great extremity that he was constrained to throw himself before the Gate, to try to stop them: but that in so doing he was like to have been born down by the torrent, and that they entred in such a crowd, that they had like to have lifted the Gate off the hinges. And so soon, said he, as they were all entred in this disorder, I step'd to the Gate to clap it to, and knowing all the Captains call'd them name by name to come to help me; but not a man would come, inso much that had it not been for a servant of my own, that heard me call out, and came to my assistance, I could never have shut it. Nay the disorder in the Town was moreover so great, that above four hundred threw themselves over the Curtines, who in the morning returning back were ready to dye for shame, and this is the reason why I have told you, that if you had followed your fortune, you had taken the Town with forty men. By which account of his I knew the Proverb to be true, that says, * *Que si l'ost sçavoit ce que fait l'ost, souvent l'on defferoit l'ost.*

* If one Army knew what the other Army did, that Army would soon be defeated.

Now notwithstanding that after the surrender of Carignan the Inhabitants of the City assured us of this disorder, yet could we not by any means believe it, especially at the first; or at least that it could be so great; it seem'd so unlikely and so exceedingly strange: but after it had been confess'd by their Governor himself, we were bound to believe it to be true: and that they were pursued by some Phantome, or possessed by some evil spirit; for we did them no harm, being as much frightened as they, and and it may be more: But the night is terrible when a man cannot see by whom he is assaulted. However this makes me conclude, that all befel me through good fortune; for it cannot be called valour, but rather the greatest folly that any man could commit; and I do believe, that of all the good fortunes God has pleased to bestow upon me, this was the most remarkable and the most strange: but let us proceed to our business.

The strength of France.

The thirst of Revenge had prompted the Emperor (contrary to the faith he had engaged to the Pope) to league and confederate himself with the King of England, who was fallen off from his obedience to the holy Chair, out of despise; which two Princes (as it was said) had divided the Kingdom (for so both the Marquis de Guast told Monsieur de Termes, and I have since heard the same from an English Gentleman at Boulogne) but however it was but disputing the bears skin. France well united within it self can never be conquer'd till after the loss of a dozen Battels; considering the brave Gentry whereof it is fruitful, and the strong places wherewith it abounds. And I conceive they are deceiv'd who say, that Paris being taken, France is lost. It is indeed the Treasury of the Kingdom, and an unexhausted Magazine, where all the richest of the whole Nation unlade their Treasure, and I do believe in the whole world there is not such a City, for 'tis an old saying, that there is not a Crown in Paris but yields ten Sols revenue once a year; but there are so many other Cities, and strong places in the Kingdom, as are sufficient to destroy thirty Armies. So that it would be easie to rally together, and to recover that from them again, before they could conquer the rest; unless the Conqueror would depopulate his own Kingdom, to repeople his new Conquest. I say this because the design of the King of England was to run directly up to Paris, whilst the Emperor should enter into Champagne. The Forces of these two Princes being join'd together consisted of fourscore thousand Foot and twenty thousand Horse, with a prodigious train of Artillery, by which any man may judge whether our King had not enough to do, and whether it was not high time to look about him. Without all doubt these poor Princes have greater care and trouble upon them than the inferior forts of men; and I am of opinion the King did very well to call back his Forces out of Piedmont, though some are pleased to say, that the State of Milan might otherwise have been won, and that the Emperor would have been necessitated to have called back his Forces out of France to defend that Dutchy: but all this depended upon event. So it was that God would not suffer these Princes to agree betwixt themselves, each of them being bent upon his own particular advantage; and I have often heard, and sometimes seen, that when two Princes jointly undertake the Conquest of a Kingdom, they never agree;

agree; for each of them is always suspicious of being over-reach'd by his companion, and evermore jealous of one another. I have not, I confess, much conversed with Books; but I have heard say, that after this manner we first lost the Kingdom of *Naples*, and were cheated by the King of *Spain*. This suspicion and jealousy at this time preserved us, as it has at other times done several others, as the Historians report. For my part, I should more apprehend one great single Enemy than two who would divide the Cake between them, there will always be some exceptions taken, and two Nations do not easily agree, as you see here. The *English* King came and sat down before *Boulogne*, which was basely surrendred to him by the *Sieur de Vervin*, who lost his life for his labour; an example that ought to be set before all such as undertake the defence of strong holds. This by no means pleased the *Spaniard*, who reap'd no advantage by it, and saw very well that his confederate would only intend his own business.

Boulogne surrendred to the *English*.

Our Colonel, *Monseigneur de Tais*, brought three and twenty Ensigns to the King, being all the same which had been at the Battel, saving one new Company; but I fell sick at *Troyes*, and came not up to the Army, till they were advanc'd near to *Boulogne*, where the said *Sieur de Tais* delivered me the Patent his Majesty had sent me for the Office of Camp-Master; but there was nothing done worthy remembrance, till the Camisado of *Boulogne*. As we arrived near to *la Marquise*, the *Dauphin* who commanded the Army had intelligence that it was three or four days since the Town had been taken (though he knew it before) and that the King of *England* was embarked and gone for *England*. It is to be presumed that this Prince had made such hast away only to avoid fighting, forasmuch as he had left all things in so great disorder; for in the first place we found all his Artillery before the Town in a Meadow, that lies upon the descent towards the Tower of *Ordre*; secondly there was found above thirty Casks full of Corsets which he had caused to be brought out of *Germany*, therewith to arm his Soldiers, which he had left for the defence of the Town; thirdly he had left all the ammunition of victual, as Corn, Wine, and other things to eat in the lower Town, insomuch that if *Monseigneur de Taigni* be yet living (as I am told he is) the Father of this who is a Huguenot, and who treated the peace during these troubles, and was taken upon the Camisado in the lower Town, (where not one man but himself escap'd alive) he will bear witness that there was not in the higher Town provision to serve four days, for himself told it me.

The *Sieur de Montluc* made Camp-Master.

The King of *England* retires.

The occasion of the Camisado was this. A Son in law of the Marechal de *Bles* (not this fine *Monseigneur de Vervin*, but another whose name I have forgot) came to *Monseigneur de Tais*, and told him that a Spy of his, who came from *Boulogne*, had assured him, that as yet nothing had been remov'd to the higher Town; but that all still remained below, and that if they would speedily attempt to take the lower Town (which might easily be done) they would in eight days time have the upper come out to them with ropes about their necks; and that if *Monseigneur de Tais* so pleased, he would in the morning lead him, where he might himself discover all: the Spy moreover affirming, that as yet not one breach in the wall was repaired; but that all lay open as if it were a village.

The Camisado at *Bullen*.

Upon this information *Monseigneur de Tais* was impatient to go to take a view of all, and took me along with him, together with this Son in law of the Marechal. We might be about a hundred Horse drawn out of the several Troops, and just at the break of day we arrived before the Town, leaving the Tower of *Ordre* some two or three hundred paces on the right hand, and saw five or six Pavillions upon the descent in the great high way leading to the Gate of the City. We were no more than five or six Horse only, *Monseigneur de Tais* having left the rest behind a little Hill. This Son in law of the Marechal, and I therefore went down to the first Pavillion, and passed close by it into the Camp on the left hand, till we came to the second, from whence we discovered all their Artillery, at no further distance than fourscore paces only; neither did we see any more than three or four *English* Soldiers that were walking up and down by the Canon, and in the foresaid second Pavillion we heard them jabber *English*. The Marechal's Son in law then made me return back to *Monseigneur de Tais*, who immediately upon my telling him what we had seen, went down with me to the place from whence I came, and there with the foresaid Gentleman stood still. In the mean time it grew to be fair broad day, so that the Centinels very well perceived us to be none of their own people, and thereupon presently gave the alarm: but for all that we saw not a man offer to sally out of the Tower (I have indeed since been told that *Dondellat*, whom

Monseigneur de Tais and the *Sieur de Montluc* discovered the Town.

whom Monsieur de St. Pol had bred up of a Page, had the Guard at the Tower) and so we return'd.

A Camifado *ph*in, and Monsieur d' Orleans, where it was concluded, that the next morning at break concluded on. of day a Camifado should be given, and that Monsieur de Tais, with our Companies, should give the first onset by three Breaches that were in the wall, on that side where we had been to discover; which were Breaches that had only been made for pleasure. The Rheingrave then entreated the *Dauphin* that he and his *Germans* might go on with us to the Assault: but Monsieur de Tais had already promised Count *Pedemarie*, that he would speak to the *Dauphin* to give him leave to go on with us, which was a very great misfortune: for had the *Germans* gone on with us to the Breach, the Enemy had never fir'd one shot, which would have invited a great many more to come in to our relief much sooner than they did.

We set out in the night with shirts over our Arms, and met the Rheingrave with his *Germans* ready and resolved to pass over a Bridge of Brick there was near unto *la Marquise*, which resolution he was not to be perswaded from; but would pass over after us, what promise soever he had made to the Count. Of which Monsieur de Tais sent present word to the *Dauphin*, and whilst they were in dispute about it, came the Admiral *Annebaut*, who so far prevailed with the Rheingrave, that at last he was perswaded to retire behind, giving us leave to pass, and the *Italians* after us; but for his own part he would not stir from the Battail of the *Gens d'Armes*, that was drawn up near to *la Marquise* and Monsieur *Dampierre* also, who was Colonel of the *Grisons*, came up as far as the Tower of *Ordre*, where he drew up his men into Battalia. Now Monsieur de Tais had given me one part of his men with them to fall on by the high way on his right hand, being the same he had discover'd the day before. I then charg'd up straight to the Artillery, and those who remain'd with Monsieur de Tais and the *Italians* fell on by the three breaches, which they bravely carried; and being there was neither Gate nor breach on that side where the Artillery was, I was fain to go all along by the wall on that side towards the River, where I at last found a breach of some ten or twelve paces wide, which I entred without any manner of opposition, and went on straight to the Church: where I saw no Captain of ours, save one only, who was running along by the River directly to the forementioned breaches, and him I call'd to, but he heard me not.

Monsieur de
Tais wounded.

Now you must know that Monsieur de Tais was wounded, and enforc'd to retire; what became of Count *Pedemarie* I know not: but I was afterwards told that all the Captains, both *Gascons* and *Germans*, were gone out of the Town, and had made no stay there, by reason of an Alarm, that the *English* had recovered the breaches by the outside of the Town, as it was true: but there were of them not above two hundred men, that were sallied out on the outside from the higher Town: and I was moreover told that it was *Dondellet*, who fled from the Tower of *Ordre* straight to the Town. All our Ensigns were left in the Town, but I never perceived any thing of all this: for had I seen the disorder, I do believe, I should have done as the rest did; I will not pretend to be braver than I am. Before the Church I found two *Italian* Captains only with their Companies and Colours, where so soon as I arrived, I fell to assaulting three or four houses, and forced them, wherein were a great number of *English*, and most of them without arms; some of which were clad in white and red, others in black and yellow, and a great many Soldiers also without those colours; but I soon understood that all those in Liveries were Pioneers; because they had no Arms, as the other had, who defended themselves, and so, that above two hundred of them were slain in the houses. I then march'd straight to the Church, where I found the said *Italian* Captains (the one call'd *Cesar Porto*, and the other *Hieronimo Megrin*, and with these *Italians* Messieurs *D'Andelot* and *de Novailles*, who was Lieutenant to Monsieur de *Nemours*) asking them where all our Captains were; who returned me answer, that they knew not what was become of them. I then began to perceive there was some disorder in the case, not seeing one man of all our Companies; excepting those who were entred with me, and about fifty or threescore others, who had staid behind to plunder, and were rallyed to me at the assault of the houses: whilst I was considering with my self what the matter should be, all on a suddain there came a great number of *English* full drive directly upon us, as we stood before the Church, and in the street adjoining, crying out, *Who goes there?* to which I made answer in *English*, *A friend, a friend*, (for of all the Languages that are scattered amongst us, I have learn'd some words, and the *Italian* and *Spanish* passably well, which has sometimes been very useful to me) but the *English* proceeding

ceeding to further Interrogatories, they soon put me to the end of my *Latine*; by which perceiving what we were, they presently fell on, crying out, *Kill, kill, kill*; I then call'd out to the *Italian* Captains, saying, * *Ajutate mi, & state appreso me, perehe io me ne vo affabir li, no bisogno lassiar mi investire.* Which having said, I ran full drive upon them, who immediately fac'd about, and pursued them, laying on in their rear, to the end of the Street, where they turned off on the right hand along by the wall of the upper Town; from whence they discharged at us some small pieces, and a whole Cloud of Arrows. I then retir'd back to the *Italians*, where I was no sooner come and settled in my former order, but that they return'd to charge me again: but I had taken a little heart, having found them so easily to run away, and therefore gave them leave to come up close to us, where I then charg'd them, and we thought they ran away with greater facility than before; I therefore retir'd once more before the Church: but then there fell such a furious storm of Rain, that it seem'd as if God Almighty had been disposed to drown us all; during which shower there came up ten or twelve Ensigns of ours from one of the breaches, at which they had entred, not having above six Soldiers with them; and I might have about as many Ensigns with me. One of the Ensigns then told me that the Breaches were all taken, and that the Captains were fled away: Which having heard, I desir'd the two *Italian* Captains that they should a while make good that Canton, where the Church stood (for there was a wall before the door of it) and I would go dispute the Breach by which I had entred, which so soon as I should recover, I would send them word, that they might draw off and come to me, and if peradventure the Enemy in the mean time, should come up to them, that then they should remember what they had seen me do, and boldly charge them.

* Which I conceive is to be *Englisht* thus (for Mr. Montluc, by his leave, was no very good *Italian*) Assist me and stand ready by me, for whilst I go to assault them, there is no reason that you should permit them to enclose me behind. The *English* put to flight.

I then went to the breach, where I saw already ten or twelve *English* got thither, two of which stood upon their defence; but of the rest, some leap'd over the Breach, and others slipt on the right hand along the inside of the wall, and so soon as we were got out, we saw moreover fifteen or twenty that came running towards us, along on the outside the wall, and seeing us turn'd on the right hand towards the other breaches, by which our people before had entred. I then entreated a Gentleman of *Burgundy* (whose name I have forgot) who was mounted upon a horse he had taken, that he would go to *Cesar Porto* and *Hieronimo Megrin* to call them away, which he was very willing to do, provided I would promise to stay for him, which I assured him upon my life I would do, and that dead or alive he should find me at this Breach. The Rain still continued more and more violent, when the said Gentleman returning, told me that he could not possibly get to them; and that they were either retreated into the Church, or all dead. when behold on a suddain three or four hundred *English* came at a good round trot directly upon us all along by the wall, just as we were upon the point to enter again to go relieve the *Italians*: but seeing them come full drive upon us, we were constrained to alter that resolution.

Messieurs d' *Andelot*, de *Novailles*, this *Burgundian* Gentleman and three or four others had never stirred from my side, from the time they had first met me before the Church (and it was well for them, for if they had they had gone to pot with the rest) and as the *English* came on in this fury, there arose a hubub amongst us, some crying out to me to fly towards the River, and others towards the Mountain: but upon the instant I resolv'd to remonstrate to them, *What have you to do to go to the Mountain? in our way thither we must of necessity pass close by the higher Town; for to go directly to the River, do you not see that it is rising, and got so high already that we shall be all drown'd? let no one therefore think any more of that; but let us make our selves ready, for we must fight these people.* Whereupon Monsieur d' *Andelot* cryed out aloud, *I, I, Captain Montluc, I pray you let us fight them; for that is the best.* He was a man of very great courage, and 'tis great pity he afterwards turn'd Huguenot; for I do believe he was one of the bravest Gentlemen in the Kingdom. We therefore march'd directly up to them, when so soon as we came within four or five Pikes length of them, they let fly a great shower of Arrows upon us, and we ran up to them to push a Pike; for there were but two Harquebuzes shot fired, and immediately they faced about, and fled the same way they came. We follow'd after, and very close, and when they came to the Canton of the Town towards their own people, who kept almost all our Ensigns enclosed, they seeing them come, and we pursuing in the rear of them, quitted the Breaches to relieve their own men, and rallying all together came running directly upon us, who were all at the foot of the Mountain of the Tower

The French in fear.

The courage of Mr. d' *Andelot*.

The Sieur de
Montluc came
the last man
out of
Bullen.

of *Ordre*. I then cryed to Monsieur d' *Andelot*, and to all the Ensigns and Soldiers, *Get away as fast as you can and climb the Mountain*; for I, for my own part, with four or five Pikes, would stay to see the event of all, retiring towards a Rivolet which was by the Artillery. So soon as the *English* had quitted the breach, to come to us, our Ensigns leap'd out of the Town towards the valley, by which they had come, and being got to the foot of the Mountain, where Monsieur d' *Andelot* and the Ensigns were marching up, the Enemy saw that our Ensigns were again pass'd over the Breaches, and that the said *Andelot* with the other Ensigns were got half way up the Hill; they then thought to turn after the others, as they did, but could never overtake above eight or ten Soldiers at the most, whom they cut all to pieces. Five or six *English* then came up to me, and I pass'd the Rivolet, where the Water was more than knee deep above the Banks. They bestow'd some Arrows upon me, and shot them into the Targuer, and another thorough a sleeve of Mail I wore upon my right arm; which for my part of the Booty I carried home to my Quarters, and having received them, went to mount the Hill on the backside of the Tower of *Ordre*. Monsieur le *Dauphin*, having with him Monsieur d' *Orleans* and the Admiral, made his Lanquenets to march to relieve us within the Town; but before they could come near the disorder was already hapned, and they found Messieurs d' *Andelot* and de *Novailles* with the Ensigns, who were got up to the top of the Mountain.

In the interim of this confusion the Vidame of *Chartres*, and my Brother Monsieur de *Lieux*, advanc'd as far as the bottom of the Hill, to see if they could learn any news of me; but they were sent back with a vengeance, and told the *Dauphin* that they did certainly believe I was slain within the Town: forasmuch as they had seen all the Captains, me only excepted; and whilst they were in this discourse Monsieur d' *Andelot* arrived, of whom the *Dauphin* demanded if he knew what was become of me, to whom he made answer, that I had been the preservation of him and all those that were with him: but that (it seem'd) I had not known how to save my self, which I might have done, if I had so pleased, as well as the rest. The said Sieur d' *Andelot* concluded me for dead, believing that I had suffered my self to be snap'd about their Artillery, or by a Ship that lay upon the Rivolet I passed over; but I was no such fool: for I call God to witnes, and let him punish me according to my perjury, if of all that day I ever lost my understanding, and it was a great blessing that God was pleased to preserve it to me entire; for had I lost my judgment, we had received a very great disgrace, which we could neither have concealed nor excused, and I had been in great danger never to have been a Marschal of *France*. We had lost all our Ensigns, and those that carried them withall, which nevertheless God gave me the grace to save. When a man is once possessed with fear, and that he loses his judgment, as all men in a fright do, he knows not what he does, and it is the principal thing you are to beg at the hands of Almighty God, to preserve your understanding entire; for what danger soever there may be, there is still one way or other to get off, and perhaps to your honor: But when fear has once possessed your judgment, God ye good even! you think you are flying towards the poop, when you are running towards the prow, and for one Enemy you think you have ten before your eyes, as drunkards do, who see a thousand candles at once. Oh 'tis a wonderful advantage to a man of our Trade, when his danger does not deprive him of his sence, he may then take his opportunity, and avoid both shame and ruine.

In the evening I went to the *Dauphin* for the Word, because Monsieur de *Tais* himself was wounded and could not go; when, so soon as I came into his presence, Monsieur d' *Orleans*, who always delighted to jest with me (as the *Dauphin* also himself sometimes would do) began to sing the Camisado of *Bullen*, and the assault of *Cony*, for the old Soldiers of *Piedmont*, jeering and pointing at me with his finger: at which I began to be angry, and fell to cursing those who had been the cause; at which the *Dauphin* laugh'd, and at last said to me; Montluc, Montluc, in plain truth, you Captains can by no means excuse it, that you have not carried your selves very ill. Which way, Sir, (said I) can you conceive me to be any way in fault? if I knew my self to be guilty I would at this instant go, and cause my self to be killed in the Town: but in truth we were a company of Coxcombs, to venture our lives in your service. Whereupon he said No, No, I do not mean you, for you were the last Captain that came out of the Town, and above an hour after all the rest. He gave me very well to understand, when he came to be King, that I had not fail'd of my duty, by the value he was ever pleased to put upon me; for when he went his expedition into *Piedmont*, he sent an express Courrier to fetch me from my own house, to which I had retired my self by reason of

of a certain pique, that Madam d'Estampes had conceived against me, about the quarrel betwixt Messieurs de Chastaigneraie, and de Jarnac. A man has evermore one good office or another done him at Court, and the mischief on't is, the women evermore rule the roost: but I shall not take upon me to be a Reformer, Madam d'Estampes sent better men than my self packing from Court, who have made no boasts of it: but I wonder at our brave Historians that they dare not tell the truth.

This was the success of the Camisado of Boulogne, whereas had the Camp follow'd after us, they might all have quarter'd in the Town, and in four or five dayes (as I have already said) the higher Town had been our own. Let any one ask Monsieur de Teligni, if he be the man who was taken prisoner there, and see whether or no I tell a lye. I do not know who was the cause that the Dolphin did not march, but I shall alwayes affirm that he ought to have done it, and know also very well that it did not stick at him; but it were to enter into disputes to say any more of that business. Had they come, the English would not have known which way to turn them. I discover'd them to be men of very little heart, and believe them to be better at Sea than by Land.

The Dolphin seeing the Winter draw on (having left Monsieur le Marechal de Bies at Monstreuille, to bridle and keep Boulogne in awe) return'd back to the King, who also had concluded a Peace with the Emperor: all this great preparation, and those invincible forces, to our great good fortune, vanishing through the ill intelligence betwixt these two Princes, I mean the Spaniard and the English. Evil befal him that will ever love the one, or the other. Three months after I quitted my command of Camp-master, to go to defend a little estate that had been left me by an Uncle of mine. I had much ado to obtain leave of the King to go; but in the end the Admiral wrought so effectually in my behalf, that it was granted upon condition that I would promise him to take upon me the same employment in case the said Admiral should have the command of the Army. He fail'd not of that command, nor thereupon to summon me upon my promise I had made him, but obtain'd a Commission from the King (which he sent me) to be Camp-master to fifty or threescore Ensigns that his Majesty would set on foot for the English voyage. I brought the men accordingly to Havre de Grace, where I delivered them into the hands of Monsieur de Tais. We then put to sea, Our Navy consisted of above two hundred and fifty sail, and the most beautiful Ships that ever eyes beheld, with their Gallies. The ardent desire the King had to revenge himself on the King of England made him enter into a very vast expence, which in the end serv'd to very little purpose, although we first landed, and afterwards fought the English upon the sea, where many Ships were sunk on both sides: When at our setting out I saw the great Carrick (which was certainly the goodliest Vessel in the world) burnt down to the water, I had no great opinion of our Enterprize. But being that I for my particular perform'd nothing in that expedition worthy remembrance, and that moreover a perfect account of that Naval Engagement has been given by others, I shall let it alone to give a Narrative of the conquest of the Territory of Oye: and indeed our business lies more properly by land than by water; where I do not know that our Nation has ever obtain'd any great victories.

So soon as we were return'd from the Coast of England, and disembark'd at Havre de Grace, the Admiral went to attend the King, and Monsieur de Tais went along with him, carrying all the Companies to the Fort of Otreau before Boulogne, where Captain Ville-franche had been left with the old Companies in the quality of Camp-master, he having been put into the Command that I had formerly quitted. The Marechal de Bies his Majesties Lieutenant in that Country, had something to say as Monsieur de St. Germain, whom the King had given him for an assistant, can very well witness; for all the Pioniers had forsok him, and were stoln away, as is usual with those rascally people, if they be not narrowly look't unto: and yet had he all the Courtine leading towards the Bridge of Brick to make. Of which affair though there be no fighting in the case, I think fit to give an account in this place, that it may serve for an example to others in command, upon the like occasion.

The Marechal being frequently solicited by the King to put this fort into a posture of defence to block up Boulogne, told me that there was a necessity the Soldiers should work, since the Pioneers were wanting; of which I accordingly carried word to the Captains, and they from me to the Soldiers, who all at once flatly deny'd to do it, saying *They were Soldiers, and not Pioneers*. With this answer the Marechal was highly offended, and in great anxiety what to do, forasmuch as the Courtine remained open, and that the King of England had sent fresh supplies of men into Bullen. Wherefore the Marechal having sent throughout all the Country for Pioneers, and none being to be got, I contriv'd a way to make the Soldiers work, which was by giving them five

M

pence

Overlight in
the Camisado
at Bullen.

Peace conclu-
ded betwixt the
Emperor and
the King of
France.

A Naval Eng-
agement be-
twixt the
French and the
English Anno
1545.

The French no
very good sea-
men.

The Marechal
de Bies before
Bullen.

The Captains
refuse to work
at the Fortifi-
cation.

pence a day, the ordinary pay given to the Pioneers. The Marechal very readily consented to the motion, but notwithstanding I could not find one who would once put his hand to the work. Seeing therefore their refusal, to invite them by my example, I took my own Company, that of *Monsieur de Lioux* my Brother, with those of Captain *Leberon* my Brother-in-law, and Captain *Labit* my Cousin German; for those I knew durst not refuse me. We wanted no tools, for the Marechal had made provision of very great store, and moreover the Pioneers who were run away, had left all theirs in a great Tent, which the Marechal had caused to be set up to that purpose. So soon as I came to the Courtin I began my self first to break ground, and after me all the Captains. I had caused a Barrel of wine to be brought to the place, and with it my dinner, which I had order'd to be much greater than ordinary, and the Captains also had brought theirs along with them, together with a Sack full of pence which I shew'd to the Soldiers; and after having wrought a start every Captain din'd with his own Company, and to every Soldier we gave half a loaf, some wine and a little flesh; of which also we were more liberal to some than to others, pretending they had taken more pains than their fellows, on purpose to encourage them; and so soon as we had din'd we again fell to our work, singing and plying our business until late in the evening, insomuch that one would have thought we had never follow'd any other Trade. So soon as we gave over, three Treasurers of the Army paid to every man five sols, and at our return to our Tents, the other Soldiers by way of division call'd ours Pioneers and Delves. The next morning Captain *Forcez* came to tell me, that all his men also would come to the work, and those of his Brother likewise (who is also yet living) all which I receiv'd, and we did as the day before; the third day they would all come, so that in eight dayes time we had finish't the whole Courtin; and all the Engeneers told *Monsieur de St. Germain* (who himself had never stirr'd from the work) that my Soldiers had done more in eight dayes, than four times so many Pioneers would have done in five weeks. And observe that Captains, Lieutenants, and Ensigns stuck all the while as close to the work, as the meanest Soldier did, and serv'd as inciters to the rest.

I thought fit to commit this Exemple to writing, to let the Captains see, that it is not the Soldiers fault, if they do not perform whatsoever you would have them do: but then you must get the knack to make them do it chearfully, and with a good will, and not by force; put your hands first to the work your selves, and your Soldiers will for shame follow your exemple, and do more than you would have them do. But if you come to ill words and blows, it must be when out of spite they refuse to do a thing to which they are no ways obliged; and to that we are indeed sometimes by necessity constrain'd. O Camrades, how often have I, seeing the Soldier weary, and ready to faint, alighted from my horse to walk with them on foot, to encourage them to make a long march! how often have I drunk water with them, that they might chearfully suffer by my exemple.

Believe me, Gentlemen, that all depends upon your selves, and that your Soldiers will conform themselves to your humour, as it is ordinarily seen. There is a mean in all things, sometimes a little roughness is very requisite, but then it must not be against a whole Company, but some particular person, who would grumble, and hinder the rest that are well disposed. I have ere now made some surly stubborn rascalls feel my anger of which I now repent me.

Sometime after the Marechal *de Biez* would attempt to seize upon, and lay waste the Territory of *Oye*, having in vain tryed to tempt the *English* to a Battail. All our new Companies therefore march't, for the old stirr'd not out of the Fort, but were kept there to guard it, and the Marechal took six or seven pieces of great Artillery along with him; so that we set out secretly in the beginning of the night, and went to some little Villages that had formerly been burnt. This Enterprize was taken in hand contrary to the opinion of all the Captains in the Army, out of the hope the said Marechal had to bring it to a Battail, which had drawn several Princes and Lords to come from the Court: Where after there was no more hopes of drawing the *English* into the field, the Marechal deliberated to take some Forts from them in the County of *Oye*. Now so soon as they drew very near to one of these Forts, the Marechal, *Messieurs de Brisac*, and *de Tais*, drew themselves apart (I think *Monsieur de Estre* was with them, being then newly come out of prison) *Monsieur de Bordillon*, and three or four others (whose names I have forgot) and got up to a little eminence under the shadow of a Tree, from thence peeping and considering which of the said Bastions, that were opposite to us, they should assault; and in the mean time I caus'd all our Ensigns to make a halt for the last, which were yet a league behind. Now you must know I had never been there till this time; neither

Oye is a County of *Picardy* wherein are the Cities of *Calice*, *Oye*, and some others of less note, extending it self as far as *Dunkirk* in the Low Countries, and was posses'd by the *English* 210 years.

neither have I ever been there since, but to the best of my memory I shall describe the situation of the place.

I was to descend about thirty or forty paces, to enter into a great Meadow, where on my right hand there was one Bastion, and on my left hand, at the distance of a good Harquebuz shot, another, and so consequently all along the Courtine leading towards Calice (which Courtine was only of earth, and about two fathoms high) there was also two great Ditches with water middle deep, and betwixt the two Ditches there was a Terrace of earth. Whilst they were in consultation under this Tree on my left hand, I took Captain Favas, and la Moyenne, having both been my Lieutenants, and about 300 Harquebuzers, to whom I gave the leading of the first Division, and I stood behind in the Rear of them. There presently sallied out of the Fort an hundred or sixscore English, who came into the Meadow, having planted five or six Musketeers upon their Terres, betwixt two Ditches, and ply'd us smartly with their shot, having left betwixt the said Bastions and Ditches a little path, by which one man only could march a breast, to enter in, and sally out of their Fort, confident, it seems, that under favour of their Muskets, those of ours on the outside would not dare to charge them. Our men began then to Harquebuz it at a good smart rate, and they to let fly their arrows: but me-thought they had still an eye towards their retreat; wherefore being mounted on a little pad Nag, I came up to the Captains, and said these words to them. Camrades, these people are mainly enclin'd to retreat, and I see it is out of a confidence they have in their Muskets, charge then briskly through and through, and I will second you. I needed not to bid them twice, for before I could return to the head of my men, I saw them together by the ears, and in a moment the English put to flight: wherefore I stop't my men from falling on, to make firm in case any more should sally out. This little path was something narrow, and adjoyning to the Bastion, under which the one part of them stood firm, the rest cast themselves into the Ditches in so great hast, that they had not leisure to carry off all their Muskets, for our Soldiers leapt into the water as soon as they, and brought away four of them; and there were four or five of the said Soldiers that pass'd over the said Terrace, and the other Ditch, to the very foot of the Courtine, who brought me word that the greatest depth of water was in the first Ditch; for the other next the Courtine was not above knee deep. I then presently spoke to the Captains, Favas and la Moyenne, that they should draw up my Division and theirs together, and finding Captain Aurloqui, and almost all the other Captains entreated them to make two Divisions of theirs; for that so soon as I had spoken with Monsieur de Tais, I would go on to an Assault. They then told me, that they wanted near half of their Soldiers, who were not yet come up, to which I made answer, that it was no matter, seeing that with those we had we could do our business, who thereupon without further reply began to divide themselves into two Bodies, and I ran to speak with Monsieur de Tais, whom I found with the Marechal and the rest, and said to him; *Let us go, Sir, let us go to the Assault, for we shall carry the Courtine; I have tasted them, and find, that they have more mind to run than fight.* The Marechal then said to me, *What is it you say Captain Montluc, would to God we were certain presently to carry it with all the Artillery we have.* Whereupon I answered him aloud; *Sir, we shall have strangled them all before your Artillery can come up to us,* and taking Monsieur de Tais by the arm, said to him; *Let us go, Sir, you have believ'd me at other times, and have not repented; neither shall you repent you of this. I have discover'd by these approaches, that these people are little worth. Let us go then,* answered he, and as we were entring into the Meadow, we already found our two Divisions of Pikes and Harquebuzers separated apart. Look you, Sir, then said I, *take your choice on which hand you will fight,* whether on that of this Ensign over against the Bastion below, or on that of the Ensign opposite to those I have fought with: who thereupon said to me, *Fight you that Body you have already attack't, and I will go fight the other,* and so we parted.

So soon as the Marechal de Biez saw us begin to march, he (as Monsieur de Bordillon told me afterwards) said these words; *now we shall see if Tais with his Gascons be so brave as he pretends.* I then call'd all the Sergeants of my Division, saying to them aloud at the head of our Battail; *You Sergeants have ever been accustomed, when we go to fight, to be in the Flanks behind, but I will have you now fight in the first Rank. Do you see that Ensign there? if you do not win it, as many as I shall meet slinking off in my way as I go, I shall make bold to cut his hamstrings; you know I am pretty dextrous that way:* then turning towards the Captains, I said, *and you, Camrades, if I am not there as soon as they, do you cut mine.* I then ran to Captain Favas and la Moyenne (who might be at the distance of some thirty paces) and said to them, *March, and throw your selves headlong into the Ditch,*

Description of
the English
Fort.

attempt upon
the English
Forts.

The Sieurs de
Tais and Mont-
luc, go on to
the Assault.

* A Ceremo-
ny formerly
used when Sol-
diers went on
to an Assault,
or to any des-
perate Enter-
prise.

An Assault gi-
ven to the En-
glish Fort.

The English
put to flight.

The mistake of
Castegeac.

Fault of the
French.

Ditch, and in an instant return'd to my men, when having * kist the ground, I ran straight up to the Ditches, making the Sergeants still to march before, and passing over the first and the second, came up to the foot of the Courtin. I then said to the Sergeants, *Help one another, help one another with your Halberts to get up*, which they speedily did, and others pusht them on behind, throwing them headlong into the Fort: I had also a Halbert in my hand. In the mean time arriv'd all the Captains and Pikes, who found me making a great shew of endeavouring to get up with my Halbert, holding with my left hand by the wood; when some of them, not knowing who I was, took me by the breech, and pusht me quite over on the other side, making me by that means more valiant than I intended to be; for what I did was only to encourage the rest to get over: but that fellow, whoever he was, made me forget my policy, and take a leap that I had no intent to have taken; and indeed in my whole life I did never see people so soon get over a Courtine. After I had taken this leap, Captain *Favis* and *la Moyenne*, who were in the Ditch of the Bastion, put themselves into the little path, and past on the other side into the Bastion, where all they found within it they put to the sword. Monsieur *de Tais*, who went on to his encounter, seeing us scrambling up the Courtine, threw himself into the Ditches of the other Fort, when the *English* seeing their people put to flight, and we entring into it, quitted the Fort, and ran away as fast as they could towards *Calice*. The Mareschal this while seeing us run on so bravely upon the Enemy, cried out (as I was told after) Oh heavens! they are already got in; whereupon the Seigneurs *de Brissac* and *de Bourdillon* came full speed upon the spur, and the said Seigneur *de Brissac* General of the Horse, put his horse into the little path, where one man could not very easily pass, stretching out his legs at full length upon the horse neck, at whose mercy he past over, Monsieur *de Bordillon* after him, and after them follow'd some forty or fifty horse, all leading their horses in their hands. Monsieur *de Brissac* then presently came up to me, whom he found drawing up all the men into Battalion, believing that we should be fought with, and that those of *Calice* would certainly issue out to relieve their men. I had got an Ensign we had won upon my shoulder, which in his presence I restor'd to the Sergeant who had taken it, bidding him go and carry it to Monsieur *de Tais*, which he did, and the said Sieur *de Tais* so soon as he had receiv'd it, sent it by the same Sergeant to the Mareschal, who was very busie with his Pioneers, breaking down the Courtine (which was only of earth) to make way for the *Gens-d'Armes* to pass over; and now we were all within, Artillery and all; where so soon as we were all arriv'd, Messieurs *de Brissac* and *de Bordillon*, with the forty or fifty horse that had entred with them, took the right hand toward the Sluces which separate the Coun y of *Artois* from the County of *Oye*, where they met with forty or fifty of the *English*, bearing Launces, who presently began to retire full gallop towards *Calice*. Monsieur *de Brissac* was jealous, that these had only run away to draw him into some Ambuscado, and therefore made a halt, sending out *Castegeac* to discover a little valley that was on his left hand; which said *Castegeac* presently brought him word that he had seen above 400 horse, but it was no such thing, those he saw being no other than Countrymen and women of the neighbouring Villages, who were flying towards *Calice*, which was a great misfortune; for otherwise Monsieur *de Brissac* had pursued them, and they were all the Cavalry that the Enemy had in *Calice*, which had been no inconsiderable defeat. A General of all things ought always to send out an old Soldier, or some one whose intelligence he may absolutely rely upon, to discover; for men of little experience soon take the alarm, and fancy Bushes to be Battaillons. I will not say that *Castegeac* was no Soldier, but upon my word he here committed a very great error.

Our Cavalry being got over the Breach, the Mareschal had caused to be made, Monsieur *de Tais* would himself lead the Harquebuzers, ordering me to remain with the Battail of Pikes. There were ten or twelve Ensigns which retir'd towards *Calice*, and had been coming to have disputed our entry, which, could they have come up in time, had found us enough to do, with our Artillery and all, as the Mareschal had told me when I went to call Monsieur *de Tais* to go on to the Assault: and although I know very well at whom it stuck, that we did not fight them ten or twelve Ensigns, I will however forbear committing it to writing, forasmuch as in delivering the truth, I should be oblig'd to speak ill of some particular persons, and those none of the least, which I will by no means do: But if Monsieur *de St. Cire* (who was Lieutenant to fifty men at arms belonging to Monsieur *Boissy*, who died Grand Escuyer) were alive, he could tell where the fault lay, for he was there grievously wounded, had his horse kill'd under him, and above forty horses more of the same Troop kill'd and wounded. There fol-

low'd

low'd a great quarrel upon it, which proceeded so far as almost to bring two men to fight in Lifts. It was indeed a most infamous cowardise, and of great prejudice to his Majesties service; for had those been defeated, there had no body been left in *Calice* but old men and women, and I have since heard the Marechal de Biez say, that had those Ensigns been cut off, with his Artillery he had taken the Town in two days. But seeing those people to be retreated safe into the City, they concluded to retire, which two days after we did; as also the season of the year began to settle into very great rain.

Let me tell you Captains you ought not disdain to learn something of me, who am the oldest Captain in *France*, and who have been in as many Battails, or more, as any Captain of *Europe*, as you will judge at the end of my Book. Know therefore that the reasons which induc't me to attempt this assault, were these. First, because I had felt the pulse of the *English* at my first arrival, and found them a very easie Enemy. Secondly, because they had abandon'd their Fortifications, which we gain'd, having the Bastion that serv'd them for a Flanker. Thirdly, because from the little eminence where I had made a halt before I went down into the Meadow, I had seen coming along the Plain on the inside toward *Calice* a great number of people coming from thence, and observ'd all the Courtine to be full of men, by which I saw it was high time to fall on; and for a fourth reason, because that in the Ditch next to the Courtine there was very little water, and from the said Ditch to the said Courtine it was but two good steps, where the Soldiers might stand well enough, and with a little help of their Pikes or Halberts, and the assistance of one another (the Courtine being no more than two fadoms high) we should carry the place. When (Captains) therefore your eye shall have discharg'd its office in discovering the number of your Enemy, and the strength of the place where he is, and that you have tasted, and found him apt to fly, charge him whilst he is in the fear you have possess'd him withal, for if you give him time to recover his senses, and to forget his fright, you will be more often in danger of being beaten, than likely to beat. Wherefore you ought evermore to pursue him in his fear, without giving him leisure to re-assume his courage, and carry always about you the Motto of *Alexander* the Great, which is: *Deferr not that till to morrow thou canst do to day; for many things fall out betwixt the lip and the cup*, especially in war, and then it will be too late to say, *I should never have thought it*. You shall execute many things in your heat, which, if you give your selves leisure to consider of, you will think of it thrice before you once attempt it. Push home then, venture, and do not give your Enemies leisure to consult together, for one will encourage another.

Being return'd to the Fort of *Ontrean*; there was hardly a day past that the *English* did not come to tickle us upon the descent towards the Sea, and would commonly brave our people up to our very Canon, which was within ten or twelve paces of the Fort: and we were all abus'd by what we had heard our Predecessors say, that one *English* man would always beat two French men, and that the *English* would never run away, nor never yield. I had retain'd something of the Camisado of *Bullen*, and of the business of *Oye*; and therefore said one day to Monsieur de *Tais*, that I would discover to him the mystery of the *English*, and wherefore they were reputed so hardy: which was, that they all carried arms of little reach, and therefore were necessitated to come up close to us to loose their arrows, which otherwise would do no execution; whereas we who were accustomed to fire our Harquebuzes at a great distance, seeing the Enemy use another manner of fight, thought these near approaches of theirs very strange, imputing their running on at this confident rate to absolute bravery: but I will lay them an Ambuscado, and then you shall see if I am in the right or no, and whether a Gascon be not as good as an *English*-man. In antient time their Fathers and ours were neighbours.

I then chose out sixscore men, Harquebuzers and Pikes, with some Halberts amongst them, and lodg'd them in a hollow which the water had made, lying below on the right hand of the Fort, and sent Captain *Chaux* at the time when it was low water, straight to some little houses which were upon the Banks of the River almost over against the Town to skirmish with them, with instructions that so soon as he should see them pass the River, he should begin to retire, and give them leave to make a charge. Which he accordingly did: but it fortun'd so, that he was wounded in one of his arms with a Harquebuz shot, and the Soldiers took him and carried him back to the Fort so that the skirmish remained without a head. The *English* were soon aware of it, and gave them a very brisk charge, driving them on fighting up to the very Canon. Seeing then our men so ill handled, I start up out of my Ambuscado sooner then I should have done, running on full drive directly up to them, commanding the Soldiers not to shoot, till they came within the distance of their arrows. They were two or three hundred men,

A discourse concerning the valour of the *English*.

Encounter betwixt the *English* and the French.

A pleasant discourse of the Sieur de Montluc concerning the English.

The remarkable valour of the Marschal de Biez.

Bullen delivered up to the French the 25. day of April, 1551. The death of Francis the first.

The Sieur de Montluc Governor of Montcalier.

having some *Italian* Harquebuzers amongst them, which made me heartily repent that I had made my Ambuscado no stronger : but it was now past remedy, and so soon as they saw me coming towards them, they left the pursuit of the others, and came to charge upon me. We marcht straight up to them, and so soon as they were come up within arrow shot, our Harquebuzers gave their volley all at once, and then clapt their hands to their swords, as I had commanded, and we ran on to come to blows; but so soon as we came within two or three pikes length, they turn'd their backs with as great facility as any Nation that ever I saw, and we pursued them as far as the River, close by the Town, and there were four or five of our Soldiers who followed them to the other side. I then made a halt at the ruins of the little houses, where I rally'd my people together again, some of whom were left by the way behind, who were not able to run so fast as therest. Monsieur de Tais had seen all, and was fally'd out of the Fort to relieve the Artillery, to whom so soon as I came up to him, I said, *Look you, did I not tell you how it would be? We must either conclude that the English of former times were more valiant than those of this present age, or that we are better men than our forefathers. I know not which of the two it is.* In good earnest, said Monsieur de Tais, *these people retreat in very great hast; I shall never again have so good an opinion of the English, as I have had heretofore.* No Sir, said I, *you must know that the English who antiently us'd to beat the French, were half Gascons, for they married into Gascony, and so bred good Soldiers: but now that race is worn out, and they are no more the same men they were.*

From that time forwards our people had no more the same opinion, nor the same fear of the *English*, that before. Therefore (Captains) as much as you can, keep your Soldiers from apprehending an Enemy; for if they once conceive an extraordinary opinion of their valour, they ever go on to fight in fear of being defeated. You are neither to despise your Enemy, neither should your Soldiers think them to be more valiant than themselves. Ever after this charge I observ'd our men alwayes to go on more chearfully to attaque the *English*, and came still up closer to them; and let any one remember when the Marschal de Biez fought them betwixt the Fort of *Andelot*, and the Town, whether our people needed to be intreated to fall on. The said Sieur de Biez there perform'd the part of a very valiant Gentleman, for when his Cavalry were all run off the Field, he came alone to put himself in the head of our Battallion, and alighted, taking a Pike in his hand to go on to the fight, from whence he came off with very great honor. I my self was not there, and therefore shall say nothing of it; for two or three months after our return out of the County of *Oye*, I had askt leave of Monsieur de Tais to go to Court: but the Historians in the mean time are very unjust to conceal such brave actions, and that was a very remarkable one in this old Cavalier. Being at Court I prevail'd so far with the Admiral, that he procur'd me a dismissal from the King, for as much as I had reassum'd the office of Camp-Master upon no other terms, but only to command in the first Expedition that the Admiral should go upon; and having remain'd a month at Court, attending the King in the quality of one of his Gentlemen Waiters (who was now grown old, and melancholic, and did not carels men, as he had wont to do, only once he talkt with me about the Battail of *Serisoles*, being at *Fountain-Bleau*) I took my leave of his Majesty, and never saw him after. I then return'd into *Gascony*, from whence I never stirr'd till King *Henry* by the death of his Father was become King, having all that while been oppress'd with troubles and sicknefs. And that is the reason why I can give you no account of the surrender of *Bullen*, which the King of *England* by the obstinacy of *Francis* the first, was constrain'd to quit for some consideration in mony. A little after he died, and our King stay'd but a very little behind him. We must all die; but this Surrender of *Bullen* hapened in the reign of King *Henry*, my good Master, who succeeded his Father.

Our new King having peace with the Emperor, and after the redelivery of *Bullen*, being also friends with the King of *England*, it seem'd that our arms were likely long to rust by the walls; and indeed, if these two Princes sit still, *France* may be at rest. After having continued some time at home, the King was pleas'd to call me away, and to give me the command of Camp-master, and the government of *Montcalier* under the Prince of *Malphé* his Lieutenant-General in *Piedmont*, Monsieur de Bonnevet being our Colonel: he remembers me very well, and if those who have govern'd since had lov'd me as well as he, I had had as much riches and honour as any Gentleman that has come out of *Gascony* these many years. I there remain'd eighteen moneths, without doing any thing all the while worthy to be remembred; for I will write nothing, but that wherein I had some command. Having obtain'd leave to retire my self to my own house, I return'd into *Gascony*, where I heard a little while after, that by reason of the age and infirmness

of

of the Prince of *Malphé*, the King was about to ſend thither *Monſieur de Briffac* in the quality of his Lieutenant General there, which was the occaſion that Captain *Tilladet* (who had alſo been diſmiſt) and my ſelf went together to Court, where at our coming, we found that the ſaid Seigneur had taken his leave of the King in order to his Journey. We then preſented our ſelves before his Maſteſty, who very graciouſly received us; and to the Conſtable, who was return'd to Court, and in greater favour than ever in the time of King *Francis*, which many did hardly believe he would have been: but the Ladies had now loſt their credit, and others were entred in. Immediately upon our coming his ſaid Maſteſty, who was all this time in a little Town betwixt *Melun* and *Paris*, called *Ville-neufve Saint George*, commanded uſto go to *Paris*, and repair to *Monſieur Briffac*. The next day after our arrival, the ſaid *Sieur de Briffac* departed, being very glad that we were come to him, and ſo we went as far as *Suze*, where we found the Prince of *Malphé*, who had put himſelf upon his way, to come to end his life in *France*, as alſo with- in an hour after our arrival he died. Which, though I ſerv'd ſome time under his com- mand, is all I ſhall ſay of him, having very little opportunity to know more of him, than what I have taken upon truſt; and it is a great miſfortune to a Captain, ſo often to change his General; for before you can come to be thoroughly acquainted with him, you are old; and new friendſhips, and new acquaintance are troubleſome. *Monſieur de Briffac* preſently hereupon diſpatcht away *Monſieur de Forquevaulx* to the King with an account of all, whom his Maſteſty ſent ſpeedily back again with the Patent of Mareſchal of *France*, which he was pleaſed to conſerr upon him.

Monſieur de Briffac Lieute-
nant General
in *Piedmont*.

The death of
the Prince of
Malphé.

Monſieur de Briffac made
Mareſchal of
France.

We lay idle five or ſix moneths without any war; but it is hard for two ſo great Prin- ces, and ſo near neighbours, to continue long without coming to arms, and indeed ſoon after an occaſion preſented it ſelf: the King having taken upon him the proteſtion of Duke *Octavio*, whom the Pope, and the Emperor his Father in Law, would deprive of his Duke- dome. In order whereunto *Don Ferrand de Gonzaga* had laid ſiege to *Parma*, wherein was *Monſieur de Termes*, and to *Miranda* where *Monſieur de Sanſac* commanded, who there acquir'd very great reputation, for having worthily acquitted and approved himſelf a ſin- gular good Captain, as in truth he was; which he has alſo manifeſted in all places where- ever he has been. He was one of the beſt Horſe-men that ever was in *France*: but be- ing I can give no account of theſe affairs, but by report only; nor of what paſſed at theſe two Sieges, I ſhall let them alone.

The war be-
twixt *France*
and *Spain*
renewed.

The King having intelligence that the Emperors forces were wholly taken up in *Par- meſan*, ſent to the Mareſchal *de Briffac*, that he ſhould break the Peace, and upon the rupture to attempt to ſurprize ſome Town or other upon the Frontier, which he did. For he took *Quiers*, and *St. Damian*: but the attempt upon *Cairas* did not ſucceed, as did the other two. *Monſieur de Baſſé* went to execute that of *St. Damian*, which he ſurpriz'd betwixt break of day and Sun riſe, and the Mareſchal himſelf executed that of *Quiers* after the manner I am going to relate, and I think *Monſieur le Preſident de Birague*, who was there preſent, will in this Book find that I have not much miſſed it in the rela- tion.

This war be-
gun in the year
1550.

Monſieur d' Auſun was choſen to goe execute the deſign upon *Cairas*, who took with him the Baron *de Cypri*, and two or three other *French* Companies, together with *Monſieur de Gentil*, and ſome *Italians*. The Scalado was given with great fury; but they were as well receiv'd. There died one of the Brothers of *Monſieur de Charry*, who was gone as far as *Savillan*, and being in their way as they marcht in the night, went along with them, and mounted a ladder the firſt man, from which he was beaten down. He was ill enough followed, as it was ſaid. In the mean time *Monſieur de Baſſé* took ſome Companies with him, with which by break of day he arrived within half a mile of *St. Damian*; they were once upon the point to return, ſeeing they ſhould be diſcover'd before they could come to the place, but in the end marcht on to try their fortune. The cuſtom of *St. Damian* was, that the Soldiers conſtantly opened the Gates every morning at break of day, to let all the people out to work, and afterwards placed ſome Centinels upon the wall; ſo that the *Sieur de Baſſé* entered with his ladders into the Graſſ, and had rear'd them to the wall before he was diſcover'd. The Captains mounted firſt, and before they were eſpy'd by any, the one half of our people were got into the Town, where there was only one foot Company, which retired into the Caſtle, where there was not proviſion for one day, and in the morn- ing yielded up themſelves. By which, Captains, you may ſee of how great importance it is to be careful never to leave a wall naked of Centinels, or at leaſt to have them upon ſome Tower or Gate, eſpecially about break of day, for that is the time of greateſt dan- ger. People are weary of watching their walls, but your Enemy is not weary of watching his opportunity. All theſe three enterprizes of *Cairas*, *St. Damian* and *Quiers* ſhould have been

The Enterprize
of *Cairas*.

St. Damian
taken.

been executed in one night; and indeed whoever will break a Peace, or a Truce, let him do all the execution he can, and make all the noise at one clap; for if he go piece by piece, he is certain to lose either a leg or a wing.

The Enterprize
of *Quiers*.

Three dayes before the Marechal had been in consultation about the manner how to execute this enterprize upon *Quiers*, at which Council were assisting *Messieurs de Bonivet*, President *Birague*, *Francisco Bernardin*, *de Bassé*, and *d'Assun*; and I cannot certainly say whether *Sieur Ludovico de Biraga* was present or no; but I am almost confident he was, forasmuch as the Marechal resolved upon nothing without his advice, he being a man of a most approved judgment. It was there concluded that we should give a *Scalado* on the upper side by the Vinyards upon the way from *Agnasse* to *Quiers*. I had no fancy to this *Scalado*, neither did I think it likely to take effect, which made me entreat the Marechal, that seeing he was himself resolv'd to go in person upon this design, and that it was the first place he had undertaken since his Lieutenantancy, it might be ordered so, as to succeed, and redound to his honour: for if in his first tryal he should fail of success, men commonly judging of things by the event, would look upon it as an ill omen, and be apt to suspect his fortune, which is a very great prejudice to a man in supreme command.

The opinion of
Monfieur de
Montluc.

That therefore he should with great secrecy cause four or five pieces of Canon to march all night, that they might arrive at the same time that the *Scalado* should be given at the Port *Jaune*, and so by one way or the other he would not fail to carry the place; for since he was resolved to attempt it, he was to try all ways conducing to the end proposed. Now the Artillery was already mounted on carriages, and fit for present service, before the Castle of *Turin*; for so soon as the Marechal understood that his Majesty had taken upon him the protection of the Duke of *Parma*, and that the war was already broke out in those parts, he made no question but the tempest would soon fall upon him, and therefore had wisely made his preparations before hand, that he might not be to seek in time of need, being indeed one of the most prudent and circumspect Commanders that I ever knew.

His opinion
disputed.

This advice of mine suffered a great dispute; for it was objected that in one night the Artillery could not be drawn to *Quiers*, and that all the three enterprizes would be discovered by the rattle of the Carriages, and the voices of the drivers of the Artillery: but in the end it was concluded that at Vespers the Gates of *Turin* should be shut, and that Oxen should be taken about *Rivolle* and *Veilhamie*, and should be all brought in the Evening into the City, and great Guards kept at the Gates, to the end that no one living should stir out. It was moreover concluded, that I at the same hour should draw some Canon, and the great Culverine out of the Castle of *Montcallier*, and should take the Oxen belonging to the Gentlemen and Citizens of *Montcallier*, which graz'd on the further side of the Bridge towards the Lodges. They made account that by one of the clock at night the Artillery would be at *Montcallier*, by the way beyond the Bridge, and *Monfieur de Cailiac* and I were to stay together to convoy the Artillery with my Company, and the Marechal, *Messieurs de Bonivet*, and *Francisco Bernardin* would go the other way with all the rest of the Foot. The said Marechal also left me *Monfieur de Piquigni* with his Company, and another, who were to go before us with the Pioneers, and ten Gabions that we took with us from the Castle of *Montcallier*, in which order we arriv'd both the one and the other at the time appointed before *Quiers*. But the *Camisado* vanisht into smoak; for as much as all the ladders prov'd too short, and the *Graffe* was much deeper than had been reported to the Marechal: which was the reason that we all turn'd to the Port *Jaune*, where we found that they had already filled the Gabions, and were ready to lodge the Canon for Battery. The Marechal's good fortune began here to discover itself; for had the ladders been of a sufficient length, and that we had gone on to the Assault, all the Citizens as well as the Soldiers were resolute to defend their walls to the last man; so that in my opinion we should have been very well swing'd, and beaten off: for as much as they would neither suffer themselves to be surpriz'd by night, nor taken by force: and we could not carry our design so close, but that they had had notice of it the day before; so that it had been no hard matter for them to give us a repulse, which perhaps might have discourag'd them to do, as they afterward did. *Don Ferrand* at his departure from thence had there left an *Italian* Governor with three Companies, and had drawn out all the Spanish foot, to take them along with him to *Parma*.

The *Scalado*
fails.

The good for-
tune of the
Marechal de
Brissac.

Quiers batter-
ed.

Our Battery having for some space play'd against the Town, wrought its effect, and made a breach on the left hand of the Port *Jaune*: but there fell thereupon so violent a storm of rain as almost spoild all our work; yet notwithstanding by eleven of the clock the breach was eight or ten paces wide. Hereupon the Inhabitants of the Town, who desired nothing more than a fair opportunity of putting themselves into the Kings obedience,

by

by reason of the ill usage they had received from the *Spaniard*, began to ask the Governor if he thought himself sufficient with his Soldiers to withstand the Assault; to whom he made answer, that he was, provided the Towns-men also would take arms to assist him. Whereupon they plainly told him, that they would not do it, and moreover that they had not been so well entreated by the *Spaniards*, that they should take arms against the *French*. By which answer the Governor, who was an understanding man, perceived himself to be lodg'd betwixt my Lord and my Lady, and doubted that those of the Town were more likely to assault him behind than otherwise, which made him say to them, Have a little patience friends, and I will make such a Capitulation with the Mareschal, as shall preserve you from any injury, and be honourable for our selves; and thereupon caused a Trumpet to sound a parly, sending out a man to desire the Mareschal, that he would send him Signior *Francisco Bernardin*, and the Signieur de *Monbasin*, and in the mean time cause his Battery to cease. The Mareschal immediately then sent to us to give over shooting, which we accordingly did; and it was thereupon agreed, that the Governor should send out two or three in Hostage, and that then the two fore-named should enter in to Capitulate, and I think President *Birague* went in with them, by reason he would not the Town should be sackt, his Wife being a Daughter of *Quiers*, and the most part of the Gentry in the Town being by that means ally'd to him: but that I may not lie, I am not certain whether he went a third or no. Neither would the Mareschal himself by any means, that any violence should be offer'd to them, being this would be an exemple to the other places that were in the Enemies possession, to draw them on, that when they should happen to be in the like condition, out of consideration of the Civility he should shew to those of *Quiers*, they might be the more inclin'd to take part with the *French*.

Division in
Quiers.

The Capitulation of
Quiers.

The greatest difficulty that hapned betwixt our Deputies and the Governor, and Inhabitants, was, that the said Governor, it being already almost night, said he could not possibly retreat to *Ast*, and consequently should be in danger of being defeated by the way; wherefore he desired that the Surrender might be deferred till the next day: The Mareschal who stood upon thorns, fearing lest this night they might be reliev'd from *Ast*, demanded then to have *la Roquette* deliver'd up to him, to put into it threescore men, and that they should choose out of our Captains any one whom they would, to enter in with them; in the mean time making our Companies still advance nearer to the Breach, which the Governor having notice of, he himself came upon the wall of the *Roquette*, where he call'd to me, entreating me to make the Soldiers retire, and telling me that they had concluded with the Mareschal. The conclusion of which agreement was, that they were to march away with Bag and Baggage, their Colours furl'd up, without beat of Drum the next morning; and for further assurance it was agreed, that *la Roquette* should be put into our hands. The Town then sent to the Mareschal to entreat, that I, with the threescore men might be put into it; for I had in *Piedmont* acquir'd the reputation of a man of good discipline, to prevent all sorts of disorder in the Soldier: and I order'd it so well here, that not any one of the Citizens lost the worth of a straw. The avarice of a little plunder does oftentimes turn the hearts of such as otherwise are inclin'd to favour ones party. This business was very well consider'd by the Mareschal; for that very night 400 Harquebuzers set out from *Ast* to try if they could get into the Town; but they met intelligence by the way, that we were possess'd of *la Roquette*, which made them return. There was one error committed in this business; for it was propounded in the Council, that without doubt the Enemy would come to us at the report of this Siege, and that therefore at the same time the *Roquette* should be deliver'd up to us, we should send out a good strong party to go the *patrouille* on the high way towards *Ast*, which had it been done as it ought to have been, we had certainly cut off this Relief.

La Roquette
surrendered.

The next morning Monsieur de *Bonivet* who was encampt upon the road of *Audezun*, with fifteen or twenty Gentlemen in company with him came to *Quiers*, just at the time when the *Italians* were marching out of the Town, who being entred in, stayd at the Gate to see them march away, when so soon as they were gone, Monsieur de *Bonivet* being under the second Gate to enter into the City, and the Mareschal having commanded me not to suffer any person whatsoever to enter till he himself was first come in, I heard my Lieutenant very loud and angry at the Breach, where I had placed him to watch, that none should pass in that way; at which Monsieur de *Bonivet* said to me, there is some disorder, whereupon I presently ran to the place, and found that they were Thieves of the very Town of *Quiers* it self, who would have entred in to pillage the City: at which going hastily down the Breach to fall upon them, the ruines of the wall made my feet slip from under me, so that I fell upon my left side amongst the stones, with

Monsieur Mont-
luc hurt with a
fall.

so great violence, that I put my hip out of joynt. I do think that all the tortures in the world are not comparable to this, by reason of a little nerve we have in that joynt, where the bones are all enchain'd into one another, which was extended, in so much that I have never walkt upright since; but have ever had pain more or less, notwithstanding all the Baths and other remedies I could use to remove it. Monsieur de Bonivet caused me to be carried by the Soldiers into a Lodging, and I before had brought in the Quartermasters, who were ordering the Quarters. About an hour after I was hurt the Marechal entred the City, and did me the honour to slight at my lodging to see me, expressing as much sorrow for my mischance as if I had been his own Brother; and indeed he heartily lov'd, and had a very great esteem for me. During our abode there he came three times to keep his Council at my Beds head, as President Birague, who is yet living can witness. He took great delight to hear men discourse in his presence, but in few words; and if any one said any thing, he would presently demand his reason. At the said Quiers, and at Montcallier I kept my bed two moneths and a half of this unlucky fall.

The arrival of
the French No-
bility in Pied-
mont.

Don Ferrand leaving the war of Parma, came to Ast to draw his Forces together, thereof to form the Body of an Army, having left in Parmesan Signior Carles and the Marquis de Vins. The King having notice thereof, commanded the Admiral that he should in all hast send away six of his Companies to the Marechal de Brissac, which were conducted by Captain Ynard, who at that time was Sergeant Major onely. Monsieur d'Anmale, who was General of the horse, came also, as did Monsieur de Nemours a few days after; and presently after him Messieurs d'Anguien, and the Prince of Conde, Brothers, then Monsieur de Montmorency, who is now Marechal of France, and eldest Son of the Constable Monsieur le Comte de Charmy, and his Brother Monsieur de la Rochefoucault, having a great number of Gentlemen of very good quality in their Train, inso-much that three Companies of foot being quarter'd in Quiers, the Marechal was constrain'd to dislodge them to accommodate the Princes, and the Lords of their Train. Certainly there is not a braver Nobility in the world than the French, nor more ready to put foot in the stirrup for the service of their Prince; but then you must take them in the hear. Certain days after their arrival the Marechal laid a design to go and take the Castle of Lans, which Garrison very much infested the Road betwixt Suze and Turin, by reason of a valley that extends it self from Lans to the high way, so that the Soldiers of the said Lans were almost continually there, having a little Castle in the mid way, that serv'd them for a retreat. The Marechal then sent for me to Montcallier, whither six weeks after my fall I had caused my self to be conveyed in a litter: upon whose summons I made my self to be set upon a little Mule, and with extreme pain arriv'd at Quiers, every day striving by little and little to walk. Behold these were the successes of the taking of Quiers and St. Damian, and I will now give an account of the taking of Lans.

The Praise of
the French No-
bility.]

The Enterprise
of Lans.

The Marechal then, and all the Camp (wherein were all the above-named Princes and Lords) march't directly to Lans, and because there are some of them yet living, who love me, and others that have an unkindness for me, I will come as near to truth as my memory will give me leave, to the end that those who hate me, may have no occasion to reprehend me, speaking the truth; and that the rest who love me, may take delight in reading what I have done, and call me to their remembrance, for the Historians I see mince the matter.

Description of
Lans.

The Marechal with all the Camp went before, leaving me with five Ensigns of foot, and the Masters of the Ordnance, Messieurs de Caillac and du Nougny, who were also at the taking of Quiers, to conduct the Artillery. The day after he departed from Quiers he arriv'd at Lans about noon, and we with the Artillery came up in the beginning of the night. The Bourg of Lans is large, and enclosed with scurvey walls; the Marechal took up his quarters in another Bourg, about a mile distant from the said Lans, and round about him the Gens d'Arms, and all the Cavalry. All the Princes and Lords would be quarter'd in the Bourg of Lans, with some French and Italian Companies of foot, and particularly Monsieur de Bonivet, with his Colonel Company. At their arrival they went to the foot of the Mountain, on the right hand as you come out of the Bourg. The Sergeant Major had already got to the top of the said Mountain behind the Castle round about which were very great precipices, and especially behind it, where the Marechal was of necessity to go to take a view of the Place. There is nothing but precipice, saving in the front of the Castle, which looks towards the Town, and there were two great Bulwarks, and the Gate of the Castle between them. To plant the Artillery there, was only to lose so much time, and to place it on that side by which we came, we should be forc't to point the Muzzle of the Canon upward, so that it could batter but one half of the wall,

wall, and besides we were to climb above a thousand paces, with the greatest difficulty imaginable; before we could come to the foot of the said wall. On the right hand it was the same, and behind the worst of all: for falling thence, a man should tumble headlong a quarter of a mile down into the River. By reason of which great difficulty of bringing up Canon behind the said Castle, where there was a little even plot of some twenty or five and twenty paces broad, the Enemy had made no other fortification on that side, saving that they had cut a paltry Ditch of about half a pikes depth in the Rock, with two Ravelins on either side, that flankt the Ditch; and it had not been above three moneths before, that two of the Emperors Engineers had been there, and had declar'd, that it was not possible for all mankind to bring up Artillery, either by this side, or any of the others, if they did not plant it on the Town side, before the Gate of the Castle, which also would be so much labour lost.

The opinion
of the Engi-
neers,

The Mareschal at his first arrival with all the Princes and Lords, and the Engineers he had with him, went to take a view of the backside of the Castle, up an ascent of above 300 paces, and as uneasie ones as ever they went in their lives, where after they had discover'd, and remain'd above two hours upon the place, they all concluded it impossible to be taken. At night I came with the Artillery, when it was presently told me, that the next day we were to return back again; at which I was very much dasht; but was so intolerably tormented with my hip, that I presently threw my self upon a Matrice, and saw not the Mareschal that night; for he was gone back to his Quarters, very much displeased with some who before had represented the Enterprize so easie to him, and would undertake to bring it about, and yet when it came to the push concluded it impossible. In the morning he came again, and again went to view the place; but the more they lookt, the worse they like't, and still discovered greater difficulties than before. Just as I had din'd Messieurs *de Piquigny, de Touchepeid, and de Vinu*, came to seek me out, and told me, that the resolution was concluded to return, and that I would not be unwilling to it, if I had seen the place, putting so many whimsies into my head, that they got me upon my little Mule, and carried me behind the ridge of the Mountain, where Harquebuz shots were very good cheap, unless a man took on the right hand towards the River, and there it was hard to pass, and more hard to discover any thing; and both the Mareschal and all the Princes had gone up, and come down at the mercy of the Enemies shot. Whom God defends is well defended. I have seen the time when a thousand Harquebuz shot have been discharg'd within an hundred paces of me, and done me no harm: but we all four made such shift, that at last we got up to the top, and they led me the same way by which the Mareschal and all his Company had ascended and descended before.

The Sieur de
Montluc goes
to take a view
of Laus.

I will here set down for an exemple to those that shall follow after us, how I found the thing feasible, and which way Canon was to be got up to this level; not however without very great difficulty: but how hard soever it appear'd to be, we concluded to bring up the Artillery to the top of the Mountain, and there to plant it in Battery. In the first place to look up from the foot of the Mountain to the height of it, was a perpendicular the Angels themselves would have enough to do to climb; but I began to take notice, that making one advance of about an hundred paces, to a little place which might be some ten paces in circumference, that there we might have conveniency to rest the Piece, for the little place was almost even. I then conceived that we might make another Stage, crossing over on the left hand towards the Castle, to another little even spot, that was sufficient to repose the Canon, and afterwards that we were to make another Stage, crossing again to the right hand to another level spot; and from thence indeed we had the ascent something steep to the backside of the Castle; but we should before have got past all the Rocks and Precipices.

By all these three resting-places we descended the Mountain in great danger of our necks, where I shewed them, that each of them was to undertake to advance the Canon from one reposing place to another, all which they took especial notice of, and afterwards remounted me upon my Mule; for before they had led me all the way under the Arms like a Bride, and so we went directly to the Mareschal's Quarters, where I found them all set in Council, to take order for our return. So soon as I came into the room, the Mareschal said to me, *How now Monsieur de Montluc, where have you been? I have sent for you twice to come to the Council, that you might hear the determination we have made to return. You must carry back the Artillery by the same way you came.* To which I made answer, *What Sir, will you return without taking this place, that is a resolution unworthy Monsieur de Brissac? I have been to view the place, and by the same way that you have view'd it your self, and do assure you that we will bring up the Artillery to the top of the Mountain.* He then told me, that it must be God alone that must work

such

such a miracle, for that it was not in the power of man to do it; to which I made answer, *that I was not God, and yet that I would undertake to bring them up.* He then said to me, *yes in eight or ten days time perhaps with the help of Engines, and in the mean time Don Ferrand, who is at Verseil, shall gather together all the Forces he can make, both in the field, and out of the Garrisons, and come to give us Battail, who has 3000 Germans, and I have neither Germans nor Swis to match him.* Sir, then (said I) *I will pawn to you my life and my honour, in two mornings to plant you four Pieces of Canon ready mounted on the back side of the Castle; notwithstanding which he was still harping upon the 3000 Germans; at which growing at last a little angry, I said, Do you make so great account of Don Ferrand's Germans? The Admiral has here six Companies commanded by Captain Ynard, Monsieur de Bonnavet shall give him four more of his, with which Ensigns he shall undertake to fight the Germans, and Monsieur de Bonnavet with the remainder of his shall fight the Spaniard. Our Italians will engage to fight theirs, and for Cavalry you have (reckoning the Train of the Princes) a third part more than Don Ferrand. If Captain Ynard had rather fight with the Spaniards than the Germans, Monsieur de Bonnavet and I will fight them, and let him take his choice.* To which Captain Ynard made answer, that he was ready to fight either the one or the other, as the Marechal should please to appoint; Monsieur de Bonnavet also said, it was all one to him, whereupon I said, *and must we then make such a piece of matter of the Germans? I dare lay a good wager of those three thousand, fifteen hundred have nere a tatter to their arses, whereas our Soldiers have most of them breeches of Velvet and Satin, and think themselves all Gentlemen. Seeing then themselves so well clad as they are, shall they be afraid to fight with the Germans? let them but come to us once, and we shall handle them as we did at Cerissoles.*

The Sieur de Montluc's contest in the Council.

A dispute in the Council concerning his advice.

Monsieur de Montmorancy then stood up, and said, *Sir Monsieur de Montluc is an old Captain, methinks you ought to give credit to what he says;* to which the Marechal made answer, *You do not know him so well as I, for he will never think any thing impossible, and one time or another will make us lose all;* whereupon I made answer again, *that where I saw a difficulty I fear'd my skin as much as another; but that in this I could discover no inconvenience at all.* Monsieur de Nemours then spoke, and said, *Sir, let him have his own way for once, and see what he will do;* Messieurs the Prince of Condé, and Monsieur d'Anguien laid as much, and Monsieur d'Aumalle the same. Monsieur de Gurnort who is now Marechal of France, and Monsieur de la Rochefoucault, the Count de Charney, the Sieurs de la Fayette, and de Terride, were all of the same opinion: which the Marechal seeing, said, *Well Gentlemen, I perceive you have all a desire that we should play the fools; let us do so then, for I intend to let you see, that I am as great a one as any of you all.* And thus I got the victory against the whole Council.

The order about the Battery.

The Princes assist.

The Sieur de Montluc goes again to view the Castle of Lans.

Things being thus concluded I said to Monsieur de Nemours, *Sir, it will be necessary that you Princes and Lords put your helping hands to this business, and lead the Soldiers the way, to the end that if you would shrink away, and avoid the great toyl and labour they are to undergo for the execution of the thing in question, we may reproach them, that the Princes and Lords put to their hands before them.* In the mean time I told him, that it would do well if he so pleas'd, that he with his own Company should take a Canon he himself had brought thither with him, and conduct it to the foot of the Mountain, who answer'd me, that he would very willingly do it. Now the Artillery was of necessity to be drawn thorough the Town, and they were moreover constrain'd to break three or four Corners of houses, to draw them out, and also to level a little descent at the going out of the Town, from whence they fell into a plain way to the very foot of the Mountain upon which the Castle stood, about a thousand paces distant from the City. I said as much to Monsieur d'Anguien, and the Prince of Condé, who very readily consented to take upon them the charge of other two, to whom also Monsieur de Montmorancy very frankly offer'd himself. As to the fourth piece of Canon, I cannot remember who it was, that undertook the care of that, for it was not Monsieur d'Aumale, being he was to go back to his Quarters to the horse with the Marechal: but however it was they rested not of all night, till by Torch-light they had brought the Artillery to the foot of the Mountain. But before they went out of the Council, I said to Monsieur d'Aumale; *Sir, will you go along, and I will shew you which way we will get up the Artillery behind the Castle, and Sir (speaking to the Marechal) I know you will not yet retire to your Quarters.* Monsieur d'Aumale then went willingly along with me, having only Monsieur de la Rochefoucault, the Sieur Piquigny, and my self in company with him; who, though I was damnably plagu'd with my hip, nevertheless forc't my self that they might see with their own eyes which way it was to be done. So soon then as we had ascended the Mountain, and taken a view of the place, we returned back to the Marechal, who stayd expecting the said Monsieur

sieur d'Aumale, who at his coming told him that my reason was very good, and that no body had taken notice of what I had perceiv'd; nor observ'd those resting places in the Rock. All the Princes and Lords were yet in the Hall where the *Mareschal* had din'd; where *Monsieur de Bassé* at that time was, I do not certainly remember, for the *Mareschal* sent for him to come with his Company, and two French Companies more, with command to Captain *Tilladet*, and *Savallan*, to advance night and day, and come to joyn with him, which they accordingly did.

The next morning I went to see which way we were to get up this Mountain, without being gall'd by the shot from the Castle; and here I first discover'd five little loop-holes made for Harquebuzes only, to which we lay open and expos'd all the way we were to go: To countercheck these I intreated Captain *Ynard* to bring me three hundred Harquebuzers of the best marksmen he had in all his Companies; which, so soon as they came we divided to be set ten to each loop-hole, who shot as they do at a mark one after another, and all open; and when the last of the ten had made his shot, the first always began again. There was in the Town a house higher than the rest, from the roof of which one might play into the Castle, and all along the Curtain: but the Enemy, to shelter themselves from this inconvenience, had nail'd several planks one above another, in such sort that those who were upon the top of the house could see nothing within the wall. Now these planks were very thin, and before the beginning of the War I had put it into the *Mareschal's* head to cause four hundred Harquebuzes to be forg'd at *Pignerol*, of a bore to carry point blank three or four hundred paces, of which he might distribute twenty to each Company, with order to the Treasurers to allow twelve * *Francs* pay to such as should carry those arms. These Harquebuzes were already made, and distributed, wherefore I intreated Captain *Richelieu* (the same who was since Campmaster) to place twenty of those Harquebuzers upon the said house, to shoot through the Planks along the Curtain, whose shot broke thorough with as much ease as if they had been paper; insomuch, that what with the Harquebuzers, that from the top of the house play'd along the Curtain, and what with the other who fir'd by tens against the loop-holes, the Enemy were in such a condition, that not a man durst venture to pass to and fro on the inside of the Curtain.

We then deliver'd to every one of the three who had view'd the way up the Rock, twenty Pioneers and three *Masons*, with great hammers and picks of iron, wherewith to break some Rocks that were in the way. And thus about eight a clock in the morning we began to work upon the way, which by two in the afternoon was brought to perfection, and at one of the clock in the night they began to mount the first Piece, with four-score Soldiers of my company I had there with me (the rest being left behind at *Montcallier*) which they also mounted. This Piece gave them more trouble than all the other three; for they were after so well acquainted with the way, that the rest came up with much greater ease. *Monsieur de Piquigny* all the way carried a little Lanthorn to light the wheels of the Carriages, by the aim of which the Enemy began to shoot, but no shot ever toucht us. *Messieurs de Caillac* and *de Duno* were in the mean time busie behind the Castle above, placing the Gabions, and filling them with earth; and as the Pieces were hall'd up to the top of the Mountain, they still came to receive, and plant them in battery: but not a man ever put a hand to the drawing up of the foresaid Canon but my Soldiers only; for although *Monsieur de Bonniwet* had brought one Company, and Captain *Ynard* another to assist them; yet would they not accept of their service, but told them that they needed no help, and that since they had had the honour to hale up the first Piece, they would likewise have the advantage to bring up all the rest: Which I was very glad of, because they were already very perfect in all the turns, and by three of the clock in the morning all the pieces were planted ready to batter. The *Mareschal* and *Monsieur d'Aumale* were by this time come from their Quarters, where I believe they had not slept much that night. The *Mareschal* out of the fear he had that it was not possible to hale the pieces up, and *Monsieur d'Aumale* on the other side was in no less pain, forasmuch as after he had viewed the place, he had assur'd him that I would infallibly mount them. The Princes and Lords, who had been at work the night before, took their rest, till the *Mareschal* sent to rowse them, which was not until Captain *Martin* (a Basque, who had a Company in his own Regiment) came and assur'd him that he had seen the last piece brought up to the top of the Mountain: Which Captain *Martin* I do verily believe made that night fifty journeys to and fro, for the *Mareschal* had sent him almost every moment to see in what forwardness we were.

The *Mareschal* and all the Princes and Lords being come, they found that all the four Canon were ready mounted to begin the batter. I had caus'd half a Sack of a very ex-

* *ce lent*

* A Frank; a Livre, and a Cardecue are twenty pence English.

The Artillery mounted,

and planted in Battery.

Lans surren-
dered.

cellent sort of apples, four great leather Bottles of wine, and some bread to be brought to the place wherewith to refresh my Soldiers : But first the Marechal, and after him all the Princes and Lords rob'd me of all my apples, and whilst they staid expecting the break of day, out of an ugly pot drunk two bottles of my wine. I leave those who shall read this History to judge, whether or no I did not swagger the Marechal, seeing he had so highly oppos'd me, about the bringing up of the Artillery. I think in my whole life I was never in so good a humour, as well in respect to the contentment I discover'd in the Marechal, as also in all the other Princes and Lords, who were present, and had all had their share of the royl. In the morning by break of day we made three or four volleys against the Wall, which pierc'd it, and thorough the Stables entred into the Basc-Court, and from thence into the Lodgings of the Castle. The Marechal had also caused three pieces of Canon to be planted below, on that side by which we came, which batter'd upwards, only to terrifie the Enemy, for hurt they could do none : But so soon as our Artillery had given their three or four volleys, they began to sound a parley, and presently surrendered. The Marechal left Captain *Brueil*, brother-in-law to Monsieur *Salcede*, with his Company in Garrison there, he being one of the Captains belonging to the Admiral; which being done, he march't with all his Horse and Foot towards the plain of *Caince*, to see if *Don Ferrand* might not be upon his way to relieve the Castle : but he had there intelligence, that he was yet at *Verseil*; whereupon the said Marechal return'd to *Quiers*, and I return'd to *Montcallier*, where I fifteen dayes kept my bed of my hip, and do verily believe, that had I not so bestir'd my limbs in this action it had never been cur'd.

This (fellow Captains) ought to teach you never to trust one or two to discover a place, and without relying on your own judgment, to call those to your assistance, whom you conceive to be men, not of the greatest experience only, but moreover of the greatest courage; for what one cannot see, another may perhaps discern. Neither must you refuse to take pains, where you discover a little difficulty in the thing, in order to the execution of a brave exploit, and learn to be wise at your enemies expence. When you have taken up a resolution to defend a place, take notice to smooth and cut off all the resting places that shall happen to be in any of the avenues, for wherever Canon shall find such places to repose in, as will allow the men time to pant, and take breath, they will in the end infallibly mount them. Neither without this convenience could I possibly have brought what I had undertaken to pass. The taking of this place depriv'd the Enemy of a mighty advantage, and was very convenient for us in order to the prosecution of this War.

The Character
or Monsieur de
Brissac Mare-
chal of France.

Some time after the Princes (seeing no likelihood of *Don Ferrand de Gonzaga's* being drawn to a Battail, nor hearing of any preparation he made for the assaulting of any Town) return'd back to Court. And soon after their departure, the Marechal by the advice of President *Birague*, Signior *Ludovico*, and *Francisco Bernardin* deliberated to go and take certain places about *Turee*, to keep those in *Turee* the better in aw. He was a General every way worthy his Command, always in action, never idle; and I do think that sleeping his fancy was evermore at work, and that he was ever dreaming of undertaking, and executing some notable enterprize.

To the forementioned end we march'd with all the Army directly to *St. Martin*, wherein was a Company of *Italians*, and where the Castle was batter'd, and taken, together with the Castle of *Pons*, *Casteltelle*, *Balpergue*, and some others about *Turee*, and we began to fortifie the said Castle of *St. Martin*. Now Messieurs de *Bassé* and de *Gordes* had taken *Sebe*, wherefore so soon as the Fort of *St. Martin* was brought into a pretty good condition, the Marechal went to *Quiers*, that he might be nearer to Monsieur de *Bassé*, to assist him in time of need; for he had already received intelligence, that *Don Arbro de Cendé* gathered together the Army in *Alexandria* (and I think *Don Ferrand* was at that time sick) which made the Marechal doubt that he might have some design upon *Sebe*, and therefore left Monsieur de *Bonnivet*, Signior *Francisco*, and me, making Signior *Ludovico* to retire to *Chevas*, and *Bourlengue*, to have an eye to those places, of which also he was Governour.

Eight dayes were not past before the Marechal sent orders to Monsieur de *Bonnivet*, and to me, that we should march in all diligence day and night directly to *Montdevi*, with five or six French Companies we had at *St. Martin*, leaving Signior *Francisco* to pursue the Fortification, which accordingly he did, marching night and day, as it was necessary we should, for the Marechal was engag'd in *Sebe*, for the relief of Monsieur de *Bassé*: but when *Don Arbro* heard of our coming, that we had drawn another Company out of *Savillan* by the way, and that he saw us arriv'd at the corner of the Town, he presently drew off, and having recover'd a Bridg of brick, began to pass over his Baggage; whether

whether Signior *Ludovico de Biraga* was with us, or no, I am not able to say, because vve had some Italian in our Company.

The Marechal seeing himself disengag'd, sallied out of the Town with all the Forces he had brought with him, and went to attaque the Enemy at the Bridge, vvhether it appeared *Don Arbro* had an intention to have encamped, for we there found many Hats, ready set up. The skirmish was great, and smart on both sides; nevertheless I am of opinion, that had we charg'd him home horse and foot and all, we had put him very hardly to't, and perhaps given him a shrewd blow; for after he had past the Bridge, he was to climb a steep mountain, where the way was so narrow, that they could only go one by one. But he made us know that he was a very able Soldier; for he first past over all his horse, fearing that ours would charge and overturn them upon his foot, then he past over his *Germans*, and himself remain'd behind with a thousand or twelve hundred Harquebuzers, with which he still made good the Bridge, by the favour of three houses that stood at the end of it, vvhich vve could never gain from him, he having opened them so, that they flank't and defended one another.

Don Arbro de Cende a brave Spanish Captain.

On the top of the Mountain there was a Plain that extended it self to a little Town they held, being about the length of 1000 paces, or thereabouts, vvhether he first caus'd his people to make a halt, and afterwards retyr'd. But at his departing from the houses, we had thought to have fallen in amongst them, which we also attempted, and there were in that place some men slain, both on the one side, and the other, and we continually followed in their Rear up the forementioned narrow path, still plying them with our Harquebuz shot; for we saw not the preparation he had made for us on the top of the mountain. Messieurs *de Bonivet*, and *de la Moth Gondrin*, and I were all on horse-back, and amongst the Harquebuzers to encourage them, when so soon as vve came to the top, he gave us a charge vwith a 1000 or 1200 Harquebuzers, vvhich sent us back vwith a rattle directly to the Bridge, and full drive upon the Marechal; Monsieur *de la Moth's* horse was kill'd under him, and mine so hurt that he died five or six days after; and God was assisting to us, in having put it into our minds, to draw our men into two divisions, on the right and left hand of the way, though the ascent was very difficult and steep, for by that means we lost but very few of our men, whereas had we been all clutter'd together in the narrow path, vve had received a very great defeat, and had our selves remained upon the place. Take notice of this (young Captains) vvhether you shall happen to be in the like Ground, upon the like occasion; for the old and circumspect have been often snapt in such places as these, and know well enough how to avoid them. The Marechal then withdrew with all his Army about *Sebe*, and the next day carried away the Canon, that Messieurs *de Bassé* and *de Gordes* had brought along with them vvhether they took it, leaving there three Companies, two French and one Italian, and so retired by *Montdevi* towards *Turin* and *Quiers*. How *Sebe* was after lost I do not remember, but lost it was, for we return'd a year after to recover it, vvhether it was much better defended, and longer disputed than before, as hereafter you shall hear.

Sometime after *Don Ferrand* set an Army on foot, by much exceeding all the forces the Marechal could make, he having neither Swiss nor German Foot: wherefore (being advertized by the Signeurs *Ludovico de Birague*, and *Francisco Bernardin*, that this Army was design'd for the retaking of *St. Martin*, and the other Castles we had taken before; and also to take *Cassal*, some seven leagues distant from *Turin*, and to fortifie it, to the end that *Turin* might receive no relief from the mountains and valleys of *Lans*, and especially from *Cassal*, from whence we had most of the fruit and wood that vvas brought to *Turin*) So soon as *Don Ferrand's* Army was ready to march directly to *St. Martin*, the Marechal call'd a Council of his Officers to deliberate vvhether he should do concerning *Cassal*, seeing it was neither fortified nor tenable: who amongst them concluded to quit it, and to dismantle it, though the dismantling could signifie nothing; forasmuch as *Don Ferrand* would soon have repair'd it again. I was the same night advertized at *Montcallier* of this determination, which was the reason that I went early the next morning to the Marechal to *Turin*, where I made bold to ask him if it were true, that he had taken a resolution to abandon *Cassal*, vvhether he told me, that yes, because he could find no one, who would hazard his life and reputation in putting himself into it, and that therefore they had concluded in the Council, to put only one Company of Italian Foot into it, which was to surrender the Town so soon as they should see *Don Ferrand* approach with an intention to attaque it. I then told him that that would signifie very little, for the Captain himself would however tell the Soldiers as much, to make them willing to stay; but that he must Garrison it in good earnest, and not after this manner. And who (said he) would you have so senseless as to undertake the defence of it? to which I made answer that

Monsieur Brisac calls a Council at the approach of the Spanish Army.

The Sieur de
Montluc under-
takes the de-
fence of Cassal.

I would be the man. He then told me that he had rather lose the best part of his estate, than to suffer me to engage my self in it, considering that the place could not in a years time be fortified to resist Canon. To which I made answer, *Sir, the King does entertain, and pay us for three things only; one to win him a Battail, to the end that he may overrun a great space of ground, and subdue several strong holds to his obedience; another to defend a Town; for no Town can be lost, but a great deal of ground goes along with it; and the third to take a Town; for the taking of a Town brings a great number of people into subjection; all the rest are only skirmishes, and rencontres, that signifie nothing to any body but our selves, to make us known unto, and esteemed of our Superiors, and to acquire honor to our own particular persons; for the King has by this no advantage at all, nor by any other effect of war, saving by the three forementioned services; wherefore before this place shall be so quitted I will lose my life in its defence.* The Marechal hereupon disputed it very strongly with me, to divert me from this intention; but seeing me resolv'd, at last gave me leave to do as I would. He was a man that would be govern'd by reason, without relying too much upon his own judgment, as did Monsieur de Lautrec, who was ever observed to be guilty of that fault, as I think I have said elsevwhere.

Description of
Cassal.

Cassal is a little City enclosed with a rough wall of Flints without any one Axler stone amongst them; a Graffe that environs it, into which the water comes and goes, so that the Graffe can neither be made deeper, nor the water retain'd in any place, to be much above knee deep. There was no manner of Trench either within or without, neither were the four Flankers fill'd at all, so that the Enemy having once batter'd me a Courtain by the Canton, they might afterwards batter me in the flank. I demanded of the Marechal 500 Pioneers of the Mountain, which he sent presently to raise, so that within four dayes they were all at Cassal: I demanded likewise a great number of Instruments, and iron Tools, wherewith to furnish my Soldiers also for the work, which he also suddenly sent me, together with great store of grain, bacon, lead, powder, and match; I demanded moreover the Baron de Chipy la Gard (Nephew to the Baron de la Gard) le Mas, Martin, and my own Company. All these five Companies were exceeding good, and their Captains also; who having understood that I had made choice of them of my own accord, took it for a great reputation, and a high honour to them. I demanded of him also le Gritti a Venetian, who had a Company of Italian foot: all which were granted to me,

Monsieur de
Brisac visits
Cassal.

In the morning then I went to put my self into it, and at night all the Companies arrived. Monsieur de Gye, eldest Son of Monsieur de Maugiron was there in Garrison with the men at arms belonging to his Father, to whom the Marechal sent order to march away, and to carry his Company to Montcallier: but he writ an answer back, that he had not continued so long in Garrison at Cassal, to abandon it at a time when a Siege was going to be laid before it, especially when so old a Captain as I had undertaken the defence thereof, and that therefore he was resolv'd there to live and die with me. The Marechal would not take this answer for currant pay; for the next day betimes in the morning he came himself to Cassal, having Monsieur d'Aussun, Monsieur de la Mothe-Gondrin, and the Vicount de Gourdon in company with him. I had there already assign'd all the Quarters for the Foot, without dislodging the Gens d'Arms, forasmuch as I saw Monsieur de Gye, and all his Company obstinately resolute to stay. And although the Marechal himself was come in person, yet could he never prevail with Monsieur de Gye to depart the Town, who plainly told him, that he, if he so pleased, might command his Company away from him, but for what concern'd himself, he was resolv'd not to stir a foot; which was the reason that the Marechal returned very much dissatisfied with himself, that he had granted me leave to take upon me the defence of that place, which was conceived to be so desperate an undertaking, that Monsieur de la Mothe-Gondrin, and the Vicount de Gordon wept at parting with me, and all of them gave me over, as also did President Birague himself, who is yet living, for lost either in my life or my honour, and so after dinner they departed. At their going away I entreated the Marechal and all my Companions, that they should no more come to see me, for I would not be hindred so much as a quarter of an hour from intending my fortification. I moreover desired the Marechal to send me Colonel Charomond, who was at Riboulle, to assist me in the said fortification, with two Engineers which the said Marechal had, one of which was slain at the taking of Ulpian, and the other is the Chevalier Reloge, who is now in France.

The diligence
of the Sieur de
Montluc in the
fortifying of
Cassal.

We began then to fill the four Cantons, each Captain of four having taken one, and afterwards divided the other two Companies to the four Curtains, and also the 500 Pioneers, for all the Inhabitants of the Town above ten years of age carried earth for the

four

four Captains. But (that I may deprive no one of his due honour) I shall tell you that Monsieur de Gye had an Ensigne of *Dauphiné* called *Montfort*, and the *Guidon* Monsieur de l'*Estanc*, who being arrived at *Montcallier* in the Evening, began to consider and lament their Captain's condition, insomuch that all the Company mutiny'd, resolving to go and dye with him, and never to stir from his side. Whereupon l'*Estanc* entreated the said Captain *Montfort* to stay, for it might fall out that the Marechal would let them all go, when he should see that one part were already gone; and to the end the Marechal might not be overmuch offended, that he should keep with him all those who were willing to stay; which being agreed betwixt them, the said *Estanc* fearing lest the Marechal should have any inkling of his design, stole away at midnight, and was followed by the whole Company; for not a man save only two *Gens d'Armes* and three Archers would stay behind with the said *Montfort*. They left their great horses and arms, excepting their Cuirasses and pots, mounted themselves each upon a little Curtal only, and leaving their Launces at their Quarters, took every one a Pike and a Footman, and so at sun-rise came to *Cassal*, six miles distant from *Montcallier*. Monsieur de Gye and the Baron de Chipy had undertaken to Terrass up the Gate, from whence they saw these people coming, and stood still a good while to discover what they were, and then both ran out together to meet them. I saw by this that Monsieur de Gye was well belov'd by his Company, and he did very well deserve so to be; for I dare boldly say he was one of the worthiest and the bravest Captains in *France*. Monsieur de *Montfort* went in the morning to the Marechal, and told him that he had lost the *Guidon* and all the Company, who were stolen away by night to their Captain, and therefore begg'd his leave that he might follow after with two men at arms, and three Archers only that were left behind, which he would by no means permit him to do, but expressly forbid him, and made him return back to *Montcallier*.

Commendation of Monsieur de Gye.

Now our order in the Town was thus, that every morning generally all, as well Captains, Soldiers, and Pioneers, as men and women of the Town, came every one before day upon pain of death to their work, which to compel them to I erected a Gallows, that they might see what they were to trust to; and indeed I had, and have ever had so, a little scurvey Character of being liberal of the rope, so that there was not a man great nor small who did not fear my Gascon humour and complexion. It being then winter, and in the shortest of days, they were to work from break of day till eleven of the clock, and then every one went to his dinner, and at twelve return'd again to his work, which he afterwards never left till it grew to be dark. As for their dinner, every one din'd of himself: but the supper was always at my Quarters; or at those of Monsieur de Gye, or at one or another of the Captains, every one in his turn. To which place constantly there repair'd all the Engineers and Commanders of the work, where if any one had not advanc'd his work so much as another, I assign'd him either Soldiers or Pioneers, that by the next night his work might be as forward as his neighbours. Now my business was to run up and down every where on horseback, one while to the Fortifications, then to those who were sawing the plancks at the Mill, of which I made a great many half a foot thick, and other posts and beams of timber, that were very necessary for us. The water of this Mill did us great good service, for by means of that the Saw never rested; and the most part of the night I went by torch-light quite through the Town; one while I went out to the place where they digg'd the Turf, another while where they made the Gabions, then returned into the Town, and went the round within: afterwards I went out again to view all the places, and never rested in a place, excepting at dinner, no more than the meanest Soldier in the Town, encouraging in the mean time all people to work, and caressing all both small and great.

The excellent order in the City of *Cassal*.

I there learned what it is to take a business in hand where all people generally concur to the bringing a thing to pass, as also what a mass of people, ambitious to acquire honour in the place they have undertaken to defend, may do; and moreover that there is great praise to be obtain'd in so well ordering of things, and disposing of time, that not so much as a quarter of an hour shall be spent in vain; and indeed a Commander shall never do any thing worthy speaking of, if they be not all of one mind, and have not equally a desire to come off from the Enterprize in hand, with great honour and reputation, as it was in this place. This (Captains) is a thing that principally depends upon you, if you have once got the knack to win the Soldier by a word, you shall do more than with a thousand Bastinadoes; it is true, that if there be some mutinous stubborn spirit amongst them, which gentle ways cannot reclaim, you are to make others wise at his expence. But I will return to Monsieur de Gye, who never stirr'd from the Gate with his *Gens d'Armes*, till it was fully and sufficiently terrass'd both within and without, who there all of

them wrought as hard as the meanest common Soldier in the Town.

Oh (Captains) what a beautiful exemple you have here, if you please to observe it, when an occasion shall present it self, to undertake the defence of a place ! I will moreover say that I had taken such order, that there was not a morsel of bread eaten, nor a glass of wine drunk, but by weight and measure ; and if you will take exemple by *Cassal*, you shall not only be able to undertake the keeping of a Town, let it be as ill fortified as it will ; but even a Meadow enclosed with no more than a contemptible ditch only, provided there be unanimity amongst you, as there was here : for we had all one will, one desire, and one courage, and the labour was a common delight to us all.

Now my good fortune was such, that *Don Ferrand* gave to *Cesar de Naples* the one half of his Army, almost all his Infantry, with a part of his horse, to lead them to *Riverol* seven little miles from *Cassal*, *Ulpian* being between ; and the said *Cesar de Naples* staid two and twenty days about the taking of *St. Martin*, and the other Castles. During this time I had by my great diligence put the Town into a good posture of defence, and had caused great Trenches and Rampiers to be made behind all our Cantons, well terrassed all the Gates, and gabion'd all the upper Gabions with a double row of Baskets, well resolv'd to cause our selves to be soundly battered, and get a brave share of honour. At last *Cesar* having taken *St. Martin*, and the other Castles, arriv'd at *Riverol* with his Camp, where immediately *Don Ferrand* called a Council to determine, whether he ought to attaque us, or to let us alone, considering the time I had had wherein to fortifie my self, and that I had finish'd all the fortification I intended to make for my defence ; where also he forgot not to put them in mind, that we were six Companies within, all resolute to fight it out to the last ; and that he doubted he should lose more valiant Captains, Spaniards, and Italians in the assault than the Town was worth, giving them an account withal of all that I had done within. The Spanish and Italian Captains, who were present at this Council, seeing the danger would fall upon them, caused it by their Camp-master to be remonstrated, that the Emperor had there the best Officers he had in all Italy, and of whom he made greater account than of all the rest, and that therefore they entreated *Don Ferrand* to reserve them for a Battail, or some Enterprize of considerable moment, and not to expose them for the gaining of so trivial a place as that of *Cassal*. There followed thereupon a great dispute, and three days the Council were in debate about this very business. *Cesar de Naples*, and the Governor of *Ulpian* obstinately maintain'd, that they ought to assault us ; but the Spanish Soldiers who understood what *Cesar de Naples* had said, plainly told their Captains, that they might then go on to the assault with the Italians, if they so pleased, for as for them they would have nothing to do in the business, being resolv'd to stand to what by their Camp-master had been proposed. All these disputes came to the Marechal's knowledge, after *Don Ferrand* was risen from before *Riverol*, by Letters that he writ to the President of *Milan*, which by some of Signior *Ludovico de Biragu's* people were intercepted, and whilst they were disputing about a Town that was none of their own, the Marechal surpriz'd *Alba* from them by Messieurs *de la Mothe-Gondrin*, *Francisco Bernardin*, and *de Panau*, the Lieutenant to his own Company, and some others whom I do not remember. The Marechal by break of day had notice of the surprize (for our people entred at eleven of the clock in the night) who presently dispatcht a footman of his to me with a Letter which contain'd these words. *Monfieur de Montluc, I have just now receiv'd intelligence that our design upon Alba has taken effect, and our people are within it, which is the reason that I am just now mounting to horse to go thither in all diligence.* The Footman came to me about ten of the clock, and being the Governor of *Ulpian* detain'd a Trumpet of Monsieur *de Maugiron*, I sent thither a Drum of Captain *Gritti*, to whom having shewed the Marechal's Letter, I gave him charge to tell the Governor of *Ulpian*, that *Don Ferrand* could not better revenge himself for the loss of *Alba*, than to come and attaque us at *Cassal*. So soon as the Drum came to the Gates of *Ulpian* he found that the Governor was gone by break of day to the Council to *Riverol*, and therefore told the Soldiers at the Gate of the taking of *Alba*, at which they were so incens'd, that they would thereupon have kill'd him, and in order thereunto began to pinion and bind him ; but the Governor in the interim arriv'd, to whom I sent word, that he should restore me my Trumpet, considering that we had always made fair war, and that he should take heed of beginning to shew foul play ; for our people also had given good quarter at *Alba*. The said Governor then took the Drum from the Soldiers, and carried him to his lodging, where he told him, that if what he had said concerning *Alba* did not prove to be true, he would hang him ; to which the Drum reply'd, that provided he would give him but a Teston, if it was true, he would be content to be hang'd if it prov'd otherwise. Whereupon the Governor return'd to horse,

A consultation
of the Spani-
ards concern-
ing *Cassal*.

Alba surpris'd
from the Spa-
niard.

A Bravado of
the Sieur de
Montluc.

horse, and went again to *Riverol*, where they continued all night in Council, to consider whether this news could be true, or no : but the next day arriv'd the Captain of the Castle of *Montcalvo*, who brought them certain intelligence from the Governor of *Ast*, that *Alba* was certainly taken ; which was the reason that the next morning *Don Ferrand* departed in all hast, and went to pass the River at the Bridg of *Asture*, to go directly to the said *Alba* to try if he could not recover it before the Marechal could have leisure to better fortifie the place.

So soon as I saw my self delivered from all apprehension of a Siege, I immediately sent away my Pioneers to the said *Alba*, who at that time stood the Marechal in very great stead. I did not there stay for a Command, and it is often necessary to do before we are bidden, provided there be no hazard in the case. Monsieur de *Bonnivet*, and *Santo Pedro Corzo*, with seven Ensignes put themselves into it. Now of *Don Ferrand*'s arrival at the Bridge at *Asture*, and of his passing over the River there, Monsieur de *Salvazon* who was Governor of *Berüe* gave me speedy notice. I therefore sodainly sent away the Baron of *Chipy*, *la Garde*, and *le Mas*, who were the next morning by break of day at *Alba*, of whose coming the Marechal was exceeding glad, as also was Monsieur de *Bonnivet*, forasmuch as they came from a place where they had undergone extraordinary labour in fortifying, hoping that these would shew others the way, as they also did. Monsieur de *Maugiron* would remain at *Cassal*, because it was a very commodious quarter for horse ; I there left Captain *Martin* with him, and sent *le Gritti* to his Garrison, and Colonel *Charamond*, and I went to wait upon the Marechal at *Turin*, who was then but newly return'd from *Alba*, and my Company went back to *Montcallier*. If I was welcome or no to the Marechal, or whether caress'd by President *Birague*, and the whole Court of Parliament after such a service, I leave every one to judge.

The Sieur de Montluc sends succours to Alba.

When (Captains) therefore from any undertaking great profit and commodity may accrue, as there did from this (considering that *Turin*, had *Cassal* been possesst by the Enemy, would have suffer'd a mighty inconvenience) do not stick boldly to hazard your persons for the defence of any place whatsoever. And when you shall be there, remember after what manner, and with what diligence I carried on my work ; for by that means you shall make your Enemy afraid to attaque you. He is more afraid to assault, than you are to defend. He meditates and considers who are within, and that he has to do with men that know how to fortifie themselves, which is no little advantage to a Soldier. It is true that *Cesar de Naples* committed a great error in squandring away so much time about those paltry Forts, and in the mean time giving us so much leisure to fortifie ; for had he come directly to us at first, he would have put us to our Trumps : but I think he was afraid. My good fortune also would have it, that *Don Ferrand* should divide his Forces, who had he come to attaque us at the beginning, would have been the death of a great many good men ; but we should have sold our skins very dear.

Now as *Don Ferrand* was at *Ast*, in his way towards *Alba*, he there met intelligence that Monsieur de *Bonnivet* was very strong within it, and that lately three Companies were entred into the Town of those that I had at *Cassal*, together with a great number of Pioneers, which made him enter into a very great debate, whether or no he should go to *Alba*, as he did before at *Riverol* whether or no he should go to *Cassal*. After five or six days then he departed from *Ast* with all his Cavalry to go take a view of *Alba*, where, after he had spent a whole day in discovering the place, he went to sit down before *St. Damian*, having been told, that the Marechal had taken thence almost all the amunition of powder, bullet, and match, to put into *Alba*, and had given order to some one to lay in as much more ; but oftentimes the sloth and negligence of men intrusted with the care of affairs occasion very signal disadvantages ; I never saw man that was slow about his business, idle or negligent in war, that ever perform'd any great matters ; neither indeed is there any thing in the world, wherein diligence is so much required. A day, an hour, nay a minute is enough to make the bravest enterprizes vanish into air.

Delays and negligence ruinous to Martial affairs.

Now the Marechal conceived that *Don Ferrand* was more likely to put himself into *Carmagnolle* to fortifie the Town, and to take the Castle, than to make any attempt upon any other place, believing *St. Damian* to be replenisht with powder, and therefore came himself thither to take order for the security of that Fort, where Monsieur de *Bassé* who was Governor of the Marquesate of *Saluzzo*, would undertake the defence of the place. The Marechal then went to *Carignan*, leaving me with the said Sieur de *Bassé* to assist him in putting provision and ammunition into the Castle, which he did at the request of Monsieur de *Bassé* himself, and the very same day that the Marechal departed from us, he had intelligence by a letter from Messieurs de *Briquemaut*, and de *Cavigny*, that the Enemy was set down before *St. Damian*, and that they therefore entreated him to

The Siege of St. Damian.

relieve them with powder, bullet, and match for the Harquebuzers, they having not received that which he had promised, and taken order for ; at which the Marechal was the most highly concern'd imaginable, and immediately sent thither six loads of powder, and four of bullet, with a proportionable quantity of match, sending order to the Governor of *la Cisterne* (a Fort two little miles distant from *St. Damian*) who had three Companies of Italians in Garrison with him, that he should by all means venture that night to put those ammunitions into the Town. Monsieur de Bassé, and I had already heard that the Camp was set down before *St. Damian* by the same Messenger that carried the news to the Marechal, he being of necessity to pass by *Carmagnolle*, as also did this ammunition, three or four hours after, which was in the close of the Evening. Monsieur de Bassé and I exhorted him who had the conduct of the Ammunition to remonstrate to the Captains, that the powder must of necessity be put into the Town that very night ; for otherwise it could not be possibly convey'd into it ; and that he who undertook the conduct of it, was likewise to enter in himself : but we found the fellow so cold in the business, that we very well perceiv'd he would do no good : It is very easie to discover by a mans countenance if he be afraid or no, and whether he have the heart to execute what he hath undertaken ; and we saw so much by this fellow, that we were rather afraid he should dishearten the Captains when he came to *la Cisterne*, than any wayes encourage them to the Enterprize enjoyn'd ; which made me resolve to go my self, to try by this relief to save the place, and Monsieur de Bassé would that Monsieur de Classe his eldest Son, with ten men at arms, he being Lieutenant of his own Company, should go along with me.

A mans courage is to be known by his countenance.

Monsieur Mont-luc undertakes to relieve *St. Damian*.

At one of the clock at night then we departed, and by eleven the next day came to *la Cisterne*, where I found the Governor and his Captains in a great perplexity, forming a great many difficulties about the conduct of this Ammunition, and which way it was possible to be convey'd into the Town ; and in truth they had some reason so to do ; For *St. Damian* is a little place, and *Don Ferrand* had in his Camp 6000 Germans, 6000 Italians, and 4000 Spaniards, 1200 Light-horse, and 400 men at arms, and all these were encamp't close by the Town, about which the Court of Guards in a manner toucht one another, so that to carry it into the Town upon the horses that had brought it to *la Cisterne* had been impossible, for it was a snow knee deep, and all the wayes were full of Soldiers Huts. But I presently caused a great many Sacks to be brought me, and made them to be cut each Sack into three parts, which by certain women, who were ready for the purpose, were handsomely sowed together again, and into these bags I put the powder. I then got together thirty Countrey fellows, upon whom I caused the powder and bullet to be tyed, with the match at their Girdles, and gave to each of them a good staffe in his hand to support him. Monsieur de Briquemant, the Governor of *St. Damian*, had sent six Swiss of his Guard out of the Town, who could not get in again, and so hapned to be at *la Cisterne*, who also took their share of the Ammunition.

An old Soldier fears death.

Being then ready to set out, there arriv'd the Seigneurs de *Pied-de-fou*, and de *Bourry* (who I am told is since turn'd Hugonot) de *St. Romain* (Nephew to Monsieur de *Fayette*) and three or four Gentlemen more, who were going to put themselves into the Town, and alighting put themselves on foot, and sent back their horses. The Marechal had writ to two of the Captains, who were at *la Cisterne*, that they should attempt to put the powder into *St. Damian* ; which said Captains were old Soldiers, which made me that I had no great hopes of their doing any thing to purpose ; for whoever would execute a hazardous enterprize, and where there is like to be good store of blows, must of all things take heed of employing an old Captain and an old Soldier, for as much as they too well understand the peril, and too much apprehend the danger of death, so that you shall seldom have any good account of their undertaking, as I have found by experience both in this, and upon other occasions : whereas a young fellow is not so apprehensive of his danger (it is true that there ought to be conduct in the case) and will easily undertake any execution where diligence is required ; he is prompt and active, and his youthful heat enflames his heart, which in old men is often cold and bloodless.

The relief cannot get into *St. Damian*.

About two hours after midnight they departed, and so soon as they were gone out of the Town, I went up to a Platform hard by the Gate, from whence I could discover the Enemies whole Camp, excepting a little on the other side of the Town ; and in the mean time sent out the Governors Lieutenant to give an allarm on the left hand by the Springs, which signified very little, the Enemy making very small account of it. So soon as our people were arriv'd at a little eminence near to the City, from whence they might discover all the fires, and even the men by the light of them, one of the Italian Captains said to Monsieur de *Pied-de-fou*, and the rest. *Vedete il Campo, Ecco la Cavalerie, ecco la Gen-darmerie*

darmerie, ecco li Tudeschi, ecco li Espanioli, ecco li Italiani (pointing to them with his finger) *non si intrarebbe una Gatta, bisogna tournar en dietro.* Behold the Camp, see yonder the Cavalry, see the Gens d'Armes, see the Germans, see the Spaniards, see the Italians, a Cat cannot possibly get in; and therefore 'tis convenient to turn back again. All this while I remain'd upon the Platform, with my pain in my hip, which plagu'd me to death, of which I was not yet cur'd, nor of two years after.

Behold then at break of day all our people return'd, where they gave me an account of what they had seen, which gave me trouble, but no satisfaction; wherefore I presently dispatch't away a Messenger post to the Marechal (who knew nothing of my being at *la Cisterne*, but believ'd me to be at *Carmagnolle* with Monsieur de Bassé) to whom I gave an account of all that had past, and withall sent him word, that he was not to hope that these Captains would ever put the powder into *St. Damian*; for that I had already prov'd the contrary, entreating him therefore to send away post to *Montcallier* to Captain Charry who carried my Ensign, that he should forthwith come away with fifty of the best Soldiers I had, to wit, thirty Harquebuzers, and twenty Pikes, and that he should not fail to be at *la Cisterne* by midnight. The Marechal wondred to hear that I was there, and presently dispatch't away a Messenger post to Captain Charry, to whom I had also writ a word or two in haste to the same effect.

This valiant young man, full of spirit, and good inclination to the service, needed not to be intreated twice, but immediately came away with his fifty men, and about an hour after midnight came to *la Cisterne*, where I had in a Cellar prepar'd three or four good Charcole fires, and a long Table full of meat, having lockt up the Country fellows on the one side, whom whilst the Soldiers drank and made good cheer, I caused to be loaden, together with the Swiss, and would no more speak to the Italian Captains to go with Captain Charry, save only that I entreated one of them to lend me his Ensign called *Pedro Antonio*, a vain young Coxcomb, whom I had known at *Montcallier*, and had there twice laid him by the heels for misdemeanors he had committed in the Town. I took him then aside, and said to him, *Pedro Antonio, I will do thee more honor than thy Captain; thou hast seen what a fault thy Countrymen last night committed, in not striving to enter into the Town, from whence you all return'd with a company of pitiful excuses. For my part I am a man that take no excuse in payment, where the loss of a Town, and the men of honour within it, are in concern. I know thou hast courage enough, but thou art not wise; and if thou wilt now give a testimony of thy discretion, as thou hast at other times done of thy valour, I do engage to thee my word to make the Marechal give thee a Company, and thou hast now an occasion offers it self, wherein to let him see, that as thou art bold to execute, thou art also prudent to command. I will therefore that thou take fifty men of thy Captains Company, to whom I will presently speak to deliver them to thee, and at thy going out of the Town I will place all the Peasants and the Swiss that carry the Ammunition in the midst of the fifty Soldiers, and will moreover that thou take three Sergeants, which I will also cause to be delivered to thee, to place one in either Flanck, and one behind, to the end that they may encourage the Soldiers to follow thee, and have an eye that the Peasants do not steal away: but when Captain Charry shall attaque a Court of Guard, pass thou on without staying to fight, unless any one oppose thy way, and make still forwards, whether thou meet any opposition or no, until thou comest to the very gates of the City.* He hereupon return'd me answer in Italian. *Credete Signior, Chio la faro a pena di Morir, & voi conoscerete che Pietro Antonio sara divinuto Saggio; Whereupon taking him in my arms, I said to him. Io ti prometto ancora, che io mi recordero di te, & che ti sara recognosciuto il servitio; no mi mancar di gratia, io ti giuro per la nostra Madonna se tu non sai chello che un huomo de bene debbe fare, io ti farro un tratto de Monluco. Tu sa come io ho manegiato non suono quindeci die uno delle nostri facendo d'il poltrone, Io non dimando sino un puoco di prudenza con prestezza.* And indeed he kept his promise with me, and carried himself very discreetly in the action. The Captains gave him whatever he desired, being glad themselves to be rid of the employment; I also entreated *Pied-de-fou*, and the rest before named, that since they were resolv'd to put themselves into the Town, they were to do it so as to be assisting to the conservation of the place, and not to lose themselves together with all those who were within it; forasmuch as the preservation of the said Town consisted only in supplying it with ammunition, and that therefore it would be necessary that they should divide themselves, some into the Flancks, and others into the rear, to the end that whilst Captain Charry should be fighting, they might encourage *Pedro Antonio's* men to go on; which they accordingly did.

All of them therefore having received their instructions from me what every one was to do, as well Italians and Peasants, as my own Soldiers; they all in the order prescrib'd, marcht

Captain Charry undertakes the relief of *St. Damian*.

A discourse of the Sieur de Montluc to *Pedro Antonio*.

marcht out of the Town; when going out at the Gate, I told Captain *Charry* in the hearing of all my Soldiers, that I would never see him more, if they did not enter, or die upon the place, as many as were of my Company; to which he made answer, that he only desir'd me to go to my rest, and that I should presently hear news of him. In truth he was a Soldier without fear. In his Company there was a Corporal of mine called *le Turk*, a Picard by birth, who said to me, *What do you make a question of our entring into the Town? Par la mort bien, we should have spent our time and our blood very well, having above an hundred times fought with you, and ever remain'd victorious, if we should now stand suspected to you;* at which I leapt about his neck, and said to him these words. *My Turk, I do assure thee upon my faith, I think so worthily of you all, that I am confident if any men upon earth can enter, you will do it;* and so they departed, and I went to place my self again upon the Platform, where I had stood the night before, and the Captain of the Watch kept me company.

Relief put into
St. Damian.

About two hours after I heard a great alarm on that side by which our people were to enter, and several volleys of Harquebuzshot; but they continued but a very little while, which put me into some fear that our men might be repulsed, or at least that that the Peasants were run away: who so soon as they were come to the eminence where the Italian Captains had told them, that a Cat could not get in, they made a halt. There the Guides shewed them the Courts of Guard, from which, by reason of the excessive cold and the snow, the Centinels were not twenty paces distant. Captain *Charry* then called Messieurs de *Pied de-fau*, *Bourg*, *St. Romain*, and *Pedro Antonio*, to whom he deliver'd two Guides, reserving one for himself, and said to them, this is the last Court of Guard of foot, for the rest are all horse, which can do no great matters by reason of the snow; so soon therefore as you shall see me attaque this Court of Guard, run on as fast as you can, and stop not for any thing you shall meet in your way, but make directly to the Gate of the City; who thereupon all of one accord set themselves in a posture to charge through. Captain *Charry* then drew near to the Court of Guard, which he put to rout, and overturn'd upon another Court of Guard, and both of them betook themselves to flight; which being done he past on forward straight to the Gate of the Town, where he found *Pedro Antonio* already arrived, and where they immediately delivered their Ammunition, without making any longer stay than whilst Messieurs de *Chavigny* and *Briquemant* embrac't Captain *Charry*, entreating him to tell me, that since I was at *la Cisterne*, they thought themselves certain to be reliev'd with all things they should stand in need of, and that it would be very necessary to send them in some more Ammunition: but whilst the Enemy busied themselves about taking the Soldiers of the Guards that were run away (of which a Captain was the next day hang'd) Captain *Charry* and *Pedro Antonio*, with their Peasants, taking them in this disorder, charg'd them thorough and thorough, and came clear away. I there lost not so much as one Soldier, either French or Italian, neither was there any one hurt, not so much as Peasant, but all arrived safe at *la Cisterne*, it being fair broad day, where they found me still upon the Platform. I hereupon immediately sent away a dispatch to the Marechal to entreat him to send me some more powder, for bullet and match they had enough already, which he also speedily did from *Quiers*: to which place he was remov'd, that he might be nearer to me.

The Character
of Captain
Charry.

Behold the age a Captain ought to be of, to whom you should entrust the execution of a hazardous and sudden enterprize, and I can affirm with truth, that these hundred years there has not died a braver, nor a more prudent Captain for his years than Captain *Charry* was, and am assur'd, that Monsieur de *Briquemant* will say the same, though he be of the Religion of those by whom he was since assassinated at *Paris*. The manner of his death I have nothing to do to meddle withall; for the King, the Queen, and all the Princes of the Court, knew it well enough, and besides it was so foul an act, that I will not blot my Paper with the relation, and I am sure very unworthy a Frenchman. When I lost him, together with Captain *Montluc* my Son, who was slain at the Island of *Madera*, belonging to the King of *Portugal*, it seemed to me that my two arms were lopt off from my body, the one being my right, and the other my left. He had ever bred up Captain *Montluc* from the age of twelve or thirteen years, and vvherever he went had this young boy evermore hung at his Girdle: Neither could I have put him to a better Tutor, to teach him the trade of War: and in truth he had retain'd a great deal of his precept, insomuch that I may vvithout shame say (although he vv as my Son) that had he liv'd he vvould have made a great Soldier, daring, and discreet; but God vv as pleased to dispose otherwise of him. I shall therefore leave this discourse (vvhich extracts tears from mine eyes) to pursue my former subject.

The Character
of Captain
Montluc.

Monsieur

Monsieur de *Briquemant* sent me word by Captain *Charry*, that they had no Engineers within, nor any one that understood where a Gabion was fitly to be placed, with which he desired me to acquaint the Mareschal, entreating me moreover to send back to him Captain *Charry*, and my fifty Soldiers, whom he esteemed as much as the best Company he had in the Town, in return of which kindness he would be my servant for ever; which I did. Monsieur de *Gohas* that now is, was at that time one of my Company, and one of the fifty, though he was then but 17 years of age, it being in the beginning of his arms. The Mareschal therefore sent away post to *Alba* for the Engineers that were there, of which the Chevelier *Reloge* was one. So soon as Captain *Charry* returned back from *St. Damian*, the Pikes took the Powder, and hung it at their own Girdles, as the others had done before, and would have no convoy at all, but took their way a little on the right hand on that side where the horse lay, where they charg'd through, and without the loss of one man got safe into the Town; for Captain *Charry* was a man that understood his business very well. So soon as he was got in, he entreated Messieurs de *Briquemant*, and de *Chavigny*, to entrust him with the defence of the Ditch, which they immediately did, and he there covered himself with logs of timber, planks, and Gabions after the best manner he could, and so soon as ever the Guides returned back to me, I sent away to the Mareschal to give him an account of all, beseeching him to send me Captain *Caupenne* my Lieutenant, with another fifty of my Soldiers, which he did, whom two days after his arrival I made venture to carry some more powder to the besieged. He went on that side where the *Gens d'Arms* lay, where the Enemy had now placed a Court of Guard of foot, who were aware of him at distance enough, and did all they could to stop his way: which notwithstanding he made shift to lay down the powder upon the edge of the ditch of the Gate, and by him the forenam'd Seigneurs sent me their service, withall desiring me to assure the Mareschal, that the place was no more in danger of being lost, forasmuch as they now had every thing they needed or desired. The Baron de *Chipy* who was with Monsieur de *Bonivet* at *Alba*, would afterwards try to put some powder into the Town, by that side towards the said *Alba*, and accordingly charg'd after the same manner that mine had done: but he lost his powder, and Peasants, and almost all his Soldiers, at least to fourteen or fifteen only who charg'd thorough with him, and got into the Town. *There is luck in all things.*

Captain *Caupenne* carries powder into *St. Damian*.

The Baron de *Chipy* enters into *S. Damian*.

Now the Camp lay sixteen or seventeen dayes before the Town, and the Battery continued for seven dayes, in which time *Cesar de Naples* had wrought two Mines which were carried on under the Ditch towards the Breach, and were already brought up almost to the wall. A Pioneer running away from the Enemy was taken by our Italians, who told me all, and whom so soon as it grew to be dark I deliver'd to Captain *Mauries*, (who was at that time my Serjeant, and in this last war Serjeant Major to Monsieur de *Montferrand* at *Bordeaux*) who bound him, and would take no more but one Soldier only to guide him, with which he carried the business so well, that he met but two Centinels by the way, who also sodainly retyr'd to their Court of Guard, insomuch that he past without any difficulty at all, and carried the Pioneer into the Town, where he remained all night, and so soon as it was fair light day, Messieurs de *Cavigny*, and de *Briquemant*, carried him upon the wall of the Battery, from whence he might discover the place where the Mine lay. They then presently descended into the Ditch, and began to dig and scrape, so that they presently found the holes, and as we after understood, mist but very little of trapping *Cesar de Naples* there, who was come thither to view the Mine. Now the two last dayes they made a very great Battery, and *Don Ferrand* had caused a great number of Bavins to be made, which by the Spaniards, Italians, and Germans were thrown into the Ditch, having cut the Counterscarp in two or three places; but as many as they threw in, Captain *Charry*, who lay in the Ditch, conveyed into the Town through a hole they had made under the breach, so that thinking the said Ditch to be fill'd, they sent to discover in open day, being all drawn up in Battalia, ready to go on to the Assault: but they found all was gone, and not a Fagot left in the Ditch, which made them ply the Battery for two days with wonderful fury, and moreover part of the night by the light of the Moon; when after all, seeing the good countenance of our people within, and that neither their Mines, nor their Bavins had done them any good, they resolv'd at last not to attempt an assault, but to raise the Siege and depart. The last night that they gave over the Battery I made Captain *Mauries* again venture into the Town, who heard the rising of the Camp, and the drawing off the Artillery, for Messieurs de *Cavigny*, and de *Briquemant* would not let him depart, till he were first assur'd of the truth, that he might bring me certain news; and so he past and repast at his ease, without encountering any one person, forasmuch as all the Camp was already in Battalia, and

The Mines at *St. Damian* discover'd.

The Siege of *St. Damian* raised.

gone

gone from their Hats. So soon as he return'd to me, which was about two hours before day, I immediately dispatcht him away upon very good horses to the Marechal, whom he found yet in bed, because he had not slept one wink of all night, having been all day with President *Birague*, and Signior *Francisco Bernardin* upon the shoar of *Quiers*, where from two of the clock in the afternoon, having observ'd the Artillery to cease, and having staid till one of the clock at night, without hearing any thing at all, they all concluded the place to be taken, or surrendred; but in the morning, a little after sun-rise, and just as his man had open'd his Chamber door, when Captain *Mauries* stept in, and told him the news, I leave you to judge how he was overjoy'd. And sent me word to come speedily away to him.

The Sieur de
Montluc goes
to *St. Damian*,
and narrowly
escapes.

Captain *Char-*
ry taken priso-
ner.

Now you must know I here plaid the part of a young Captain; for so soon as Captain *Mauries* had told me that the Enemy's Camp was rising, I went in all hast to *St. Damian*, where so soon as Captain *Charry*, who was upon the wall saw me coming, he fallied out with my other Soldiers, which I had afterwards cause to be sorry for. The Enemy had clapt themselves down flat upon their bellies behind a little hill, and had left fifteen or twenty fair to be seen; a sight by which I was so tempted, that I must needs forsooth go and charge them, and did so; but so soon as I came within four paces of the rest, they all start up and charg'd me on all sides, and followed banging up my Rear to the very walls of the Town, which reliev'd me (in good time for me) with good smart volleys of Harquebuz shot from the wall, and there Captain *Charry* was wounded, and taken, and had it not been for my Lieutenant whom I had left at the Gabions, they had cut me, with all the fifty Soldiers of Captain *Charry*, to pieces. I lost seven or eight men, of which three were slain, and Monsieur de *Gohas* was once round enclosed, but afterwards escap'd. The joy I was in to see the Siege raised, and the great mind I had to get some prise of the Enemy, were the occasions of this ridiculous sally of mine. This being done, after I had seen Messieurs de *Chavigny*, and de *Briquemaut*, I returned back to *la Cistern*, and the same night went to *Quiers*, where I was as much welcom'd by the Marechal, and all those who were with him, as any man in the world could be. Which said Marechal presently dispatcht away Monsieur de *Biron* to the King, to carry his Majesty news of the issue of this Siege, entreating of him the place of a Bedchamber man for me; and moreover at my great instance and importunity (and being I was eternally tormented with my hip) was pleased to discharge me of my Office of Camp-master, though it was a request very displeasing to him: but to gratifie me in whatever I would ask of him, he was willing to content me in that particular. And the said Seigneur de *Biron* being at Court, the King would not transfer to any one the said Office of Camp-master, till first he should be better enformed whom he ought to give it to: and therefore ordered that the Marechal should name one, Monsieur de *Bonivet* another, and I a third: I therefore nominated Monsieur de *Chippy*, which was the reason that the said Sieur de *Biron* continued very long at Court, because of the dispatches to and again, that he was enforc't to make, during which I still continued Camp-master, till the return of the said Seigneur de *Biron* (who at that time carried the Marechal's Guidon) who brought me my discharge, his Majesty having transferred that command to the Baron de *Chippy*, whom I had nam'd, and also brought me the place of Gentleman of his Majesties Bedchamber, for he would not depart till he had first seen me inroll'd in the room of one of the old ones that was vacant, and moreover brought me a Patent for the Government of *Alva*, which I never dream't of, and less imagin'd, that the King should prefer me to three or four others, in whose behalf the Marechal had written to him. Behold the services I perform'd for the King, and the Marechal his Lieutenant, all within fifteen or twenty dayes of one another.

The Sieur de
Montluc quits
his office of
Camp-master.

Happy (fellows in arms) is he who serves his King under a General who will not conceal the merits of such as perform any remarkable exploit, which Monsieur de *Brissac* would never do: for never did any man under his command do any handsome thing, or any the least action which he thought worthy his Majesties knowledge, but he did forthwith give him notice of it: he was a Gentleman that would not cloath himself with the spoils of another man's honor, nor conceal the bravery of any from the greatest to the least. When therefore it shall please God that you are employ'd under such a General, fear not to hazard your lives, and employ all your vigilance and diligence to do them the best service you can, if you have an intention to advance yourselves by your arms and virtue, if not, get you home, and never meddle with the practice of Arms. 'Tis an extreme grief and disappointment to a man, when he shall have expos'd his life for the atchievment of honor, to have his name then conceal'd from his Prince, from whom we are to expect the reward of our fidelity and valour. There is no these comparable.

comparable to that of robbing another man of his honor, and yet Generals for the most part make no conscience of it.

During the time that Monsieur de Biron remained at Court, I still continuing Camp-master, as has been said before, and in the beginning of *June* when corn began to ripen, *Don Ferrand* would not suffer the great Army he had to lye idle, but at the persuasion of Monsieur de Trinitat, Brother to the Count de Benne, would go lay siege to Benne, the said Monsieur de Trinitat advising him to cut off the water which turned certain Mills within the Town, saying that they had not within corn nor meal to serve them for a moneth, and moreover assuring him, that he would get him a pay for the Army, by cutting the corn that was now almost ready for the Sickle, which he would presently cause to be thrasht up by 300 Peasants he would take along with him for that purpose, knowing very well that those of *Langnes*, and *de Bernisse la Paille* would be ready to buy it, and that so in a moneths time the Town would be surrendred without one Canon shot.

The Siege of Benne.

Monsieur de Savoy, who was then very young, that being his first sally into Arms, was at this time with the Army, and they came to set down their Camp within a mile of Benne, upon the Banks of a River that was there, of which they so turned the current, that not so much as one drop came into the Town. Now, by ill fortune, the Marechal had ordered a Governor (whose name I shall forbear) to cause twelve hundred sacks of corn and meal, half of the one, and half of the other, to be brought into this place from his own Government, as the custom had been. I will not publish the occasion why the said Governor did not accordingly send in the said provisions, being it would too nearly reflect upon his honor, and it is not my purpose to speak ill of any: But President Birague knows the reasons very well, he being present at the Council, when the Marechal was pleased to send for me, and where there was a very great clutter, and high dispute about that affair. The Enemies Camp had already been eight days set down before Benne, and made no shew of any intention to assault it, hoping they should soon have it for want of victuals, although the Town was of it self sufficiently fortified, and that the Count and the Countess were very affectionate to the Kings service. There was in all but three Companies of foot within it, to wit, that of the Count, that of the younger *la Molle*, and of *Louys Duke*, which was that of *Montdevi*, making in all two Companies of Italians, and one of French. The said Captain *la Molle* was sick, and by order of his Physicians for change of ayr, had caused himself to be carried to *Montdevi*; so that the Count had no man of Command with him, but the said *Louys Duke*, and which was worse, had never before been besieged, which put him into a very great perplexity, having no body with him who understood at all the defence of a Town. An affair wherein the most hardy are apt to be astonished when they hear a furious rattle about their ears, and see a mighty preparation against them, if they have not been at such work before: and on the other side he saw himself totally without provisions; inso-much that he resolved to send the Marechal word of all, and of the fear he was in, the place would be lost; as he had just reason, it being that where his chiefest interest lay, the Town being his own. He therefore presently dispatched away the Lieutenant to the Company of *Montdevi*, who arriv'd just as the Marechal rose from dinner, he being then at *Carmagnolle*, and with him Messieurs de *Bonivet*, President *Birague*, d'*Aussun*, *Francisco Bernardin*, *la Moth-Gondrin*, and some other whose names I have forgot. So soon as the Marechal understood the Count's apprehension, and heard he had no provisions, and that the Governor (whose name I have omitted) had not sent any in according to his order, though he had still pretended to have done it, both he and all the company entred into a very great despair, and concluded the place for lost, being the Marechal had no visible way to relieve it, forasmuch as he had not men to resist the third part of the Enemy's Army. He then demanded of the Lieutenant what Captain he desired to have come to him to assist him, to which he made answer, that the Count loved me exceeding well, and often said, that I had once relieved him, and that he would give the one half of his estate, upon condition that I was with him. I was then but newly recovered of a Feaver, with which my mouth and lips were much swell'd and broken out. The Marechal then sent for me by his *Valet de Chambre* to come presently to his lodging, where I found him in this trouble. He there made the Lieutenant to give me an account of the extremity they were in in Benne, as he did, and moreover complaining of the Governor by whom they had been so deceived, earnestly entreated me to go and put my self into the Town. To which I made answer, *What would you have me do, there being neither corn nor meal? I can work no miracles*; to which he return'd, that the Count had so high an opinion of me, as also all those in the Town, that if I could once get in, they

The Duke of Savoy in the Spanish Army.

The Count de Benne in great perplexity.

The Count de Benne demands the Sieur de Montluc to be sent to his relief.

were very confident the place would not be lost, but that I would find some expedient to save it.

The Sieur de
Montluc puts
himself into
Benne.

Every one knows how these great Lords, when they would make one undertake an impossible thing, can wheedle and flatter a man into a good opinion of himself, and accordingly they here represented to me the examples of *Lans*, *St. Damian*, and other places where I had had to do, and had ever been so fortunate, as that all things had succeeded according to my own desire. The President *Blrague* then began to perswade me on the other side, but Monsieur de *Bonivet* and the rest said nothing, knowing very well how dangerous an Enterprize it was for the loss of my honor, and that I must in the end of necessity come to a Capitulation; as the Mareschal himself also told me, that for the last refuge I must proceed to that; to which I made answer, that I had rather die, than that my name should be found upon record subscribed to a Capitulation, or that any place should be surrendered I had once taken upon me to defend; but that I would do as God should direct me, in whose assistance I reposed my only confidence and trust. Monsieur de *Bonivet* then commanded twelve or fifteen Gentlemen of his to go along with me, (of which number the Governor de la *Moth Rouge*, who is yet living was one, and I took as many of my own, making up thirty horse, without taking any servant with me, save only a *Valet de Chambre* and a Cook) and writ to the Vicount de *Gordon* at *Savillan*, to furnish me with a good Guide, and to Captain *Theodore Bedeigne*, that he should convey me with his Troop, and this was upon the Saturday. Upon Sunday morning by break of day I entred into *Benne*, and the Count, if he be yet living, and will speak his conscience, will say that it was one of the greatest joys that ever he had in his whole life, as also the Countess, and the whole Town will witness the same. I presently laid me down to sleep in the Castle, and two hours after I awakt we went to dinner. The Count in the mean time had appointed all the head men of the Town, as also all the Mafons and Carpenters to repair to the Town-Hall, to which place the Count, the Countess, and all of us likewise came.

Benne unfur-
nished of pro-
visions.

I there proposed all that was necessary to be done, the Count complain'd of the little corn he had, and the Towns-men declar'd, that they had not sufficient for eight days; so that although the Town was situated advantageously enough, yet were they in a very great necessity, by reason it was the latter end of the year, and on the other side they had sold all their corn to the *Genoeses*, and to those about *Savona*, being tempted so to do by the rates they gave, it being at that time sold for three Crowns a sack: and the Count who was a man that liv'd at a very great expence, had sold all his in expectation, and upon the assurance of the 1200 sacks which the Governor, that I forbear to name, ought to have sent in thither. We then fell to disputing in case we had corn, which way we should get it ground: But so soon as the Count had told me whereabouts the Camp lay, I presently conceiv'd that I should make a shift to get corn, though I would not say any thing to any one, till after we were return'd from the Council, then I told it to the Count and the Countess only. Whilest we were sitting in Council there was a little man a Mason of above threescore years of age, who presented himself before us, saying that he had formerly got several great stones to lay upon the Graves of the dead, from a Quarry that he nam'd hard by, and that he conceiv'd if those stones were taken off the Graves, they would some of them at least, if not all, be proper to make Mill-stones: whereupon we deputed two of the Town, together with the Countess, who would needs go along with them, to make tryal with the Mafons, whether they could be of any use or no: and not long after the said Lady return'd with great joy, and offer'd her self to take the pains to cause the Mill-stones to be made; which at the first I would by no means endure; but in the end she would be obeyed, and was so diligent in the business, that in two days and two nights she had got eleven hand-Mills finish'd compleat, which were distributed amongst those of the Town, who would thereupon undertake to nourish the Soldiers, provided there might be a way found to get corn. We then concluded with those of the Town, that at one of the clock at night they should bring me five or six hundred men and women, the one carrying little ropes, and the others Scythes and Sicles to cut the corn, and that the Gates of the Town should in the mean time be kept shut, to the end that no body might go out to carry intelligence to the Enemy; for Monsieur de *Trinitat* had several friends in the City, that the Count himself had in some suspicion. I then dispatcht away two of the Inhabitants with a letter to Captain *Hieronimo*, the Son of Colonel *Giovanni* of *Turin* (who lay at a little Town, the name of which I have forgot, but it was about a mile distant from the place where the Enemy had cut, and diverted the current of the River) entreating him that this night he would by one way or another attempt to repair what the Enemy had broken down, and do all that in

The Countess
of Benne her
self takes care
to see the work
of the Town
go forward.

The way to get
corn.

him

him lay, if possible, to send the water to us again, which that very night he accordingly executed, though he was but a very young Gentleman, for I believe he was not then above twenty years old. We then went home expecting the night, when being return'd back to the Castle, I told the Count, that it would be convenient we should go alone upon the walls to look out a field of corn that should lie neereſt to the City, which we were to cut all that night, whilst I ſent out Captain *Theodore* with 200 Soldiers to give a ſtrong and furious alarm to the Court of Guard, who were ſet to hinder thoſe of the Town from cutting any Corn. So ſoon then as we had made choice of one, we return'd back to ſupper, and after we had ſupp'd, carried out Captain *Theodore* and two others, Commanders of Companies, that were there preſent upon the Wall of the Town, to ſhew them on which ſide they were to give the alarm, and the others to fight the Court of Guard. After which we appointed ten of the Townſmen on horſe-back to overlook the people that cut the corn, to haſten them in their work.

At one of the clock at night all theſe people went out, the Soldiers to fight, and the people to cut; ſo that nothing was to be heard all night long but alarms, as well in the Camp, as at the Court of Guard, and as the people cut and bound up the corn, they ſtill ran back to the Gate of the City, and there threw down their burthens, and immediately went again for more; for ſome were appointed to reap, and the reſt to bind and carry. In the mean time the day appear'd, when we cauſed thoſe to whom the field belonged to convey away the corn from off the place, ſo there was not one ſack of corn loſt of all night. The Enemy who ſaw this field all cut, and carried away, plac'd thereupon ſtronger Guards, and neerer than before; but the people who began to taſte the ſweetneſs of their gain, reſolv'd to hazard themſelves to get their corn off the ground, rather than the Enemy ſhould have it; inſomuch that at the beginning of the night there ſally'd out above two hundred of the Inhabitants of the Town, of which ſome ventur'd further, and others did their buſineſs neerer at hand. Now *Benne* you muſt know is almoſt totally ſurrounded with valleys, which are pretty well covered with Copſe, and watered with ſeveral Rivulets: ſo that when they heard any body coming, they hid themſelves with their corn, and in the morning at the opening of the Gates return'd back to the City. The next morning after my arrival the water by the diligence of Captain *Hieronimo*, began to come down to the Mills, and for two days and two nights continued its courſe; whereupon enſued a great confuſion at the Mills; but we made an order that no one ſhould grind any more than to make ten or a dozen loaves only, by which means every body got ſome to ſerve them a little while, and two dayes and two nights after Captain *Salines* a Spaniard came to view the water, which the ſame night was again taken from us. I then gave Captain *Hieronimo* notice of the place where they had again return'd to cut it off from us, who never ceaſed till he had made up the Bank again: but he could not do it ſo as to ſend the water to us for above a day; for from hour to hour the Enemy ſtill came to viſit the work: but by this time the Counteſs had made an end of her work, ſo that we no more car'd for the water.

Now by means of frequent skirmiſhes, which were here as many, and as handſome as in any place where I ever had the fortune to be, and by the diligence was uſed in cutting by night, we had at laſt as much corn as the Enemy. When *Don Ferrand* ſeeing himſelf fruſtrated of the aſſurance had been given him by *Monſieur de la Trinitat*, began to be highly diſcontented with him. Captain *Theodore* the night after we had made the fiſt cutting, in which he alſo was engag'd, return'd back to *Savillan*, and in going away had three or four horſes and men of his Troop wounded, who therefore ſtaid behind at *Benne*; but he fail'd not to ſend away an account to the *Mareschal* of what I had done upon my arrival; of which the *Mareschal* was exceeding glad, as alſo all thoſe who were with him; and thenceforward began to entertain ſome hope of the conſervation of the place: though I am of opinion that had *Don Ferrand* batter'd the Town with his Artillery, they muſt infallibly have been enforc'd to a ſurrender: but he was ſtill buz'd in the ears with this water, and the want of proviſions in the Town, which rendred him very much diſſatisfied with thoſe who had adviſed him to this courſe, and made him entertain ſome kind of jealouſie of *Monſieur de la Trinitat* himſelf; wherefore he rais'd his Camp the three and twentieth day after my arrival, having been ſet down eight dayes before I came. The Count is yet living as I am told, and *Preſident Birague* I know to be ſtill in being, with ſeveral others who can bear witneſs, if I have inſerted any thing but the truth; but whether *Monſieur de Coſſé* was yet return'd back to the *Mareschal* I am not able to ſay; for he was a little before gone into France. Thus then the Town was ſav'd, and a few dayes after the Baron *de Chippy*, who was gone to Court to give his Maſteſty thanks for the donation he had made him of the aforeſaid office return'd,

Great diligence in the people.

The ſituation of *Benne*.

Handſome skirmiſhes before *Benne*.

Don Ferrand diſcontented with *Monſieur de la Trinitat*.

Don Ferrand's error.

The Siege of *Benne* rais'd.

and having taken upon him his command of Camp-master, I went to *Alba* to take possession of my new Government.

Oh Captains, the great things that a man may do, how little soever his judgment or experience may be, if he will intend nothing but that wherein he is immediately engag'd thence to come off to his own honor, and the advantage of his Master! and on the other side nothing but misfortune can attend him, who minds nothing of business, and only spends his time in pleasure, play, and feasting; for it is impossible but that the one must make you forget the other; we cannot serve so many Masters: whenever then you shall be engag'd upon such an account as this, strip your selves of all your vices, and burn them all, to the end that you may remain in the white Robe of loyalty and affection that we all owe to our common Master: for God will never prosper the virious and voluptuous man; but on the contrary will ever assist him who is clad in the white Robe of loyalty. I give you the same advice that I ever gave my self, and it was therefore that God has ever assisted and been so favourable to me, that I have never been defeated, and have never been in any engagement (if I commanded) that I was not alwayes victorious. Neither could I fail, for God evermore inspir'd me, and prompted my memory with what I had to do, and that is the reason that I have ever been blest with so good fortune. And he will also assist you, as he hath done me, if you study, nor busie your selves about nothing but how to serve your Master with the loyalty and fidelity we allowe him. Afterwards when we have nothing else to do, we may freely enjoy our pleasures and delights, for then it will be no prejudice to the King, nor to him we serve under him. Then you shall enjoy a sweet and pleasing repose, when you shall return home laden with honor, and shall present your selves before your Prince, to whom it shall be told what you have done for his service. All the treasure in the world is not comparable to that. Take then (Camrades) exemple by me, who have never had other thought, nor design, than how to acquit my self worthily of my charge, and doing so it will be impossible, but you must acquire great honor and reputation. In the mean time you that are put in trust to attaque or block up places: whenever you have a design to reduce a Town by famine, if you find you cannot totally hinder the besieged from fetching in corn from the fields adjoyning, set them on fire: for taking this commodity from them, they will be sufficiently distressed; but to say you preserv'd it for your self, it must be concluded that you were very improvident to offer to attaque a place without having means and power to carry away all near unto, and in the very face of the Town you would attaque; in such cases you must have no pity, for this affair requires scurvy remedies.

The Enterprife
of *Courteville*.

Courteville
batter'd by
Monsieur de
Brissac.

Some time after the Marechal undertook to go take *Courteville*, which is a Castle and a little City in the *Langues*; the Castle is strong, and the River runs through the midst of the Town, over which there is a fair Bridge of Brick, and a Bourg adjoyning to it. The said Marechal then came to *Alba*, and took me in his way along with him, with the one half of my Company, which he entertain'd for the Guard of his own person, leaving the other half in *Alba* and being come to the said *Courteville*, lodg'd in the Bourg on the further side of the River, on this side of which, and near unto the Castle was a Monastery wherein he lodg'd three Ensigns, which notwithstanding those of the Castle commanded us more than we commanded them. Monsieur de *Salcede* had kept this place all the time when he was with the *Spaniard*. The Marechal planted on this side the Bridge eight or ten pieces of Canon wherewith to batter the Curtain that was opposite to the Monastery, in which during the Battery, Monsieur de *Bonnivet* lodged himself, where although I was no longer Camp-master, I nevertheless never left him whilst the Battery continued day nor night. In two or three days time then we spent 1200 Canon shot against this Curtain, and in the end were never the nearer, forasmuch as they had rais'd a great and thick rampier behind the wall within; so that when that was beaten down, the place remained stronger than before, by reason of the said Rampier. The Marechal thereupon remained three days in suspence what he were best to do, whether he should send for more ammunition, or return without making any further attempt upon the place. Captain *Richelieu* had in the mean time gain'd the Town, and was with his own and two other Companies lodg'd within it: but so soon as I saw the Marechal in this perplexity, I past the River on that side by the Monastery: for although I follow'd Monsieur de *Bonnivet*, I nevertheless now retir'd at night to the Marechal. There was a Gate of this Monastery, that went out into a great high way, upon which one might march undiscover'd and secure, without being seen by those of the Castle: but betwixt the Gate and the high-way there were some fifteen or sixteen paces, which were to be nimblely dispatchr, for the whole Curtain playd upon this Gate. Afterwards it was necessary

cessary to go stooping up to the Bridge at the entry into the Town, and then to run full speed till you was within it. So soon as I had past this danger, and was got into the high way, I began to look about me if it was possible to carry Canon into the Town, which I perceived it a matter of great difficulty to do, and that was the reason that I went into the Town to take Captain *Richelieu* along with me, with whom I went to discover the backside of the Castle, which lookt into a great space uninhabited, betwixt the Castle and the Wall of the Town. There was there a little house close by the wall of the City, into which we put our selves to observe at our ease, whether or no the Castle were much fortified on that part, and there I observ'd some cracks and chinks in the wall, through which one might plainly see the light on the other side, and shew'd Captain *Richelieu*, that if by any invention we could bring three pieces of Canon to this place we should certainly take the Castle, forasmuch as it had not been fortified on that side, by reason of the impossibility of bringing up Artillery to force it.

The Sieur de Montluc goes to discover the place.

That which appears impossible to one, is feasible enough to another, and many places are so taken. I then return'd by the way near to the Abby, and Captain *Richelieu* with me, where we fell to discourse about the business, and began to consider if there was any way to be found to get Canon to the backside of the Castle: whereupon it suddainly came into my head to cause the River to be sounded, to see if the bottom was firm ground; to which purpose I caused a Soldier of the Abby to be call'd, to whom so soon as he came to me I made an offer of ten Crowns, if he would venture to sound the River, telling him withall that he must creep on his hands and knees, till he came into the water, and that then he should chop up to the neck. I then call'd another Soldier by whom I sent word to the Captains in the Abby, that they should send out fifteen or twenty Soldiers, which should go to the very foot of the wall, as if they went to skirmish, which accordingly was done, and by that means I sav'd the Soldier, insomuch that the Enemy never perceiv'd him, till he was got into the water. First he went directly to the wall of the City, where the water dasht against it, and thence waded upwards as far as the foard, where we used to pass over betwixt the Marechals Quarters and the Abby, and behind the Abby he entred into it, whether we ran full drive to avoid the danger of the shot, and found him already got into the Abby, and the Soldiers that had been sent out to skirmish returned a pretty while before, where he told me that the bottom of the River was very good, and the water no deeper than to the nave of the wheels. Whereupon I presently mounted to horse, and went to acquaint the Marechal with what I had seen, the two Masters of the Ordnance *Balazergues* and *Duno* being by, for Monsieur de *Caillac* was not there. There *Duno* disputed it against me, affirming he had discover'd all, and I affirming the contrary, till at last the Marechal said it was their trade, and that to undertake a business, and not to effect it, were only to lose time and a great many men to no purpose. At which I began to be moved, having been nettled by *Duno* before, and said to the Marechal. *Sir I have had the honor a great while to know Monsieur de Brissac, and never saw him so much afraid of Arquebuz shot, that he would forbear to discover a place he had a mind to see. I take you to be the same man, and that you are not become a Coward for being the Kings Lieutenant. Mount to horse, and I will make you confess, after you have seen it, that you shall take the Castle without the expence of ten Canon shot.* We hereupon all in a fume got to horse, taking *Duno* along, and leaving *Balazergues* behind, and went to pass the River above the Abby, into which we entred, and I had taken with me the Soldier who had sounded the River. Now to get into the high way it was necessary suddenly to open the Gate, to which the Enemy had evermore an eye, and run fifteen or twenty paces till we got into it, out of the danger of the Curtain of the Castle. The Gate then was suddenly thrown open, and I past running, and the Marechal did the same; but as he was running they fir'd three Harquebuzes, with some of which I verily thought he had been shot, for I heard the noise of a Bullet, as when it enters a mans body, and when he came up to me, lookt him in the face, and saw that he shak't his head, and smil'd, and sitting down by me upon the ground (for we were to keep very low) *I have scap't a scouring* (said he) *for the bullets flew betwixt my legs. You are very unwise Sir,* said I, *to follow me, do you not perceive that I aim at being the Kings Lieutenant if you die? which is the reason that I would be rid of you, and have brought you hither to that purpose;* at which he laugh't only, seeing very well by my countenance, that I was very glad he had escap't the misfortune; for the fault would have been laid at my door, though God knows I could not have help't it: for those that go to such Weddings as these often bring away red Liveries.

The River sounded to pass over the Canon.

Dispute betwixt the Sieur de Montluc and the Masters of the Ordnance.

The Marechal de Brissac in great danger.

In the mean time *Duno* and the Soldier arrived, to whom the Marechal engag'd to pay the ten Crowns I had promised him; but that he must return and do the same again in his

his presence, and he would give him ten more, which the Soldier undertook to do. *Duno* then caused his Boots to be pull'd off, and went in his doublet only with the Soldier to enter into the water behind the Abby, for the man had heart enough, and men of his trade must no more care for a Bullet than a Codling; We saw them the one after the other wade down the River, and afterwards came to the wall of the City, into which they went, landing hard by the Gate: Which was not perform'd without infinite danger both for them and us, for it was there very hot; so that I often wishe Monsieur *de Brissac* at his Quarters, being more afraid of him than of my self. Seeing then *Duno* and the Soldier past over, we ran at the mercy of the Harquebuz shot, and recover'd the Town. *Whom God defends are well defended*; for it was a miracle that some one of us at least was not pepper'd: but either my fear or my affection made me go more upright and nimbly than I was wont, so that I felt no great pain of my hip. I then carryed the Marechal, and shewed him all that Captain *Richelieu* and I had seen before; when after he had heard *Duno's* relation concerning the depth of the River, and found the truth of what I had told him, he began to break out into some passionate expressions against *Duno*; but I told him that he ought not to be angry, but intend the taking of the Castle, for that no one was so wise but he might be deceiv'd. Whereupon he gave order to Captain *Richelieu* to get together thirty or forty great Wine-pipes, which at the beginning of the night he should cause to be carried to the place where *Duno* should appoint, and to another Captain to pull down a house, to furnish planks to put upon the Pipes after they should be filled with earth to raise the defence still higher, because of the great Tower of the Castle, that lookt into the recoyl of the Canon, commanding the other Captain also to provide great beams of Timber wherewith to raise the whole so high, that the Tower might not look into the recoyl of the Canon. And before we departed from the little house which was behind the Castle, I shew'd the Marechal a Rock where thirty or forty Harquebuzers might lye covered to shoot at the Battlements of the Tower, when the Enemy should present themselves to shoot at the Artillery; for they must of necessity shew themselves from the Girdle upward.

The good fortune of Monsieur *de Sanfac*.

We afterwards went up the River to the Wall of the Town to measure what height the Canon was to mount to get into the City, and found that it was not two foot, because the way was very low. When a Gentleman belonging to the Marechal came to us, the said Marechal having expressly forbid that any other should advance further than the Abby, to whom I caused the charge to be committed of breaking the wall, and making it fall into the River, which being done we return'd, and *Duno* staid with Captain *Richelieu*. At the beginning of the night then came the aforesaid Gentleman with thirty or forty Pioneers, and after him another Gentleman of the said Marechal's with four-score or an hundred more, where they found that Captain *Richelieu* had already got above half the Pipes upon the place. Monsieur *de Bonivet* and I accompanied *Balazergues*, who drew three pieces of Canon with horses (the Marechal having provided enow to draw six) and went on horseback above twenty paces in the River with the Canon, as also did *Balazergues* himself, and the Carters up to the Codpiece in water: we then turn'd to go down behind the Abby, and so went into the Town, vvhether though the Enemy shot very hard, yet could they see nothing by reason of the extreme darkness of the night, and therefore shot at random, and the level of fortune, vvhich at this time smil'd upon us; yet does she not alwayes do so, especially upon me: there are some indeed so happy as never to be toucht, as for exemple that brave Cavalier Monsieur *de Sanfac* (I do believe there are not two Gentlemen alive, who have been in more engagements than he and I) and yet he was never hurt that I know of, excepting at the Battail of *St. Denis*: vvherein I have not been so fortunate as he. Now vvhether we came to the place vvhether the Gentleman vvas, vve found the vvall already broken down, and tumbled into the River, and thereupon caused the Pioneers to break down two corners of houses that hindred the passage of the Canon, which presently came to the Wall, thorough which the horses entred the Town, and by the help of the Soldiers we thrust the Canon in after them; which being done *Balazergues* return'd to fetch the other two, which also we brought after the same manner to the place where *Duno* had fill'd the Pipes; so that two hours before day they were ready to Batter, and the Soldiers lodg'd behind the rock to shoot at the Battlements.

The Marechal in the interim had intelligence brought him that *Don Arbro de Cende* was come to *St. Stephe*, within five miles of us, and would march by night to relieve the Castle, which caused the said Marechal to send us word that he was going to possess himself of a mountain of advantage, and to fight him by the way, and that in the mean time we should do the best we could with the six Companies we had in the Abby, and

in

in the Town. The Mareſchal accordingly gain'd the ſaid Mountain by night, and ſet his people in order to defend the paſs.

At the break of day when we had thought to have given fire to the Canon, the Drum of the Caſtle began to beat a Parley. There was a Spaniard Governor there whoſe name was *Don Diego*, as proud a vain-glorious Coxcomb as could walk upon the earth, and ſo he was reputed. *Monſieur de Bonniwet* made the Capitulation, for I was laid to ſleep in the little houſe upon a Matrice the ſaid *Sieur de Bonniwet* had cauſed to be brought thither for himſelf, till I was call'd to ſign the Capitulation, for *Don Diego* knew me, he having been Lieutenant to one of the four Spaniſh Companies the King had when he took the County of Oye. The Mareſchal in the mean time ſent out a party of Horſe to meet *Don Arbro* whom they found upon his retreat, by reaſon he had had notice that the Mareſchal had gain'd the paſs, ſo that about an hour after dinner he return'd back to us, where he found that *Don Diego* with his three Companies, one whereof was Spaniſh, was marcht away two hours before. There were ſeveral who made ſuit to the Mareſchal for the Government of this place, it being very commodiouſly ſituated for the King's ſervice: But *Monſieur de Bonniwet*, and I agreed together to cauſe it to be given to Captain *Richelieu*, who was Lieutenant to one of his Colonel Companies, and accordingly at our requeſt the Mareſchal was pleaſed to confer it upon him, and moreover writ to the King to confirm it, which his Maſteſty did, and *Monſieur de Bonniwet* left with him his Company for ſome time.

Don Diego Governor of *Courteville*.

Are theſe (Captains) I mean the taking of *Lans*, and that of *Courteville* two things fit to be omitted, weigh well I beſeech you all that we did both at the one place and the other, and the account I gave of them both, without truſting to the report of others. And you Princes, and his Maſteſties Lieutenants, do not ſo much fear your ſkins, that you will not ſearch into depth of things. Why have you that great authority, and thoſe noble Commands; to ſit ſtill in your Cloſets? Obſerve how *Monſieur de Briſſac* did; he needed not be importun'd to go to diſcover, but rather to be with-held; he was all bravery and courage. And you that ſhall ſee your ſelves engag'd in a place, learn to be wiſe at the expence of theſe Bragadochio's, who ſurrender at the firſt ſummons, and yet pretend to be *Rowlands*. Whoever is ſtout of his tongue, ought to be doubly tall of his hands. I am very ſure, that if *Don Diego* had ſo pleaſed, he might have found us enough to do: but to loſe a place, and to carry away no honour, either alive or dead, he that put you into it does you manifeſt wrong, if he do not cut off your head. Without all doubt he might have been reliev'd, or at leaſt he ought to have ſtood an aſſault, for we could not have carried it at the firſt push, but it would have coſt us very dear. What pitiful place ſoever you have to defend, if you reſolve to ſtay for the Canon, after it has endured a breach, it is very neceſſary, that he who commands it for his own honor, ſhall alſo abide an Aſſault, if he be not totally unprovided of all things, and have no means to make any entrenchment within.

A few days after the Mareſchal would go take *Seve*, and writ to me to *Alba*, that I ſhould make my ſelf ready, and that he would paſs by *Alba*. So ſoon therefore as he had given me this notice of his departure, and that I ſhould draw three Enſigns out of *Alba* to carry them along with me, I preſently made them ready, and likewise two Culverines, which he had writ for alſo. Waiting then in expectation of his coming, I went in the mean time to *Sarvenal*, which is a little Town about four miles from *Alba* towards the *Langues*, and two other little places upon the ſame Road, where the Enemy had Garrisons, eſpecially at *Sarvenal*, where there were an hundred men ſtrangers. After I had a while batter'd it by the Gate, thoſe within began to parly with me; but in the mean while my people entred by another ſide through a Window with Ladders; ſo that whiſt their Captain was dodging with me about the Capitulation, thoſe within ſaw themſelves taken, and were therefore enforc'd to render themſelves upon diſcretion. The moments of a Parly are always dangerous, and it is then that they ought the beſt to man their walls, to avoid ſurprizes: for *betwixt the Fruit and the Cheeſe*, as the Proverb ſays; at ſuch an unexpected time a great miſchief may be done. I have ſeen many very fooliſhly ſurpriz'd; therefore follow the Italian rule, which is, *No te fidar, & no ſerai inganato: Do not truſt, and thou ſhalt not be deceived*: a leſſon that ought to be very much ſtudied by you Governors of places: for when a woman once endures a Parly, and has patience to hear, farewell Goffip, you have already one foot in the ſtirrup. In like manner when a Town once begins to hearken to a compoſition, you may certainly conclude it for loſt. It is true, that you muſt not then give them leiſure to conſider better of it; for there are certain Catch-dolts, who make a ſhew of parly, but it is only to work their own advantage. If you therefore fear a relief, or that you find your ſelves weak, take them at their word, make uſe of your time,

The Enterpriſe upon *Seve*.

The hours of a Parly dangerous for ſurprizes.

time, and get Hostages betimes if you can. And on the other side, you who would defend a place, of all things take heed you never open your mouths to parly if you have not an intention to surrender, and are not necessitated so to do : for your Enemy presently gets a marvelous advantage by it. 'Tis better the overture be made by some particular person, and it is better becoming the Besiegers than the besieged, though both the one and the other ought to set a good face upon the matter, it will soon be seen who has the worst of the Game. At these times however be sure especially to have an eye to the main chance ; for so soon as ever it is rumour'd, that there is a surrender towards, those within instead of looking after their defence, think, one of saving his money, another his arms, and so forth ; and those without seeing themselves defeated of all hope of Booty, if the Capitulation take effect, will try to shew you a slippery trick ; for then they approach at greater ease to the wall, because of the Truce. Remember then that the hour of a Parly is dangerous.

The situation
of Seve.

The other two little places surrendred upon summons, and sent me their Keys ; and the next day after the Marechal arrived, who was very well pleased with my exploit, and so we march't directly to *Seve*. *Seve* is a little Town very neatly built, and enclosed with a very good wall. A River run either thorough it, or close under the walls, I am not certain which, for I was never there, but when Monsieur de *Bonnivet* and I came to relieve the Marechal, and at this time when we retook it, and then lay there but one night only : for the Marechal sent me back in the morning, because *Don Arbro* with his forces was within five miles of us, and in *Alba* there was only left my Lieutenant, and the half of my Company. Now there is above the Town a Mountain, on the top of which there stands a Church, and in the Rock an Hermitage, the entry into which was over a planck from the Church into the said Rock, and within were Altars for Mass, and a Chamber for the Hermite, but no light into it, save only by the door where you come in, which looks towards the Town ; and they had so order'd the matter, that by pulling in to them the planck, that lay over betwixt the Hermitage and the Church, all the world could not take them. They had also made another Fort on the right hand, at the distance of some twenty paces from this, which they had contriv'd after the manner of a pit, and the Counterscarpes very high ; so that coming upon the Counterscarp, no man could shew so much as a fingers length of his head without being discover'd and kill'd, and they had moreover cast up a Trench that ran along from this Fort to the very body of the Church.

As Signior *Francisco Bernardin* and I, who were for that time *Mareschaux de Camp*, came to encamp near to this place, and being about to lodge the Army, there sallied out two or three hundred men, what out of the Fort, the Trench, and the Church, and furiously charg'd upon us. I had no body with me but Captain *Charry*, with 50 Harquebuzers, and some few horse to Guard us. Wherefore the Baron de *Chipy*, Camp-Master, sent to re-inforce me with 100 Harquebuzers : but I was constrain'd to send him word that he must send me more, for that we were already at it, and very near to one another : at which instant of time Monsieur de *Bonnivet* return'd post from Court, who hearing the skirmish without alighting, said to the Baron de *Chipy*, *Halt here till the Marechal come up, and in the mean time I will go find out Monsieur de Montluc*. The Captains follow'd him, and some Harquebuzers on horse-back, when just as we were embracing, the Enemy came up and charg'd our men, seeing which I said to Monsieur de *Bonnivet*, *Sir for your welcome alight, and let us go charge these people, and beat them back into the Fort* : whereupon every one immediately alighted, and he said to me, *charge you directly upon those who would recover the Fort*, which said he clapt a Target upon his arm, and I catcht up a Halbert, for I ever lov'd to play with that kind of Cudgel, saying to Signior *Francisco Bernardin*, *Camrade, whilst we charge do you make the Quarters* ; to which he replyed, *is that all the reckoning you make of the employment the Marechal has entrusted us withal ? if it be so, I will be a fool for company, and once play the part of a Gascon* ; and so alighted, and went on with me to the charge. He was arm'd with very heavy arms, and moreover age rendred him unweildy of himself, which made him that he could not go so fast as I. At such kind of Banquets my body me thought did not weigh an ounce, and I fancied that I did not touch the ground, I had quite forgot my hip. I then charg'd up straight upon those on that side by the Trench, and Monsieur de *Bonnivet* did as much on his side, so that we thundred them back with such a vengeance, that I past over the Trench pell-mell amongst them, and pursued them, killing all the way as far as the Church. I never laid so about me, nor did so much execution at one time. Those within the Church seeing their people in such disorder, and so miserably cut to pieces, quitted the place, and took a little path that went all along the rock of the Mountain down

down into the Town, where one of my men caught hold of him that carried the Ensign; but he disingaged himself very bravely from him, and leapt into the path, making to the Town as fast as he could trip. I ran after him, but he was too quick for me, as well he might, for he had fear in his heels. The Captain was kill'd, whom they very much esteem'd, and I believe was a man of threescore years old, for he was all over white. They could not all recover the path, which made part of them return back into the Church, where they very bravely defended themselves. They had made a Raveline before the Gate, which we gain'd from them, and then they retreated into the Hermitage, and drew the planck after them like a draw-bridge.

Monsieur de Bonniwet was very roughly handled, for he lost at least twenty of the best men he had, and had above thirty more wounded: for as our people would throw themselves at a venture from the Counterscarp into the Fort, before they could discover the Fort they were knockt 'oth head, and amongst others we lost four of those he had brought with him out of *France*; who came but too soon for them, as also two Basques, as valiant young men as the earth ever bore; I had known them before, but those people have such uncouth names I cannot remember them, which I am very sorry for; but after the loss of so many men the said Monsieur de Bonniwet was constrain'd to leave this Fort, and come to me to the Church.

The Mareschal in the mean time had caused all the Camp to make a halt about a mile off, expecting when Signior *Francisco* and I should bring him the Billets for the Armies Quarters; when hearing no news of the one or the other, he sent a Gentleman to see what was become of us; who found us at the Church, where he told us, that the Mareschal was discontented, and very angry, not knowing where to lodge, nor where the Quarters were made. To whom I then said, *Get you back to him, and tell him that he has made two wise Quarter-Masters, who have thought of nothing but how to quarter him and his Army, but it has been by sending people into another world.* The Gentleman perceiving by this answer that there was nothing done, returned back, it being almost night, so that the Cavalry was constrain'd to draw into a valley on the left hand, and the Infantry into another on the right. The Mareschal himself then came up to us, and could have found in his heart to have been very angry, but seeing what we had done was well enough satisfied, and began to laugh at the Mareschaux de Camp he had made. Signior *Francisco Bernardin* laid the fault upon me, and I again upon him; but the Mareschal said, *I know the white-head was too wise, and therefore it must needs be a Gascon extravagance.*

With the Mareschal came Colonel *Santo Pedro Corso*, and those of the Hermitage ask'd for him, because there were many Corfes amongst them, and the Captain himself who was kill'd at the Gate was one. The Colonel assur'd them of the death of the said Captain, and that if one or two of them would come out, he would shew them his body: Which they did, and the Mareschal was still with us, and staid there all night, for he knew not where to lye, and a great many were laid down, who gave me many a black good-night. After they had seen their Captain dead, they surrendred themselves upon the Colonels word, that they should march away with bag and baggage, whereupon the said Colonel entred the Hermitage with five or six of his own men only, and so soon as the day appear'd they went out, and almost all of them list'd themselves under the said Colonel, sending their Drum to those of the Fort, to let them know that they had surrendred, and that they advised them to do the like; which they likewise did upon the same conditions; for Colonel *Santo Pedro* managed the whole business. We then went down, and presently the Governor surrendred the same, and at the same instant march'd away with those men he had left; and the Mareschal lodg'd himself there with some few only, that the provision might not be devour'd, and to prevent any disorder in the Town. Of which he made Captain *Loup* Governor, having with him four Ensigns of foot, and some Light-horse; which being done he retir'd back by the same way he came, and I (as I have already said) about one of the clock in the afternoon came to *Alba*.

This is all that I did in *Piedmont* worthy remembrance whilst I staid there with the Mareschal de *Brissac*: But if I should give an account of all the skirmishes wherein I have been engag'd, I must have double paper, and especially that of *Andesan*, which was the greatest and most furious skirmish wherein I have ever been; all the foot of two Armies being therein totally engag'd, amongst whom I had no more but four and thirty Soldiers of my own Company, forasmuch as I then lay in Garrison at *Savillan*, and Monsieur de *Termes* would not suffer my Company to go out of the Town. I cover'd all my Soldiers Morrions with yellow Taffata, out of respect to Monsieur de *Termes*, whose that colour was, who for so few men perform'd so great and almost miraculous feats of arms, that whilst any mans memory shall live, who was then alive, the yellow Morrions of *Montluc*

The Hermitage
surrendred.

The Fort sur-
rendred.

The Town sur-
rendred.

Captain *Loup*.

The skirmish
of *Andesan*.

The Skirmish
before Bullen.

What parts are
required to
make up a
complete Of-
ficer.

The Sieur de
Montluc re-
turns into Gas-
cony.

will be talkt of in *Piedmont* : In truth these four and thirty were worth five hundred others, and I have my self an hundred times wondred at what these people did ; I may therefore very well say, it was a little body, but a very good one. I have found that it is of great use to give your Soldiers some particular distinction ; for seeing themselves to be so distinguished and known, it redoubles their courage. I am sure these did very well, and obtain'd for themselves such a mark of reputation, that every one pointed at them as they marcht along, shewing for a wonder the yellow Morrions who had perform'd such noble feats of arms. I have since also been in several other skirmishes, which I will not trouble my Reader withall, for being too tedious : though I cannot forbear making mention of one, which the Baron *de la Garde* may please to remember, when he brought the Gallies, we being then before *Bullen*. The great skirmish was at his landing, which continued for two hours, where the Canon-shot flew so thick that they seem'd volleys of Harquebuzers. I had all the Forces of *Bullen* upon me, notwithstanding which I made one of the bravest and most honourable retreats that man could possibly make. The late Monsieur *de Guise* saw it all, who had no more but five and twenty horse, and therefore could no wayes relieve me ; to do which he must of necessity have come down into the plain, where he would immediately have been swallowed up by the Canon, and no man believ'd that I could possibly have made my retreat without manifest running away ; but I did it alwayes at four Pikes length, often facing about, and must needs say, that I never perform'd any thing from whence I deriv'd more honor than from this action. Monsieur *de Guise* did sufficiently magnifie it, and commended me but too much. But I shall speak no more of these kind of things, and content my self with writing what I perform'd commanding only, wherein such as will do me the honor to read my book may learn something as to the practice of Arms, which is not altogether so easie as is believ'd. Great and commendable parts and qualities are required to the making up of a compleat Captain. It is not all to be hardy and brave, we must have other pieces in our harness besides. Neither will I pretend to be one of the first form of Souldiers ; but being the eldest in this Kingdom, my opinion will nevertheless be allowed a vote in the Chapter, which may serve to enform such as know less than I, and as for the rest they need no Tutor.

I then left *Piedmont* to go home a little to refresh my self, and to take some repose, by reason of a great distemper I was fallen into : but what just occasion soever I might have to ask it, I had nevertheless much ado to obtain leave of Monsieur *de Brissac*, though he at last was pleased to dismiss me, upon my promise speedily to return. At my coming home I found my self honour'd and esteem'd of all the greatest persons of the Country. My name was up, and therefore for one thing I had done they would perswade me I had done four : Report goes evermore encreasing ; and also at this time *Piedmont* was the only Scene in vogue for a Nursery of war. I did not however continue long idle at home, my Masters neither giving me leisure, nor my own disposition enclining me so to do, I having ever propos'd to my self by the way of Arms to arrive to all the degrees of honour, to which man can attain ; and you who are Gentlemen born ought to consider that God has sent you into the world to bear arms for the service of your Prince and Country, and not to hunt the Hare, and follow after Mistresses ; when peace comes you may take your share of pleasures and delights. *Every thing in its due time and season.*

The End of the Second Book.

THE
COMMENTARIES
OF
Messire Blaize de Montluc,
MARESCHAL OF
FRANCE.

The Third Book.



Hilst the War was kept on foot in *Piedmont*, after the manner I have before related, under the conduct of this great Soldier, Monsieur de *Brissac*, who there established so admirable a Military Discipline, that it might with good reason be said to be the best School of War in *Europe*; they did not sleep in *Picardy*, *Champagne*, and *Mets*, which was at this time besieged by the Emperor. There it was that the great Duke of *Guise* acquired immortal glory. I was never more troubled at any thing in my whole life then that I had not the good fortune to see this Siege: but a man

Piedmont the
Nursery of
War.

cannot be in so many places at once. The King, who desired to discompose the Emperor's affairs in *Italy*, prevailed so far by the practices and dexterity of some Cardinals of his party, and of Monsieur de *Termes*, that he made the Inhabitants of *Sienna* to revolt, which is a very beautiful and important City in *Tuscany*, insomuch that the Spanish Garrison which was in it was driven out, and the Citadel raz'd to the ground. So soon as these people had thus shaken off the Spanish yoke, and saw themselves at liberty, having set up the Ensigns of *France*, they were not wanting to themselves in imploring succours and assistance from the King, who accordingly gave the charge thereof to Monsieur de *Strozzy*, (the same who was afterwards Marechal) who by the help and concurrence of the King's confederates and friends in those parts drew some forces into the field, being therein assisted by the Signiors *Cornelio Bentivoglio*, *Fregosa*, and other *Italians*, with the Sieurs de *Termes*, and de *Lansac*; where, though he had all the Forces of the Emperor and the Great Duke of *Florence* to deal withall, he nevertheless carried himself with so much bravery and conduct, as to make head against the Marquis de *Marignano*, who prosecuted the War with might and main. Notwithstanding which Monsieur de *Strozzy* in despite of him took several little Towns belonging to the State of *Sienna*, the particulars whereof I shall not meddle withall, forasmuch as I was not there present: but, by what I have heard, he there performed several very brave exploits: for the Emperor and the Duke of *Florence* desired nothing more, than to drive the King out of *Italy*, out of the apprehension they had, that having got in a foot, he should afterwards skrew in his whole body: But we never yet knew how to husband our Conquests; I know not what we may do hereafter, though I fear that matter will never be mended, at least I see no signs of it yet; God grant I may be mistaken.

Sienna revolts
to the French
the 5th of Au-
gust, 1552.

The Sieur de
Strozzy the
King's Lieute-
nant in the
State of *Sienna*.

Monsieur de *Strozzy* then sent to the King to acquaint him, that it was not possible for him both to keep the field, and to govern in *Sienna* too, and that therefore he most humbly besought his Majesty to make choice of some person in whom he might safely confide to command in the Town, so long as he should continue in the field. The King having received this dispatch, called for the Constable, Monsieur de *Guise*, and the Marechal de

Want of a Go-
vernor in *Sienna*.

A dispute about the nomination of Monsieur de Montluc for the Government of Sienna.

St. André, where he acquainted them with Monsieur de *Strozzy*'s request, desiring them to name each of them one for this employment; for all things past through the hands of these three, and nothing was determin'd without them. All our Kings have ever had this trick, to suffer themselves to be govern'd by some particular men, and perhaps too much, so that it looks sometimes as if they stood in awe of their own subjects. Of these the Constable stood in the highest degree of favour, and was ever more belov'd by the King than any other; he therefore first nam'd his man, Monsieur de *Guise* another, and the Marechal a third. Which having done the King said to them, you have none of you nam'd *Montluc*, to which Monsieur de *Guise* made answer, that it was out of his head, and the Marechal said the same, Monsieur de *Guise* moreover adding, *if you name Montluc I have done, and shall speak no more of him I nominated before*; nor I said the Marechal, who has since related to me the whole debate. The Constable then stood up, and said, that I was by no means proper for this employment, as being too humorous, peevish, and passionate, to which the King made answer, that he had ever observ'd and known me to be peevish and passionate, upon the account of his service only, when I saw him not serv'd so well as he ought to be, and that he had never heard I ever had a quarrel with any one upon my own particular account. Monsieur de *Guise* and the Marechal said also the same, adding moreover that I had already been Governor both of *Montcallier* and *Alba*, without so much as any one man's opening his mouth to complain of my Administration; and that also had I been a person of that temper, the Marechal de *Brissac* would never have lov'd and favour'd me at the rate he did, nor have repos'd so great a confidence in me as he had ever done. The Constable hereupon answered very roundly again, and made good his former objection with great vehemency, and would by all means that the person he had nominated should stand: for he was impatient of being controverted, and more of being over-rul'd; neither indeed did he ever much love me, nor any of his. The Cardinal of *Lorraine* was there present, who may better remember than I, who it was that the Constable nam'd: but (if I be not deceiv'd) it was *Boccal*, who is since turn'd Hugonot: however in the end the King would carry it, having Monsieur de *Guise* and the Marechal de *St. André* on his side, and dispatch't away a Courier to the Marechal de *Brissac* to send me into *Avignon*, where accordingly I staid expecting a Gentleman his Majesty sent to me, who brought my dispatch to go presently away to *Sienna*.

Now the Marechal had some dayes before given me leave to retire to my own house, by reason of a sickness I was fallen into, as I have said elsewhere; who had no mind to do it, as he himself confest to me since; and has done me the honor to tell me, that had he known of what importance the loss of me would have been to him, he would nat have so commended me to the King as he had done, and that in his life he never repented any thing so much as the letting me depart from him, telling me of a great many things wherein he had not been so well served after my departure out of *Piedmont*. Monsieur de *Cossé*, President *Birague*, and several others can witness how oft they have heard him lament my absence, especially when matters did not succeed according to his desire. And if any one will take the pains to consider what I perform'd while I was there under his Command, he will find that what I say is very true, and that he had some reason to regret me. I was alwayes at his feet, and at his head. I will not say nevertheless, that any thing would have been better done for my being there: but however I must needs speak the truth, and there are who can say more if they please.

Advice of the Marechal de *Brissac* to the King concerning his nomination of the Sieur de *Montluc* for the Government of *Sienna*.

The Marechal de *Brissac*'s policy to therein Monsieur de *Montluc*,

He then writ a Letter to the King, and another to the Constable, wherein he sent his Majesty word, that he had made a very ill choice of me to command in *Sienna*, for that I was one of the most cross-grain'd chollerick fellows in the whole world, and such a one as that for half the time I had been with him, he had been necessitated to suffer much from me, knowing my imperfections. That indeed I was very good for the maintaining of discipline and justice in an Army, to command in the field, and to make the Soldiers to fight: but that the humour of the *Stennois* consider'd, it would be fire to fire, which would be the only means to lose that State, which was to be preserv'd by gentleness and moderation. He moreover entreated the Constable to remonstrate as much to the King, and in the mean time dispatcht a Courier to me, who found me very sick, by whom he sent me word, that the King would send me to *Sienna*; but, that as a friend of mine, he advis'd me not to accept of that employment, entreating me not to forsake him, to go serve elsewhere under another, and assuring me withal, that if any Command hapned to be vacant in *Piedmont*, that I had more mind to than what I already had, I should have it; which were all artifices to therein me.

O that a wise Lieutenant of a Province ought to have an eye, and to take heed of losing a man

a man in whom he may absolutely confide, and whom he knows to be a man of valour, and ought to spare nothing that he may keep him; for oftentimes one man alone can do much. You must eat a great deal of Salt with a man before you can rightly know him; and in the mean time you are depriv'd of him with whom you were thoroughly acquainted, in whom you repos'd your trust, and of whose fidelity you have already had sufficient proof. The said Marechal had moreover sent word to the King, that I was in *Gascony* very sick, and in the morning as the Letters were read, the Constable, who was mighty well pleased with the contents, said to the King, *Did not I tell your Majesty as much, you find the Marechal to be of the same opinion, and no man living can know Montluc better than he who has so often seen him at work.* To which the King (who naturally lov'd me, and had ever done so, after he had seen my behaviour at the Camisado of *Bullen*) reply'd, *that although all those of his Council should speak against me, yet should they prevail nothing by it: for it was his nature to love me, and that he would not alter his election let them all say what they would.* Monsieur de Guise then spake and said, *here is a letter very full of contradictions: for in the first place the Marechal de Brissac says that Montluc is cross-grain'd and cholerick, and that he will never suit with the Siennois, but will ruine your service if you send him thither; and on the other side commends him for qualities that are required in a man of command, to whom the trust of great things is to be committed: for he speaks him to be a man of an exact discipline, and great justice, and fit to make the Soldiers* Cholerick men the best. *fight in great Enterprizes and Executions; and who ever saw a man endued with all these good qualities, that had not a mixture of Choller amongst them? Such as are indifferent whether things go well or ill may indeed be without passion, and as to the rest, since Sir your Majesty has your self made the Election, I humbly conceive you ought not revoke it.* The Marechal de St. Andre' spake next, and said, *Sir, what the Marechal de Brissac complains of, you may easily correct, by writing to Montluc, that your self having made choice of his person above all others for this employment, he must for your sake as much as he can govern his passion, having to do with such a fickle-headed people as those of Sienna.* To which the King made answer, *that he did not fear but that after he had writ me a letter, I would do as he should command me;* and immediately thereupon dispatcht away a Courier to me to my own house, by whom he sent me word, that although I should be sick, I must nevertheless put my self upon my way to go directly to *Marseilles*, where I should meet my dispatch, and should there embark my self with the *Germans* that the *Rhinoceros* brought, and ten Companies of *French* foot, to which place he would also send me money for my journey, and that I must for a while leave my passion behind me in *Gascony*, and a little accommodate my self to the humor of that people. The Courier found me at *Agen* very sick, and under the Physicians hands, notwithstanding which I told him, that in eight dayes I would begin my journey, which I did, and verily thought I should have dyed at *Tholouse*, from whence by the advice of the Physicians I was to return back again, which I would not do: but caus'd my self to be hall'd along as far as *Montpellier*, where I was again advised by the Physicians to go no further, they assuring me that if I ventur'd to proceed on my journey I should never come alive to *Marseilles*: but whatever they could say, I was resolv'd to go on so long as life lasted, come on't what would, when just as I was going away there came another Courier from the King to hasten me, and from day to day I recovered my health in travelling; so that when I came to *Marseilles* I was without comparison much better than when I parted from my own house.

Cholerick Captains more valiant than others.

In plain truth the King my good Master had reason to defend my cause, for my choler was never prejudicial to his service, it has indeed been sometimes prejudicial to my self and some others, who would not avoid nor comply with my humour. I never lost Place, Battail, nor Rencontre, nor ever was the occasion of losing any one of his Subjects; my choler never so far transported me as to do any thing prejudicial to his service, and if it be violent and prompt, it is the sooner gone: I have ever observ'd that such people are better to be employ'd than any other, for they have no malice in them, nor no dangerous reservations, and if they be more suddain, they are also more valiant than those who by their moderation would appear to be more wise: but leaving this discourse I shall return to my voyage.

At my coming to *Marseilles* I found that the Baron de la Garde was already departed with the Army to go to *Argiers*, there to prevail with the King of *Argier* to convoy him with his Fleet, forasmuch as the said Baron had been advertized, that Prince *Auria* lay waiting for him with a great Navy to intercept him by the way; and the Kings Fleet of it self was not strong enough to undertake him, which was the reason that we delayed the time for a few days. So soon then as the Baron arrived, having the *Argier* Fleet with him, we embarkt our selves at *Toulon*, and by the way met eight or nine Vessels laden with Corn, The Siege of Sienna was in the year 1555. The Baron de la Garde. that

The Prior of
Capua slain.

that came out of *Sicily*, and was going for *Spain*, which the Baron caused to be set on fire, excepting two that he took along with him for the support of his Army, and so went on to *Port-Hercule*, at which place we could not possibly land, forasmuch as the Marquis de *Marignano* lay with his Camp near unto the way by which we were of necessity to pass to go to *Sienna*. We were therefore constrain'd to reembark our men, and to fall back, to land with greater safety, near to *Escarlin*, where Monsieur de *Strozzy* lay with his Camp. We there heard news that the Prior of *Capua* had but two days before been slain in viewing *Escarlin*, which was a very great loss, he being as brave a man as liv'd, both by land and sea, and a true Servant of the Kings. He was Brother to Monsieur de *Strozzy*, and it was said, was kill'd by the hand of a Peasant, that fir'd a Harquebuz at him from behind a Bush. Behold what a sad misfortune this was, that so great a Captain should perish by the hand of a Rascal with his fire stick. And so we marcht on to *Bonconvent*, Monsieur de *Strozzy* going always a little before us for conveniency of victual, and there all the Army joyn'd together.

The Skirmish
before *Sienna*.

Before the *Germans* and the *French* arriv'd at the said *Bonconvent*, Monsieur de *Strozzy* went out in the morning before, with the three thousand *Grisons* (of which Monsieur de *Fourcavaux* was Colonel) and the *Italians*, to make room for the *Germans* and *French* who had need to lye and rest an hour or two. I went over night to wait upon Monsieur de *Strozzy*, and in the morning departed with him, that I might come betimes to *Sienna*; where we found Monsieur de *Lansac*, who at our coming treated Monsieur de *Strozzy*, Monsieur de *Fourcavaux* and me at dinner. At the coming up of the *Grisons* and *Italians* there hapned a great skirmish at *St. Bonde*, a Monastery of Nuns near unto *St. Mark* another Monastery of *Religieux*. The Marechal de *Marignano* lay with his Camp at the Palace of *Diau*, which is upon the road to *Florence*, within a little mile of *Sienna*, and this very morning had rais'd his Camp to go to *St. Bonde*, there to assault Captain *Bartolmeo de Pesera*, whom Monsieur de *Strozzy* with his Company had quartered at that place. The said Marquis had left his *Italians* at the said Palace of *Diau*, and taken all his *Spaniards* and *Germans* along with him, and as we were at dinner the skirmish began very brisk and round at *St. Bonde*. The *Grisons* and *Italians* halted at *la Palassot*, half a mile from *Sienna*, and our *Italians* also, by the command of Monsieur de *Strozzy*, to the end that he might both the sooner determine where he should lodge the Army, and also because he would, that before they should be lodg'd, the *Germans* and the *French* should be come up, that they might all at once sit down in their Quarters: but before we had made an end of dinner, we heard some little pieces go off at *St. Bonde*, that the Marquis had thither taken along with him. At which I said to Monsieur de *Strozzy*, Sir, the skirmish grows very loud, and is mixt with Artillery, they will deprive you of Captain *Bartolmeo de Pesera*, pray let us go see what they are doing; to which he replyed, let us go then, and we must go however to see where we are to lodge the Camp. Monsieur de *Lansac* lent me a gray Turk, for I had not brought my horses by sea; and I then asked Monsieur de *Strozzy* if he were pleased that I should go see what the business was, whilst he with Messieurs de *Lansac* and de *Fourcavaux* went to take order about lodging the Camp? to which he answered, with all his heart; and so we went out at the Port *St. Mark*. I went then directly to the place where the skirmish was, and they a little on the right hand to see where they should lodge the Army. So soon as I was on the other side the Tresse, where the skirmish was, I there found not so much as one Captain; so that the skirmish lookt like a very disorderly business, and the Enemy had got the advantage of our people; for they had drawn them from the little hills near unto *St. Bonde*, and driven them to the Meadows that lye upon the banks of the River *Tresse*. At my arrival I askt for the Captains, but met not one that own'd that title, from whence a great disorder ensu'd: but upon the instant I saw one coming upon a gray horse, and gallopt presently up to him, to ask him if he was a Captain or no, who told me he was; I then askt him his name, to which he made answer, *Io mj chiamo Marioul de Santa Fiore*, and I said to him. Signior Capitano Io mj chiamo Montluco audiamo enemis, Now all the Army had already heard that I was coming with the recruits; so that though we had never seen one anothers faces before, yet we knew one another well enough by our names. I entreated him then to rally his men, and give a charge upon the Enemy, to beat them back again up the Hill, which he did, and we accordingly drave them up to the very top. In the mean while the skirmish extended it self all along the ridge of a Hill, and by the Vineyards directly to the *Palassot*, which is a little Palace, behind which were the *Grisons*, and on the back of the Mountain a little further the Artillery playd, which the Marquis had brought to *St. Bonde*. There all the *Italian* Captains, and Signior *Cornelio Bentivoglio*, who was there Colonel, were at the corner of the Vineyards looking towards *St.*

Bonde,

Captain Marioul
de Santa
Fiore.

Bonde and *St. Mark*, behind a little Oratory, by which they were covered from the Canon ſhot.

Now betwixt *la Pallafſot* and the little Oratory it might be about three hundred paces, and Signior *Marſoul* and I ſo ruffled the Enemy, that we drave the ſkirmiſh all along the ridge of the Vineyards directly upon them: I had brought with me Captain *Charry*, who was my Lieutenant at *Alba*, with thirty good Soldiers, almoſt all Gentlemen, who would by no means be left behind with my brother Monsieur de *Lieux*, to whom the King had given the government of *Alba*, at the humble requeſt of Monsieur de *Valence* my Brother, and I had preferred in his behalf. About which there hapned a very great diſpute, for the Mareſchal de *Briffac* deferr'd to accept him till he had firſt had an answer from me; who ſo ſoon as he underſtood the King's reſolution to ſend me to *Sienna*, he ſent me another Courier, entreating me not to quit the Government of *Alba*, and that I might name, either my own Lieutenant, or any other to command in the place till my return, aſſuring me that he would accept whomſoever I ſhould appoint; and in the mean time would take care that my pay ſhould be kept for me, ſo that I ſhould not loſe ſo much as a denier; adviſing me withal to conſider, that the Command the King gave me at *Sienna* would not be of ſo long continuance as that of *Alba*. But I moſt humbly beſought him to approve of my Brother, aſſuring him that he would be as much his affectionate ſervant as I was, and that if it ſhould pleaſe God I ever return'd from *Sienna*, I ſwore to come and find him out, and to ſerve him in the condition of a private Soldier, though the King ſhould not pleaſe to conferre any command upon me, that I might have the honor to be near his perſon. Now to give you an account of the humour of the Mareſchal, I will ſay and maintain, that he was one of the braveſt Gentlemen, and the beſt Maſters that has been theſe fifty years in *France*, for ſuch as he knew to be zealous and affectionate to the King's ſervice; and if Prefident *Birague* will lay his hand upon his heart, he will ſwear the ſame. He was a man that had evermore a greater regard to another man's profit than his own, a man could never loſe any thing by him, but every man had his ſhare both of advantage and honor, and as to the reſt, he lov'd and honor'd a worthy man, even to the meaneſt Soldier. The beſt men he knew by their names, and would give ear to the advice of all, without relying too much upon his own head-piece as Monsieur de *Lautrec* was too much inclin'd to do. But to return to the Skirmiſh, I found at the Oratory Signior *Cornelio*, and Colonel *Charamont*, whom I had not before ſeen, ſince my arrival. Betwixt the ſaid Oratory and *la Bonde* there is a great High-way, and by the ſide of it two little houſes, ſome ten or twelve paces diſtant from one another. In this High-way we gave the Enemy a charge, and gain'd from them the two houſes, into one of which Captain *Charry* put himſelf, and our *Italians* into the other, they there continued about three quarters of an hour, almoſt alwayes fighting, inſomuch that the Marquis ſent thither all his Spaniſh Harquebuzers, and even the *Italians* who were at their Fort of *St. Mark*, and planted fix Enſigns of Spaniſh foot upon the great High-way to maintain the fight. Now the hotteſt of the ſkirmiſh was on the right hand, and on the left amongſt the Vines, ſo that the Cavalry could do nothing. Signior *Cornelio* then by the advice of his Captains was about to retire, when I remonſtrated to him that he muſt by no means offer to ſtir, till firſt he had ſome horſe, and alſo the *Griſons* to make good his retreat, to whom I would preſently go, and entreat them to come up half way betwixt the *Pallafſot* and the Oratory, and would likewise go to requeſt the ſame of the Count de *la Miranda*, who was Colonel of the horſe, and had halted in a Valley behind a little Wood near unto *la Pallafſot*; which they approv'd of very well; and ſo I preſently ran to the *Griſons*, entreating them to advance but two hundred paces only; but the Colonel that commanded under Monsieur de *Fourcavanx* would by no means be perſwaded to it. I then ſpurr'd up to the Count, and pray'd him to ſend out four Cornets of horſe, which he preſently did, and they were the Count de *Pontavala*, *Cornelio*, *Joby*, the Baron de *Rabat*, and my Nephew *Serillac*, who commanded the Company of Monsieur de *Cipierre*. Now as the Cornets were advancing at a good round gallop, I ſaw Signior *Cornelio*, who at the importunity of his Captains was again begining to retire, and preſently ran to him, remonſtrating that the fix Enſigns were upon their march, and that they were *Spaniards*, whoſe colours being ſo large, it was a ſign the Marquis was there in perſon with all his Army, who would infallibly charge him ſo ſoon as ever he ſhould begin to deſcend the Hill, entreating him therefore to return back to the ſame place, which he did, being departed from it not above thirty paces. I then return'd to the Cornets, and ſtopt them in the mid-way betwixt the *Pallafſot* and the Oratory, which having done, I once more went to the *Griſons*, who after I had made them ſenſible of the danger we were in to loſe all the Officers, aroſe and began to ſtrike up their Drums,

The Sieur de
Lieux Govern-
nor of *Alba*.

Charaſter of
the Mareſchal
de *Briffac*.

Drums, and marcht up close by the Horse. The Marquis seeing the Cavalry and the *Grisons* begin to appear in the field, thought it now convenient to withdraw his six Ensigns out of the great High-way; there was not one Officer of ours on horseback but my self and Signior *Marioul*, who never stirred from my side, so that I could plainly see all the Enemy did: I then said to Signior *Cornelio*, *Look you Sir, the Spanish Ensigns having discovered our Cavalry, and the Grisons are facing about, now charge them home, for now it is time*: which being said, Signiour *Marioul* alighted, and clapt a Target to his arm, having his sword in his hand; I then said to Captain *Charry*, *that he was now to shew what he had ever been, and must let these strangers see what a Gascon could do, bidding him be sure to charge in before them all*. Monsieur de *Fourcavaux* had brought four hundred Italian Harquebuzers from *Parma*, very brave men, who were drawn up close by the Oratory (for my part) I will not make my self more valiant than I am, for I alighted not, I already began to play the King's Lieutenant, and we divided the men to the right and left, all along a great High-way, and there we made our charge, which was a brave one, if ever any was, and such that we drave them as far as a descent on the left hand of *St. Bonde*, where the Marquis stood with the remainder of his *Spaniards* and *Germans*, and being the *Spaniards* stood just upon the edge of the ascent, those who were put to flight rusht quite through them, and both one and the other ran full drive upon the *Germans*. The Marquis who saw the torrent of this disorder coming upon him, began, as well as he could, to retire by a Valley, without sound of Trumper, or beat of Drum. Those who were come out of *St. Marks*, retreated also in very great haste, carrying off with them the four little pieces with which they had batter'd *St. Bonde*, into their Fort. The Marquis told me after, when I came out of *Sienna*, as he accompanied me two miles from the Town, that had we follow'd the pursuit we had put all his Army to flight, and given him a total defeat: but we were not aware of his disorder; we thought our selves very happy, that we had come off so good cheap; and our Enemies thought themselves happier than we.

The *Germans* are eating and drinking in the midst of the skirmish.

Monsieur de *Strozzy*, who was in a Valley on the other side the Port *St. Mark*, as he was consulting with Messieurs de *Lansac* and de *Fourcavaux* about the situation of the Camp, heard very well that there was a very great skirmish; but he knew that all the Captains were there, and that I was also gone thither; neither did they ever imagine it had been half so sharp as it was; but in the end hearing it grow so loud, they left all and came galloping to us; yet could they not come time enough to the charge, which the said Monsieur de *Strozzy* was very much troubled at, and something discontented that no notice had been given him of the fight, and Monsieur de *Fourcavaux* was the same, forasmuch as the *Grisons*, of which he was the chief Officer, were come up just to fight, and that his Harquebuzers had fought. But I excus'd it to them both, telling them that I had never a horse-man with me, but Signior *Marioul*, and that he was too brave a Gentleman to leave the skirmish, having besides three or four Ensigns under his command, wherefore it had not been possible for me to send them word. Now Monsieur de *Strozzy* at his rising from dinner had sent away Signior *Roberto* his Brother in all haste, to cause the *French* and *Germans* to advance, which he did, and found the *Germans* beginning to drink, and consequently could not suddainly get them from the Tables; for the said Signior de *Strozzy* had caused meat to be set ready for them upon the great High-way, which had he not done they had held on their march, and just in the nick had come into the heat of the fight, and so the Battail had been won; but we must say with the *Italian*. *Fa me indevino, & io ti daro denari*. This was that which was done the first day that I arriv'd at *Sienna*, where I so signaliz'd my self to the *Siennois*, and all the Italian Captains, that knew me not before, as purchased me a very great esteem, both with the Inhabitants of the City and the whole Army; for by running up and down amongst the foot now here, now there, ordering these on the one side, and those on the other, I gave them to understand that this was not the first skirmish by a hundred wherein I had been engag'd.

A Consultation held at *Sienna* about fighting a Battail.

The Marechal then lodg'd his Camp betwixt *Porto Novo* and *Porto Tuffo*, in the beautiful Suburbs that are there, and not only there, for I dare boldly say, that if the Suburbs of *Sienna* had stood altogether, they would have been bigger than the City; for in the Suburbs were more goodly Palaces, and finer Churches and Monasteries than there were in the body of the Town. The next morning Monsieur de *Strozzy* carried us up to that part of the wall looking towards the Enemies Camp, where we fell into consultation, whether or no it were good to hazard a Battail; and there the opinions were various, some thinking it the best, and others conceiving it not convenient so to do. Those who were of opinion that we ought not to fight objected, that we could not go to the Palace

Palace of *Diau*, without paſſing cloſe by a little Fort the Marquis had made, betwixt the little obſervance and the aforeſaid Palace, where there was three or four pieces of great Artillery (as it was true), and that leaving that behind, we ſhould alſo leave our own Fort of *Camolia* naked of defence. I then propounded that for any harm the Artillery of the little Fort could do us, we could paſs by a little before day, and might leave an Enſign or two to bridle the little Fort from daring to ſally out, and as for the Fort of *Camolia*, we could leave three or four Companies of the City to keep them likewise in aw, and that I on my part with the reſt of the Forces of the City would go out by *Porto Fontebrandes*, and ſhould by break of day be got to the top of a little Mountain, ready to preſent my ſelf in the Plain at ſo opportune a time, that juſt as our Camp ſhould appear near to theirs, I ſhould at the ſame inſtant be got ſo near them, that they muſt of neceſſity enter into ſome apprehenſion, to ſee us come the one on the one ſide, and the other on the other.

The Sieur de Montluc's advice.

The *Siennes* made account that they could draw four thouſand good men out of the Town. There were ſome who approv'd of my propoſal, and of the *Siennes* alſo which was to fight; and others were of a contrary opinion. The Game could not be plaid without being luſtily diſputed, for the Marquis had three Tertia's of *Spaniards*, namely that of *Sicily*, that of *Naples*, and that of *Corſica* (which we call Regiments) the two firſt compoſed of old Soldiers, and that of *Corſica* of new-raiſed men (wherein nevertheless there were very good Soldiers) together with two Regiments of *Germans*, each of them containing twelve Enſigns, and four or five thouſand *Italians*. As to the Cavalry I think ours would have beaten theirs, for we had very good Officers, and very brave Light-horſe; and for the reſt, our Army conſiſted of ten Enſigns of *Germans*, ten of *Griſons*, fourteen of *French*, and betwixt five and ſix thouſand *Italians*. Of all this day Monsieur de *Strozzy* could not reſolve what to do, by reaſon of the diverſity of opinions, nevertheless I think he was reſolv'd the next day to have fought them; for the *Siennes* were ſtark mad of fighting, and I do believe fighting for their liberty would have play'd the devils: But the Marquis either had ſome knowledge of his intent, or elſe his deſign was not to ſtay any longer there; for he departed an hour before day in the morning; ſo that had God inspir'd Monsieur de *Strozzy*, that he had this day gone out to fight, we had in the morning found them all diſlodg'd, and had fought them upon their retreat, and in diſorder: but I muſt repeat what I ſaid before, *Fa me inde vino, & io ti daro denari*.

The Forces of the Marquis of Marignan.

The French Forces.

The Marquis de Marignan diſlodges his Camp.

The Marquis took the way towards *Mauchaut*, where the Mareſchal had left four Enſigns, or elſe the Marquis held it, who went to another place hard by, and Monsieur de *Strozzy* directly to *Mauchaut*, I do not certainly remember whether: but ſo it was that their Camps lay eight or nine days within ſeven or eight miles of one another, the one going to take ſome place, and the other following after to relieve it. Nevertheless the Marquis at laſt arrived before *Mauchaut*, and began to batter either to take or re-take it. I was not there, for I ſtaid behind at *Sienna*, according to the King's intention, and in relation to my command; yet had it not been for a ſickneſs that I began to fall into, I do believe Monsieur de *Strozzy* would have taken me along with him, and have left Monsieur de *Lanſac* Governor, as before; but in the end, as Monsieur de *Strozzy* march't away, Monsieur de *Lanſac* took his way towards *Rome*, to acquit himſelf of his Commiſſion of Ambaſſador. So ſoon as the Marquis was ſenſible of Monsieur de *Strozzy's* coming, he gave place, and drawing off his Artillery, plac't himſelf a little on the right hand, at the diſtance of a hundred and fifty or two hundred paces from the Town, where he made his advantage of two or three little Mountains, under which he entrencht himſelf on that ſide by the Fountains. Monsieur de *Strozzy* then came and encamp't his Army all along a hollow way that there was betwixt the Marquis and the Town. Now Monsieur de *Strozzy* plac't himſelf ſo near in deſign to fight the Marquis, if he could once tempt him out of his Trenches, and there they lay ſeven or eight days to ſee which ſhould firſt diſlodge. The Marquis knew very well, that in caſe he ſhould firſt move, Monsieur de *Strozzy* would infallibly fight him; and therefore would by no means be drawn to do it, being expreſſly forbid to put any thing to hazard, as we were after told by *Don Juan de Luna* himſelf, who was preſent with the Marquis at that time, and in his own perſon, a very brave *Spaniard*.

Monsieur de Lanſac goes Ambaſſador to Rome.

Don Juan de Luna.

Now betwixt the two Camps there was no more than the breadth of one little field, and that not above fifty paces over, wherein there daily hapned skirmiſhes betwixt the foot of both Armies, and ſo diſadvantageous to us, that we always came off with the worſe, by reaſon of the Artillery the Marquis had planted upon the three forementioned little Mountains; ſo that Monsieur de *Strozzy* loſt more men by their Canon than by their ſmaller ſhor. The ſaid Sieur de *Strozzy* was poſſeſt of one Fountain only, upon which

The French
very much an-
noy'd by the
Enemies Ca-
non.

which the Artillery from one of the Mountaints continually playd, and kill'd a great many men; so that they were constrain'd to fetch all their water by night; neither could he ever draw up his Cavalry into Battalia, but that the great shot did great execution upon them, and I was told that in three or four dayes time he had above sixscore men and horses kill'd, insomuch that our Cavalry was infinitely discourag'd, and the foot also very much baffled and out of heart. Notwithstanding all which Monsieur de Strozzy persisted obstinate not to remove his Quarters, and that both out of the hope he had that the Marquis would first dislodge, and give him an opportunity to fight him, as also out of punctilio, that he would not give him that advantage, as the first to forsake his ground. Both the one and the other of these Generals had mettle enough, and both of them had glory in their prospect: but it is better to do one's Masters business, than to stand upon nicities of honor; I mean if there be no manifest shame in the case.

The Sieur de
Montluc's ad-
vice to Mon-
sieur de Stroz-
zy upon his re-
solution to re-
treat in the
face of the E-
nemy.

Retreats at the
head of an Ar-
my dangerous.

Thom. d'Albene
the cause of
Monsieur de
Strozzy's mis-
fortune.

The Sieur de
Montluc sick.

Monsieur de Strozzy every day sent an account of all he did, both to me and to the Senat, as we also met every day in Council to debate upon what he writ to us, and I every hour advis'd, and entreated him not to consume his Forces with continual loss, which would encourage the Enemies Soldiers, and dishearten his own: the Lords of the Senate likewise counsel'd him the same; but he had so passionate a desire to fight with the Marquis, that that longing alone blinded his judgment, and depriv'd him of the knowledge of his daily loss. I dy'd with desire to go to him, but the Senate would by no means consent unto it: at last he writ me word, that within two dayes he would retire in the face of the Enemy, directly to *Lusignano*, whereupon I immediately dispatcht away a Gentleman to him, who was present when the Letter came, called the Sieur de *Lescussan*, by him entreating and conjuring him not to make his retreat by day, since the loss in the skirmishes had hapned on his side (for by ill fortune our people had lost more the two last dayes, than of all the time before,) and that whoever might advise him to the contrary, I begg'd of him to be rul'd by me, and to retire by night, for it was no more than two miles to *Lusignano*; beseeching him withall to remember that King *Francis* had retreated from before *Landrecy* after this manner, and was so far from being condemn'd for so doing, that on the contrary he was highly applauded for it, and it was lookt upon by all the Princes and Potentates of Christendome for the most prudent thing he ever did; yet had he sustain'd no loss by skirmishes. I gave him moreover to understand, that hitherto I had never seen a good retreat made after this manner, neither by Friend nor Enemy, if they who made it were closely pursued. I further represented to him the retreat that Messieurs de *Montegean* and de *Boissy* would make at *Brignolles*, who would not be perswaded to retire without seeing the Enemy, for all the Captains who were present with them could do or say, which was the cause they were defeated within less than half a mile of their Quarters. I also set before him the exemple of Monsieur d' *Annebaut*, at that time Marechal of *France*, at *Theroanne*, of Monsieur d' *Aussan* at *Carignan*, and several others: and that since so great a Prince, and so great a Soldier, as King *Francis* was, had by all the world been commended for that discreet way of proceeding, he ought to take him for his president, considering also that so many valiant Leaders had lost themselves in retreating at the head of an Army; and that by such a loss (if it should so unhappily fall out) he might guess what would become of the City of *Sienna*. In short Monsieur de *Lescussan* brought me word, that once Monsieur de Strozzy was resolv'd to do it after this sort, and had it not been for one unlucky fellow called *Thomas d'Albene* he had with him, he had retreated after the manner I advis'd: but as there are some men in the world, whom God has appointed to do good, so has he created others to do mischief, as he did this *Thomas*; for he represented to Monsieur de Strozzy so many things, and so preach't what a dishonor it would be to him to steal away by night, that in the end he made him to alter his determination; who thereupon sent me word that he was resolv'd to make his retreat in the face of the Enemy: Whereas before, to let me see that he was resolv'd to follow my advice, he had at one of the clock in the night sent away two pieces of Canon he had with him straight to *Lusignano*; at which place I do believe they were already arriv'd (for it was but two little miles) before he altered his resolution. It was four of the clock in the morning before Monsieur de *Lescussan* parted from him, who brought me his determination, and arriv'd at seven of the clock in the morning *a la mode de France*. This hapned to be in *August*, and presently I sent to the Senate, desiring them all to meet me at the Palace, for that I had something of importance to deliver them, which they did. Now my sickness was still more and more encreast upon me, and was at last turn'd into a continued Feavor, with a Flix, notwithstanding which about nine of the clock I came to the Palace, where I began a Speech to them in Italian, which I spoke better then than I can write it now, which is one rea-
son

son why I have here set it down in French, as also to the end that the Gentlemen of *Gascony*, who few of them understand that Language, and shall read my Book, as I am confident they will, may not be put to the trouble to have it interpreted to them. I very well remember what I said, and do truly believe I do not miss ten words, for my discourse was only what was dictated to me by nature, without any help of Art.

"Gentlemen, I have requested you to this Assembly, that I might remonstrate to you four things, which I conceive to be very important to your conservation, and have been moved so to do, by reason that Monsieur de *Strozzy* has this night sent me word by Monsieur de *L'Escuffan* of the resolution he has taken this morning to retreat in open day to *Lusignano*, in the very face of his Enemy. You all know very well what persuasions and intreaties we have used, that he would take heed of retreating after this manner, and particularly what arguments and examples I laid before him by the said Sieur de *L'Escuffan*, which he relisht very well at first, and was once resolv'd to do as King *Francis* did before *Landrecy*; nevertheless, by I know not what misfortune, he suffers himself to be carried away by a man he has with him, one *Thomas d'Albene*, who has made him alter his determination, by making him believe that to retreat by night would be dishonourable to him: God grant the ill counsel of this man do not prove dishonourable and ruinous both to him and to you also. Now Gentlemen, whilst we are in expectation what will be the issue of this Battail, I have four things to remonstrate to you. The first, and which most nearly concerns you, is, that you will please to call to mind, that you are Sovereigns in your own Republick, that your Predecessors from Father to Son have left you this honorable Title: that this War aims at nothing but the ruine of that Sovereignty; for if the Enemy remain victorious, you are to hope for no other, than from Sovereigns to be converted into Subjects, and Slaves; and that therefore it is much better for you to die with your arms in your hands in the defence of this honorable Title, than tamely to part with your Birth-right, and to outlive the loss of your Priviledges and Liberty with shame and infamy. The second is, that you will consider the friendship the King my Master has towards you, who pretends to no other advantage from you, than that your amity be reciprocal to his, and that since he has generously taken you into his protection, you will have this confidence in him, that he will never forsake you: for should you go less in your resolution for one little blow of fortune, consider with what contempt the whole world will look upon you; there is not a Prince upon the earth that will aid and assist you, should they once discover you to be a mutable and irresolute people. For all these considerations therefore I beseech you to continue firm and constant, and approve your selves magnanimous and faithful in adversity, when you shall hear news of the loss of the Battail, which I very much fear you will soon do, considering the resolution Monsieur de *Strozzy* has taken, though God of his goodness divert the misfortune. The third is, that you will consider in what a height of reputation your forefathers liv'd and dy'd, which also they have left you to inherit, that you may for ever carry the name of the most valiant and warlike people of all *Italy*, and have moreover left behind them honorable memory of the Battails they have won of those of their own Nation. You also derive your selves from the ancient warlike *Romans*, and pretend to be their true legitimate Sons, giving their ancient arms, which is the Wolf with *Romulus* and *Remus*, Founders of their proud City, the Metropolis of the World. I therefore most earnestly beseech you Gentlemen, that you will call to mind who you are, and what your Progenitors have ever been; which title of honor should you once lose, what a shame and infamy would it be to your famous Ancestors, and what cause will your children have to curse the hour that ever they were descended of such Fathers, who have abandon'd their Liberty, to submit their necks to the yoke of servitude and subjection? The fourth thing I have to trouble you withal is to remonstrate to you, that as I have an entire confidence, you will manifest your valour and vertue upon this occasion, you in order thereunto will suddainly think of making provision of all things necessary to the conservation of your City; for the Battail I already give you for lost, not that it will nevertheless proceed from any default in Monsieur de *Strozzy*, but from the losses we have sustain'd in the several skirmishes that have been fought before *Mauchaut*, it being impossible by reason thereof, but that our people must be mightily Crest-fallen and dejected, and those of the Enemy in greater heart and courage. 'Tis an effect of victory to be exalted, and fear is the issue of misfortune and disgrace; neither do the little losses in skirmishes, which are the usual forerunners of a Battail, ever portend any thing but disaster and ruine. On the other side also, those who retire must of necessity shew their backs

The Sieur de Montluc's Harangue to the people of *Sienna*.

The Sieur de Montluc praises the loss of the Battail.

Monsieur de Montluc is a little mistaken in this point, for the *Siennois* are not descended from the ancient *Romans* but from the *Gauls*.

Fear ever ac-
companies a
Retreat.

The Battail of
Gance.

“to the Enemy; where, although they often face about, yet must they still make for-
wards, where it will be impossible but they must meet with some hedge or ditch, o-
ver which they must of necessity pass in disorder; for upon a Retreat every one will
“strive to be foremost, because fear and terror are the ordinary concomitants of those
“who would retire; and for never so little disorderly haste they shall make all will be
lost, if the Enemy have but half the courage that men should have. Remember (Gentle-
men) the Battail that *Hannibal* gain’d of the *Romains* at *Cannae* near to *Rome*. The
“*Romans* who were at home in the City never suspected it possible that their people
“should be beaten, and therefore made no kind of provision, nor took any order in
“their affairs; so that when news came of the defeat, they were strook into so great a
“terror, that the Gates of *Rome* remain’d for three dayes and three nights wide open;
“not a man so much as daring to go shut them; so that had *Hannibal* pursued his vi-
“ctory, he might without any opposition have entred the City; as *Titus Livie* reports
“in his History. Therefore (Gentlemen) give present order for the securing of your Gates,
“and appoint men to guard them, which you must also choose out of those of best re-
“pute for the bravest and most faithful amongst you: In the next place cause procla-
“mation to be made throughout the City, that all those who have Corn or Meal at the
“Mills, shall make haste to get their Corn ground, and bring it all into the City. Cause
“also all those who have grain, or any other sorts of provision in the Villages immediately
“to fetch it into the Town, upon penalty of having it burnt, or put to sack if by to mor-
“row night it be not all brought within the walls; and all this to the end that we may
“have wherewith to support our selves, and maintain the Siege till the succours the King
“will send us shall arrive; for he is not so inconsiderable a Prince, but that as he has had
“the power to send you these aids that are already come, he is yet able to send you more;
“and moreover command your three Standard-bearers to have all their Companies in a
“readiness at the beat of Drum. My Fever pressing upon me, I am constrain’d to retire to
“my lodging, in expectation of such news as God shall please to send us, and you I hope
“in the mean time will take present order about such things as I have put you in mind
“of, in which assurance, for the service of the King my Master, and particularly your
“own, I make you a tender not only of the little experience God has given me, but more-
“over of my life for the defence of your City, and the antient priviledges thereof.

Monsieur de
Strozzy de-
feated the 3d
of August
1555.

Thus then I departed from them, who immediately resolv’d to have patience in what
fortune soever God should be pleased to send them, and to eat to their very children;
before they would for any misfortune that should befall them, depart from the Amity
and Protection of the King of *France*. I perceived both by their countenance and their
speeches, that they were a people very well resolv’d to defend their liberty, and to pre-
serve inviolate the friendship they had promised and sworn to me. A resolution at which
indeed I was mightily well pleased. They immediately then caused proclamation to
be made, upon which every one ran to the field to fetch in what they had, and about
five a clock in the Evening arrived Captain *Cambas*, Camp-Master to the French Infantry,
who came to bring me news that the Battail was lost, and Monsieur de *Strozzy* wounded
to death, whom they had laid upon Poles to carry him to *Montalzin*, and that that very
night all those of the Army who had escap’d the Battail would be at the Gates of *Sienna*.
I leave any one to judge what a condition I was in, being sick of a Fever and a Dissente-
ry, seeing our General dead, or what was as bad, it being not above fourteen or fifteen
dayes since I arrived in this Republick, not having any acquaintance with any one person
in the City, and consequently not knowing who were good Frenchmen, and who were
not. Time is requir’d to the knowledge of men. Monsieur de *Strozzy* had left me but
five Italian Companies, of which I did not know so much as one Captain, and those he
had left in the Citadel and the Fort of *Camolia*, which were the Keys of the City. I then
sent Captain *Cambas* to carry the news to the Senate, who were nothing dismay’d at it,
but told him that three or four dayes before I had remonstrated to them, that this re-
treat would be dangerous; and that although by what I had said to them they had given
the Battail for lost, they would nevertheless nothing alter the good inclination they had
for the King, nor despair of being reliev’d by him.

Do not think it strange (fellow Captains) if foreseeing the loss of a Battail, I also fore-
told it to the *Siennois*, which I did, not to dishearten, but to assure them, to the end
that the sudden news thereof might not strike a general astonishment throughout the whole
City; ’twas this made them resolve, this made them take counsel to prepare themselves;
and in my opinion men do better in expecting the worst, than in being over confident of
their Fortune. Upon what I had said to them every one put on a resolution to die in the
defence

defence of their walls, and every thing was presently brought in to the City. At break of day in the morning the Infantry arriv'd, for the Cavalry were gone away with Monsieur de Strozzy; neither had there indeed at *Sienna* been any thing for the horses to eat. Colonel *Rheincroc*, and Signior *Cornelio Bentivoglio* came to my lodgings, where amongst us it was determin'd, that the *Rheincroc* should out of ten Ensigns that he had make six, Signior *Cornelio* six of *Italians*, and Captain *Cambas* six of *French*, and that all the rest should be sent away to *Montalfin*. The Foot were never permitted to enter the Town, till first the Election was made, and with the remainder we also sent away five Ensigns of *Italians* to goe to the said *Montalfin*: to which place I writ to Monsieur de Strozzy (upon the assurance Signior *Cornelio* had given me that there was yet hopes of his life) to give him an account of the order I had taken, which he did also very well approve. The Marquis knew not how to follow his victory, which if he had, all the Army had been cut to pieces, and all the earth could not have sav'd Monsieur de Strozzy from being put to a cruel death by the Duke of *Florence*. 'Tis the ordinary fault of Conquerors. You Generals of Armies therefore that shall come after us, learn to be wise at the expence of so many others, and suffer not your selves to be so far transported with joy for the winning of a Battail, that you forget to improve it to the utmost; follow your blow, and do not give your Enemy leisure to recollect himself. The Marquis came not till the next day to *Lassignano*, for he fear'd lest Monsieur de Strozzy might again rally his Army, considering that he had lost none of his horse, and not knowing him to be wounded, and came not of three dayes before *Sienna*.

The Marquis de Marignan knows not how to make use of his victory.

I shall not undertake to give any account how this Battail was fought, nor how it was lost; both because I was not present there, and that also there is some dispute about it, and various reports made of those who had done well and ill. This is like a trial at Law, all parties must be heard before judgment be pronounced: for I have heard the *French* and the *Lansquenets* accuse the *Grisons* and *Italians* for behaving themselves ill in this Battail (though they deny it) and the Cavalry much worse. Others say, and affirm that there was treachery in the business: for my part I can say nothing to't, for I know nothing but by hearsay; but shall stick to what I said before, that these retreats by day in the face of an Enemy are dangerous, and to be avoided, if possible; or if not, 'tis better to lay all at stake,

Disputes about the loss of the Battail.

Monsieur de Strozzy lay thirteen days without discovering any hopes of life, which notwithstanding he fail'd not to send out Captains towards *Romania* to raise new Forces, and to furnish all the Garrisons upon the Sea Coast, and about *Montalfin* with foot and horse. He was a man of great vigilancy, diligence, and wisdom; but 'tis impossible to be alwayes fortunate. Now seeing my self reduc't to the last extremity, at the door of death, and given over by all my Physicians, I assign'd over the Government of the City to Signior *Cornelio*: but Monsieur de Strozzy hearing of my desperate condition, sent away post to *Rome* for Monsieur de *Lansac* to come and command there; who accordingly being come as far as *Montalfin*, he was there advised to go by night, and on foot with two Guides and one Servant, and to balk the great high-ways, by which means he might the better escape the Enemies Guards: but as he was come hard by *Sienna*, he was there met by some Soldiers who were going to the warre, by them taken and carried to the Marquis, and by him sent away to *Florence*, where he remained prisoner during all the time of the War, and a good while after. The said Sieur de *Lansac* was in this very illadvised, for he might have past well enough, had he known how to carry his business. Had he come I do certainly believe I had died; for I had then had nothing to do, whereas my mind was so wholly taken up with the care of my business, that I had not leisure to think of my disease. Monsieur de *Fourquevaulx* was wounded, and taken prisoner at this Battail, and Captain *Balleron* Colonel of the French Foot, with several others, to the number of betwixt four and five thousand. 'Twas said that Monsieur de Strozzy in his own person, behav'd himself like a brave and valiant Leader. And this was the success of this unfortunate Battail.

The diligence of Monsieur de Strozzy.

The Sieur de Montluc sick almost unto death.

The Sieur de Lansac taken prisoner.

This History may serve for exemple to such as have a vanity in making retreats in the face of an Enemy, and I should ever advise that they would rather put it to the push of a Battail, than to retire after this manner; for I find nothing in the whole practice of Arms so difficult as a retreat. Of this that of the Constable at *St. Quentin* gives us more-over sufficient proof; a man who in his time had known both how to shew, and teach other Commanders what they ought to do, though such was his misfortune here, that he could not make use of those precepts himself had at other times given to others. Though I must nevertheless needs say, that had he been well seconded by the Captains of Foot, who were without with him, he might perhaps have made his retreat; for they had only

needed

The Constable
defeated at St.
Quentin.

needed to hazard three or four hundred Harquebuzers with the Marechal de St. André, who might very well have kept the Count d'Aignemont from seeing the disorder that was amongst the Baggage, which was yet mixt with the horse, and he would never have charg'd the said Marechal, had he been sustain'd by the Harquebuzers, forasmuch as the said Count had no foot at all, and the Constable had had above half an hours time wherein to be gaining ground, as he had already begun to do, and had recover'd the wood to save his Infantry, and so had retir'd with all the Cavalry to *la Fere*, by which means they could have lost no more than the Harquebuzers, and part of the Marechal's horse only; which it had been much better to do, than to lose the General, and all, as they did. I have since talkt with several of the Foot Officers, who are yet living, and remonstrated to them what a riddle this business was to all men of understanding, telling them that I at the age of eighteen or nineteen only had very well discover'd in the retreat of Captain Carbon and Monsieur de Grammont, at St. Jean de Luz, that a small party was to be hazarded to save all, of which I my self had had experience, as I have writ in the beginning: but they excused themselves upon the Camp-Master, and laid all the blame to him, which was all they had to say for themselves. All these examples I have set down that they may be of use to others for the time to come, and cannot forbear often to repeat, and much to insist upon the fault committed by these kind of retreats, by reason of the great inconveniencies that ensue upon them, to the loss of a Battail. It were not worth so much repentance, if they were resolv'd upon a Battail, and to fight it out, that every one might do his best: but to be beaten when they have a mind to retire, and apparently decline fighting is intolerable.

You Generals and Lieutenants of Provinces may here see of what importance these errors are; when that of St. Quentin put the whole Kingdom in danger, and was the occasion that we quitted all our Conquests; and this put the King's affairs of Italy in a very ill condition. Be not then ashamed to cover your designs with the shades of night, which is so far from being shameful, that it is on the contrary honorable to fool and deceive your Enemy, that watches an opportunity to do you a mischief; and who when the day appears shall find nothing but the empty nest, and the birds flown and gone: it is a much greater shame and dishonor to you to be beaten turning your backs. If you be so nice of your honor fight in good earnest in God's name; sit still in your Fort, if it be a place of the least advantage, and there quietly expect either till your Enemy shall be weary of waiting upon you, or that he comes to attack you in your Camp, and so you shall be sure at least to play your game above board as they say.

The Marquis
de Maignan
before Sienna.

Now the Marquis lodg'd the Tertia of Corsica at the little Observance, the Tertia of Sicily at the Chartreux, where he entrencht them so well, that we could by no means come to them, and himself with the residue of his Camp remain'd at *Arbeirotte*, and part of his Cavalry were quarter'd at *Bonconvent*. He trusted to the Garrison he had in the Fort St. Mark every night to go the Patrouille, and so scour the road on that side towards *Fontebrando*, that no provision should enter into *Sienna*; yet could he not order it so, but that there entred Cows and Buffles for six weeks together. I think the thing that made the Marquis proceed with so much leisure and moderation, was that he waited for my death, and that of Monsieur de Strozzy; making account that we being once dead, and Messieurs de Lansac and de Fourquevaux taken prisoners, our people wanting

The hopes of
the Marquis of
Maignan.

a French-man to head them would deliberate to retire: Monsieur de Strozzy nevertheless recover'd, and being told that I was dead (for by reason I had for three dayes been look'd upon as a dead man, no one entering into my Chamber but the Priests to take care of my soul, for my Body was given over by the Physicians, they had sent him such word) Monsieur de Strozzy, I say, seeing Monsieur de Lansac taken, and me dead, would venture to come from *Montalzin*, and to put himself into *Sienna*. According to this resolution then he departed in the beginning of the night from *Montalzin*, with six Companies of foot and two Troops of horse, one of which was commanded by my Nephew *Serillac*, who before he set out bethought himself to borrow three or four Trumpets of his Companions,

The Sieur de
Strozzy goes to
relieve Sienna.

fearing that would fall out which did; for Monsieur de Strozzy could not so secretly depart, but that the Marquis had intelligence of his design, and with all his Camp lay in wait for him about *Fontebrando*, and all along the River *Tresse*.

Monsieur de
Strozzy in very
great danger

Monsieur de Strozzy had placed all his Foot before, and his Cavalry behind, being himself mounted upon a very little horse, and having his leg sustain'd in a Scarfe fastned to the prummel of his Saddle, and with him was the Bishop of *Sienna*. So soon as our Italian Foot came into the Enemies Ambuscado, they fell upon them with so great fury, and so sudden a terror, that without much resistance they betook themselves to flight, and bore Monsieur de Strozzy over and over, who with the Bishop got amongst the ruins

of

of some old houses, where he staid holding his horse in his hand. The noise was so great that it was heard to *Sienna*, it being not above a mile off at the furthest. The Enemy follow'd their victory with great execution, when *Serillac* with his Trumpets charg'd through the midst of them; who hearing so many Trumpets, and seeing the horse fall in amongst them, faced about in rout and confusion, and ran full drive upon the Marquis, who seeing the disorder was constrain'd to retire to *Arberiotte*. Now those who had given the charge, and who also had receiv'd it, were *Spaniards* and *Italians* mixt together, insomuch that our people fled on the one side, and the Enemy on the other. Two or three hundred *Italians* of ours recover'd the walls of *Sienna*, others fled away twelve miles from thence, and old Captains too, whom the Marechal very much esteem'd: but the bravest men in the world having once lost their judgment, and giving all for lost, know not where they are. By this you may see how great the dangers of war are, and how infamous a thing it is to run away, without first seeing an apparent danger. During this bustle the day began to appear, when *Serillac* remaining upon the place, found he had lost no more than three or four of his Troop only, who were also run away with the Foot: but I believe there were not many left of the other Troop, they having only a Lieutenant to command them. Monsieur de *Strozzy* hearing now no more noise, with much ado again mounted on horseback, beginning to discover our Cavalry, and was looking if he could find *Serillac* amongst the dead bodies: when seeing him come to him, I leave you to judge what joy there was both on the one side and on the other, and so they marcht together straight towards the City. Now I must needs say that Monsieur de *Strozzy* herein committed one of the greatest follies that any man in his command ever did, as I have told him an hundred times since; for he knew very well, that had he been taken all the world could not have sav'd him from being put to an ignominious death by the Duke of *Florence*, so profest and inveterate a hatred he had conceiv'd against him. And although *Serillac* be my Nephew, I may with truth give him this honor and commendation, that he was the only cause of Monsieur de *Strozzy*'s safety; which I may the better be bold to write, because Monsieur de *Strozzy* himself told me so. His Troop indeed was a very good one, being for the greatest part *Gascons* and *French*; for it was the old Company of Monsieur de *Cypierre*. Of Captains there came to the Town only *Caraffa*, who was since Cardinal, and another, as I was told, whose name I have forgot, and two or three hundred Soldiers, whom Monsieur de *Strozzy* would not suffer to come into the Town, but that night sent them away with the aforesaid Captain, and kept *Caraffa* with him.

The flight and
fright of both
Armies.

Serillac and
Monsieur de
Strozzy meet.

So soon as Monsieur de *Strozzy* came into the City he presently enquir'd how I did, and was answer'd, that for three or four dayes they had begun to conceive some hopes of my life, whereupon he came and alighted at my lodging, the Bishop and the said Gentleman being with him, where he found me so miserably worn away, that my bones had pierc't through my skin in several parts of my body. He comforted me after the best manner he could, and there staid twelve dayes expecting how God would dispose of me; when seeing me from day to day recover strength, and grow into a better posture of health, he resolv'd the thirteenth day in the beginning of the night to depart, without acquainting any one with his intention but my self only. A little before he took horse he and the Bishop came to take their leaves of me, knowing very well that his being there would cause the Marquis to proceed with greater vigour against the Town, and also that being abroad he might find some way or other to relieve me; where at parting I promised and assured him to hold out to the last gasp.

Monsieur de
Strozzy goes to
visit the Sieur
de *Montluc* in
Sienna.

The Marechal had set Guards upon all the Roads to catch him, but he chose to retire by a way, by which of all other the Marechal never suspected he would attempt to pass; for he went out at the Port *Camoglia*, from whence he descended on the right hand down into the Valley, leaving the Fort of *Camoglia* above, and going all along by the River towards the Palace of *Dian*. During his stay in *Sienna* he perfectly recover'd of his wounds, so that he arm'd, and mounted himself upon a good horse. He met by the way forty or fifty of the Enemies foot, which gave him some alarm, but he still held on his way, without losing any but some few servants only belonging to some Gentlemen who went out of the City to attend him. It was not however without peril. In a few dayes he escap't three great dangers. A little after his departure I recover'd my health, and caused my self to be carried in a Chair about the Town. The Marquis losing no time, shut us up on every side, and every day we had very handsome skirmishes: but I knew very well that the Marquis would have me for want of bread; which was the reason that I made this Harangue to the Captains, whom I had assembled together to that effect.

Monsieur de
Strozzy goes
out of *Sienna*.

" Gentlemen,

The Sieur de
Montluc's Harangue to the
Captains of
Sienna.

"Gentlemen, I believe there is none of us who does not desire to come off from this Siege with honor and repute; the thirst of honor has brought us hither. You see we are here shut up for a long time, for we are not to imagine that the Enemy will ever rise from before us, till he have us by one way or another, seeing upon the reducing of this place depends his victory. You see also that the King is at a great distance from us, and that therefore of a long time it will not be possible for him to relieve us, forasmuch as he must of necessity draw our succours from *Germany*, and out of his own Kingdom of *France*, the *Italians* themselves without the help of others not being sufficient to raise the Enemies Siege, who have not only the Forces of *Italy*, but moreover of almost all other Nations. Now in expectation of this relief we are to have a long patience, in husbanding as much as is possible our provisions; in order whereunto I am to tell you, that I have deliberated to lessen the Size of bread from four and twenty, to twenty ounces. I know very well the Soldiers would murmur at this, if you did not remonstrate to them how far we are distant from the King; that his Majesty cannot suddenly relieve us, and that you will rather die of famine, than that it shall be laid in your dish, that had you had the patience to lessen your diet the Town had not been lost. It would be an infamous reproach to have it said, that you fill'd your bellies to starve your honor; you have not shut your selves up within these walls to occasion the loss and ruine of the City, but to defend and to save it. Represent to them that they are here amongst strange Nations, where they may set a mark of honor upon their own. What glory do men acquire, when they not only obtain honor and esteem for their own particular persons, but moreover for the Nation from whence they come? 'Tis what a generous heart should principally propose to himself for the reward of his doing and suffering. You *Germans* shall return home proud of the hardships you have sustain'd, and the dangers you have undergone, and we *Frenchmen* also: and as for you who are *Italians*, you shall acquire this renown, with invincible courages to have fought for the liberty of your Country, a reputation we can none of us obtain, but by a long patience, in giving the King my Master time to relieve us; and believe I beseech you, that his most Christian Majesty will in nothing fail of the friendship he has promised and sworn to you. If you remonstrate all this to your Soldiers, and that they see and know, that you your selves are thus resolv'd, I am assur'd they will follow the same wayes you take. Therefore, Gentlemen, never think to excuse your selves upon them; I have never known a mutiny happen (and yet I have seen many) thorough Soldiers alone, if they were not by their Officers set on, and encourag'd to it. If you lead them the way, there is nothing they will not do, no incommodity they will not suffer. Do it then I beseech you, or resolve betimes to discover the bottom of your hearts, and plainly tell us you have no mind to undergo the length and inconveniencies of a Siege, that such as had rather dishonourably spend their time in eating and drinking, than stake their persons upon an account of honor, may depart, and not divert others from nobler resolutions. Now because the *Germans* did not understand my Gibberish, I had the *Rheincroc's* Interpreter tell his Master what I said, which he did, and the *Rheincroc* made answer, that both he and his Soldiers would put on the same patience that we our selves did: and that although it was said of the *Germans*, that they could not endure without eating and drinking their fill, both he and his upon this occasion would manifest the contrary. I was in plain truth the most afraid of these people, because they love to make good cheer more than we. As for the *Italian* he is more enur'd to hardship and suffering than we are. Thus then every one retir'd to his own Quarters to call their Companies together, to whom they accordingly remonstrated the same things that I had represented to them before. Which having heard the Soldiers all held up their hands, and swore they would suffer to the last gasp of their lives before they would yield, or do any thing unbecoming men of honor. I then sent to the Senate, entreating them the next morning to assemble all the chief men of the City to the Palace, to hear a remonstrance I had to make to them, that concern'd them and their affairs, which they did, and there in *Italian* I made them this following Oration.

The *Germans*
answer.

The resolution
of the Captains
and Soldiers.

The Sieur de
Montluc's
Speech to the
Siennois.

"Gentlemen, had Almighty God been pleas'd sooner to restore to me my health and memory, I had sooner thought of what we are to do for the conservation of your liberty, and the defence of this City. You have all seen how I have by sickness been reduced to the very door of death, and how God at last has rather by miracle than any operation of Nature raised me up again, to do yet more service for this Republick in such and so great a necessity. Now, Gentlemen, I very well see, that the conservation of your City and Liberty consists in nothing but the making your provisions hold out;

"for

“for should the Marquis attempt to have us by force, we shall I hope give him such an
 “entertainment as shall make him curse the hour that ever he came to besiege *Sienna* :
 “but I perceive he has no mind to go that way to work ; on the contrary he intends to
 “reduce us by famine ; against which we must if possible provide, and defeat him of that
 “expectation. I yesterday called together the Colonel of the *Germans* and his Captains,
 “Signior *Cornelio* here present with his, and *Combas* also with his *French* Officers ; to
 “whom I remonstrated, that to prolong time, and to give the most Christian King lei-
 “sure to relieve us, it would be necessary to lessen the Soldiers bread, from four and
 “twenty to twenty ounces. Telling them that so soon as all the world should know,
 “and particularly the King, that we are resolv’d to hold out to the last morsel, it will in-
 “cite his Majesty to fall speedily in hand with levying of succours, that so many brave men
 “may not be lost, and that he may not seem to abandon those he has taken into his pro-
 “tection in a time of the greatest necessity and danger. Now, by what I have been told
 “you have, during the time of my extremity, taken account of your provisions, and have
 “only found so much as to last to the fifteenth of *November*. Of which you have also
 “sent word to his Majesty, a thing that may very well give him occasion to grow cold
 “in sending us relief, considering the great distance betwixt him and us, and that also
 “Winter is drawing on. Armies do not fly, nor ride Post. His succours will be worthy
 “a great Prince, suitable to the friendship he bears to you, and sufficient to force the Ene-
 “my from your Walls, and therefore cannot so suddenly be set on foot. Now (Gentlemen)
 “after I had remonstrated thus much to the Captains, I found them all ready to suffer to
 “the last gasp of their lives, and Nation for Nation went to make the same Remonstrance
 “to their Soldiers, whom they found all willing to have patience, and so have both pro-
 “mised and sworn. See then what you *Siennois* ought to do, seeing it concerns the loss
 “of your Liberties and Seigneuries, and peradventure of your lives ; for you are to ex-
 “pect no good usage, having put your selves under the King’s protection. I beseech you
 “therefore, that since we who have nothing here to lose, neither wives nor fires have
 “shew’d you the way, you will consider of it, to regulate the expence ; and appoint
 “Commissaries to take an account of all the corn you have in the City, and also of the
 “mouths ; and this being done, begin to reduce your bread to fifteen ounces, for it is not
 “possible, but you must have some little conveniency in your houses, that the Soldiers
 “cannot have. And of all this good order I shall advertize the King’s Ministers at *Rome*,
 “and from thence shall cause a Gentleman to go on forwards to the King himself, to the
 “end that his Majesty may judge what time he may have wherein to relieve us, and for
 “the rest rely upon me, who will have no more priviledge than the meanest Citizen. The
 “Fast that we shall keep shall not only be for our sins, but also for the saving of your
 “lives ; for the conservation of which I will willingly lay down my own. *Credete Signi-
 ori, che sin a la morte, io vi gardaro quello che vi o promisso, riposate vi sopra di me.*

Order propos’d
 by the Sieur de
 Montluc to the
 Siennois.

They then return’d me very many thanks for the good advice I had given them, which
 only tended to their own preservation, entreating me to retire to my lodging forasmuch
 as they would go into the great Hall, where all the most eminent persons of the City were
 assembled, to whom they would give an account of what I had said to them, and that
 within two hours by two of their Senators they would return me an answer, and so I
 departed from them. They were as good as their words, and my Proposition being re-
 presented in this Assembly, they at last all with one voice resolv’d to eat to their very
 wives and children rather than not to wait the King’s pleasure, upon the confidence they
 repos’d in him of a certain relief, and immediately went about taking of order for the
 contracting the allowance of bread, and for the taking an Inventory of both Corn and
 other provision, which in five or six days was dispatch’d. I then sent away Monsieur de
L’Escussan, but with very great difficulty, for the Marquis caus’d strict Guard to be kept
 to hinder any from bringing us in any provisions, and as many Countrymen as were ta-
 ken attempting so to do, were immediately hang’d without mercy. *L’Escussan* went
 first to *Montalzin*, there to give Monsieur de *Strozzy* an account of all proceedings, that
 he might give notice thereof to the King’s Ministers at *Rome*, and from thence went to
 his Majesty to represent unto him the miserable condition of the *Siennois*, as I had given
 him in charge to do, and this might be about the middle of *October*.

Monsieur de
L’Escussan sent
 to the King to
 acquaint him
 with the estate
 of *Sienna*.

From this time forward I could do nothing worth speaking of until *Christmas* Eve,
 saving that a little after the departure of the said *L’Escussan*, we again abated the Soldiers
 bread to eighteen ounces, and that of the City to fourteen, though all the while there
 were frequent skirmishes, and very handsomely fought on both sides. Upon *Christmas*
 Eve, about four of the clock in the afternoon, the Marquis de *Marignano* by one of his

T

Trumpets,

Trumpets sent me half a Stag, six Capons, six Partridges, six Borachio's of excellent wine, and six loaves of white bread, wherewith the next day to keep the Feast. I did nothing wonder at this courtesie, because in the extremity of my sickness he had permitted my Physicians to send men through his Camp to fetch certain Drugs from *Florence*, and had himself three or four times sent me a very excellent sort of Birds, a little bigger than the *Beccaficco's* that are taken in *Provence*. He had also suffer'd a Mule to enter the Town laden with Greek wine, which was sent me by the Cardinal of *Armagnac*, my people having sent the Cardinal word, that in the height of my sickness I talkt of nothing but drinking a little Greek wine. Whereupon he so order'd the business, that the Cardinal *de Medici* writ to the Marquis his Brother to suffer it to come in to me, it being sent under pretence of making me a Bath. The wine came at a time when I was at the last gasp, and so was not deliver'd to me; but the half of it divided amongst the big-bellied women of the Town. Whilest Monsieur *de Strozzy* was there I gave him three or four bottles of it, the rest I drank as they do Hippocras in the Mornings. All these civilities I had receiv'd from the Marquis before, which made me nothing wonder at the Present he sent me now: Part of which I sent to the Seignury, part to the *Rheincroc*, and the rest I reserv'd for Signior *Cornelio*, the Count *de Gayas*, and my self, because we commonly are together. Such little civilities as these are very gentile and commendable, even betwixt the greatest Enemies; if there be no thing particular betwixt them, as there was not betwixt us two. He serv'd his Master, and I serv'd mine: He attack't me for his honor, and I defended my self for mine. He had a mind to acquire reputation, and so had I. 'Tis for Turks and Sarazens to deny an indifferent courtesie even to an Enemy: but then it must not be such a one, or of such importance as to break or endamage your design.

The Marquis of Marignan gives a Scalado by night to the Citadel and the Fort of *Camoglia*.

But whilest the Marquis caress'd me with his Presents, which I only payd back in thanks, he was preparing for me another kind of feast; for the same night about an hour after midnight he with all his Army gave a Scalado to the Cittadel, and to the Fort *Camoglia*. 'Tis a strange thing, that above a month before my mind gave me, and seem'd to presage that the Marquis would give me a Scalado, and the Captain *St. Auban* would be cause of the loss of the Fort. This was evermore running in my head, and that the *Germans* also would occasion the loss of the Cittadel, into which an Ensign of that Nation every night entred, to keep Guard there; and that was the reason why I plac'd an Ensign of *Siennesois* in Guard overagainst the Gate of the Cittadel. Signior *Cornelio* prevail'd so far with the *Rheincroc*, that he promised him that in case of an Alarm, and that the Enemy should offer an assault to the Cittadel, the German Captain that he plac'd there every night upon the Guard should from him have command to let in the *Siennesois* to help to defend it, though I think he that night forgot so to do. Every night I went to see a Company of *French* Foot mount the Guard in the Fort *Camoglia*, and another of *Siennesois* betwixt the Fort and the Gate of the City, under a great Market-house, which on the two sides was enclosed with a little Trench; but in the front of it, which went directly to the Fort, it was all plain with the pavement, and it might be from this Court of Guard to the Fort threescore or fourscore paces, and as much to the Gate of the City. I plac'd this Guard there for two reasons, whereof one was to relieve the Fort if occasion should be, as the other Company of *Siennesois* was to do the Cittadel, and the other to watch that the Enemy did not storm the Wall of the City; forasmuch as on the left hand, at the going out of the Town, the wall was very low, and moreover a part thereof fallen down. I had several times before said to Signior *Cornelio*, and to the Count *de Gayas*, seeing Captain *St. Auban's* Company enter into the Fort, these words. Would you believe that it eternally runs in my mind that we shall lose this Fort thorough the default of Captain *St. Auban* and his Company? I never saw him enter into it, that it did not put me into a fit of an Ague, out of the ill conceit I had of him. I could never fancy him in my heart, because he never had twenty men of appearance in his Company, for he valued a Teston more than the bravest man under the Sun, and as to himself he would never stir from his lodging, for any thing either I, or any of his companions could say to him. I could have wisht him far enough off, I had so strange an aversion to him. And these were the reasons why I ever fancied that this man would bring upon me some mischief or other.

The Sieur de *Montluc* presages some disaster through the default of *St. Auban* a German Captain.

Description of the Fort *Camoglia*.

Our Fort of *Camoglia* was environ'd with a ditch of a Pikes length in wideness, and as much in depth, and not much more on three sides; and in the front of it which buttred directly upon the *Siennesois* Court of Guard, nothing but a little Rampire of six or seven foot high, and no more; and about the middle of the Rampire there was a little lench or half pace, where the Soldiers had so much room only as to sustain themselves upon their knees. The Enemy had another Fort three times as big as ours, and just opposite

to it, within an hundred and fifty paces the one of the other. So that neither they nor we durst pop up a head without being hurt from that Quarter; and in ours there was a little Tower exactly overagainst theirs, where for greater security we had evermore three or four Soldiers which serv'd us for Centinels, and who got up into it by a little hand ladder, as they do into a Pidgeon-house. The said Tower had been broke through on that side towards the Enemies Fort, and we had there plac'd barrells fill'd with earth, for the hole had been made by the Artillery from their Fort. Which Fort of theirs Monsieur *de Termes* had caused to be made; but when he went away it was not wholly finish'd: nevertheless when the Duke of *Florence* broke with the King, the Marquis in one night made a very long march, carrying a great number of Pioneers along with him, and possessing himself of it (for there was no Guard kept there) immediately put it into defence.

Now, as I have said before, at one of the clock in the night the Marquis at once gave me a Scalado both to the Cittadel and the Fort *Camoglia*, where by ill luck the Company of *St. Auban* was this night upon duty. The Marquis with the *Spanish* and *German* Foot assaulted the Cittadel, where by good fortune they had but three Ladders long enough, and at the very first so overcharg'd those three with men, that one of them broke. Our *Germans* defended, and the *Siennesis* presented themselves at the Gate, as they were appointed to do. But the Captain of the *Germans* who had the command of the Gate would by no means let them in. This dispute lasted for above half an hour, during which five or six of the Enemy entred, and forc'd the *Germans*, who began to turn their backs and fly. They then open'd the Gate to the *Siennesis*, who ran to the head of the Cittadel, where the Enemy began to enter, and met these five or six, who were already entred, whom they cut in pieces, two of them being the Marquis his Kinsmen, one whereof did not immediately die; and this cool'd the courage of the rest who were upon the point to enter. At the same time they gave a Scalado to the Fort *Camoglia*. *St. Auban* was in the City, in bed at his ease, and his Lieutenant call'd *Combercy* was at the Fort, a young man of no experience; but that I think had he had good men in his Company would have done his duty. They are both of them turn'd Hugonots since. So soon as the Enemy presented their Ladders by the three Courtins, all his Company betook them to their heels, and the Enemy consequently entred in; and of the four that were in the Tower, three threw themselves headlong down, and the fourth beat down the barrells from the hole, and drew the Enemy in. This Rogue had been taken a few dayes before, and had remain'd above ten dayes prisoner, and I do believe it was upon his account that the Marquis resolv'd upon this Scalado; for he went away with them, and we never saw him after. Now Signior *Cornelio* and the Count *de Gayas* were lodg'd near unto the Port *Camoglia*, who immediately upon the Alarm ran to the Gate, where they found the greatest part of the Company of the *Siennesis* before it, and the rest were firing at the Enemy, who sallied out of the Fort to fall upon them. Signior *Cornelio* then left the Count *de Gayas* at the Gate, and came running to give me the Alarm, where he met me coming out of my lodging with two Pages, each of them carrying two Torches, and whom I immediately sent back, bidding him both he and the Count *de Gayas* to go out, and of all things to take care that the *Siennesis* did not forsake their Court of Guard, and to encourage them the best he could, for I would presently come out after him. He did as I bid him, and came in so opportune a season, that he found all abandoned, and gave the Enemy a charge with the *Siennesis*, and beat them back into the Fort they had taken. The Alarm was already throughout the whole City, and some ran to the Cittadel, and others to the Fort of *Camoglia*. As I arriv'd at the Gate there came to me *la Maliere* and *l'Espine*, both on horseback, the one being Muster-Master, and the other Treasurer, whom I commanded, the one to the Port *St. Mark*, and the other to *Porto Nuovo*, and that by the way as they went they should cry out victory, the Enemy is repuls'd. Which I did, fearing lest some in the Town might have intelligence with the Enemy, who hearing this cry would not dare to discover themselves. In the mean time I was at the Gate of the City, sending out the Captains and French Soldiers to succour Signior *Cornelio*, and when I saw there were now gone out, I commanded the Lieutenant of Captain *Luffan* to stay at the Gate, and to shut the Wicket so soon as ever I was out, and that in case I should be beaten back, he should by no means open it, but rather suffer us all to be killed without, and me in the first place. I then went out with my four Torches, and found Signior *Cornelio*, the Count *de Gayas*, and the other Captains I had sent out, who had recovered the Rampire, and had placed the Soldiers upon the little half pace upon their knees, who shot at the Enemy into the Fort, and they again at ours, who could not put up their heads without being discovered,

The Scalado

The Cittadel
seaz'd.

The Fort *Camoglia*
seaz'd
by the Enemy

A device to
break Intelligence.

The Fort recovered by the French.

The courage of Captain Charry.

vered, and on the other two sides the Enemy assaulted, and ours defended. Now whilst I was putting the men out at the Wicket *St. Auban* slipt by without my seeing him. The Gate into the Fort which we had lost was contrived after the manner of a hole, having one step forwards, and another on one side, waving and winding to and fro, and so straight that one man only could enter a breast. In this Entry I found Captain *Bourg*, who was Ensign to Captain *Charry*, Signior *Cornelio*, and the Count *de Gayas* close by him. Monsieur *de Bassompierre* Master of the Ordnance was always with me, and one of his Canoneers. I saw very well that the fight was like to continue, and fearing lest our powder should fail us, bad Monsieur *de Bassompierre* dispatch away two of his Canoneers to fetch more, which he did, and I dare boldly say, he was as much the cause of our safety as all our fighting, as you shall hear. Those that we fought withal were *Italians*, for the *Spaniards* and *Germans* stormed the Cittadel. I continually ran first to one, and then to another, crying out to them *Courage friends, courage comrades*, and presently on that side on the right hand of the Gate, where the three forenamed stood, I spied *St. Auban*, to whom (running to him, and setting the point of my sword to his throat, I said *Rogue! Son of a whore! thou art the cause that we shall lose the City, which notwithstanding thou shalt never live to see, for I will at this instant kill thee if thou dost not immediately leap into the Fort*: to which (sufficiently terrified) he made answer, *Yes Sir, I will leap in*, and then called to him *Luffan, Blagon, and Combas*, who were his Companions, saying to them, *Come on Camrades, second me, I pray leap in after me*; to which they made answer, *Do thou leap, and we will follow*; whereupon I said to him, *Take thou no care, I will follow thee my self*, and we all set foot upon the half pace with him, and immediately after this first step, without any more delaying (for if he had he had died for't) he threw himself desperately in, having a Target upon his arm, and his Companions also, for he was no sooner in the air, but the rest were also with him, and so all four leapt in together, and it was within two steps of the Entry, that *le Bourg*, Signior *Cornelio*, and the Count *de Gayas* disputed. I then immediately made fifteen or twenty Soldiers leap in after the four Captains, and as all these were within, *le Bourg*, Signior *Cornelio*, and the Count *de Gayas* passed and entered into the Fort. I caused the Torches to be set upon the Rampire, that we might see, and not kill one another, and my self entered by the same way Signior *Cornelio* had gone before me. Now neither Pikes, Halberts, nor Harquebuzes could serve us for any use here, for we were at it with Swords and Steeletto's, with which we made them leap over the Curtains by the same way they had entered, excepting those who were killed within. There were yet however some remaining in the Tower, when Captain *Charry* came up to us, though but eight days before he had received an Harquebuz shot in his head, and such a one as that thereupon we had given him for dead, notwithstanding there he was with his Sword and Target, and a Morrion upon his head, over the Cap that cover'd his wound: a good heart will ever manifest it self; for though he was desperately hurt, yet would he have his share of the fight. I was at the foot of the Ladder, and had sent Signior *Cornelio* and the Count *de Gayas* out of the Fort, to encourage those who defended the Flanks, bidding them take the one the one side, and the other the other, as they did, and found work enough to do. I then took Captain *Charry* by the hand, and said, *Captain Charry, I have bred you up to die in some brave service for the King, you must mount the first*; which said, he (who was certainly a man of as much courage as ever any man had) without any more dispute began to climb the Ladder, which could not be above ten or twelve staves, and he was to enter by a Trap-door above, as I have said before. I had very good Harquebuzers, whom I made continually to shoot at the hole of this Trap-door, and put two of the said Harquebuzers upon the Ladder to follow after him: I had two Torches with me (for the other two Signior *Cornelio* and the Count had taken along with them) by the light whereof we saw so clearly, that the Harquebuzers did no hurt to Captain *Charry*, who mounted step by step, still giving our Harquebuzers time to fire, and so soon as he came to thrust up his head into the Trap-door, they fir'd two Harquebuzes, which pierced through his Target and Morrion without touching his head. The Harquebuzer who followed next after him discharged his Harquebuz under his Target, by which means Captain *Charry* advanced the last step, and so they all three leapt in the one after the other, where they kill'd three of the Enemy, and the rest leapt out at the hole. Those in the Flanks were also beaten off, and so our Fort was regain'd on every side.

Now the Marquis had given order to him that commanded at the Scalado of the Fort, which was the Governor of their Fort of *Camoglia*, that in case he the Marquis should first enter by the Cittadel, that then he should come away to him with all his *Italians*,
and

and if also he should first gain the Fort, that then he would come with his *Spaniards* and *Germans* to relieve him. According to this Agreement, so soon as the Governor of the Fort had gain'd ours, he presently sent to acquaint the Marquis with it; but there being several little valleys betwixt the Cittadel and the Fort *Camoglia*, the said Marquis could not come so soon as he would, though he had made so good haste, that when we had thought all had been at an end, we saw their whole Camp coming upon us, having above an hundred and fifty torches with them; at which time by good fortune *Bassompierre's* two Canoneers return'd with the powder, which in great haste we divided amongst the Harquebuzers, for they had none left, and turning about, I bad him send them again for more. At the same instant *la Moliere* and *L'Espine* returned to me, when I immediately sent back *la Moliere* to the Standard-bearer of *St. Martin* to send me two hundred of the best Harquebuzers he had, and send them by the Son of *Misser Bernardin*, a young man that carried a Colours in his Regiment, full of courage, and of whom I had taken particular notice in several skirmishes, who accordingly came in all haste, and found us at it with the whole Camp. I then left Signior *Cornelio* and the Count *de Gayas* with the other Captains to defend the Fort, and my self, *Bassompierre*, and the Muster-Master went along the Flanks, doing nothing but run up and down from place to place to encourage our people. It might be about three hours after midnight when we rebegan the fight, and it lasted till the day took them off. They there committed one of the greatest pieces of folly that ever men did; for by the light of so many torches we saw them more plainly than if it had been broad day, whereas had they taken the advantage of the night, and advanced with few lights, they had put us a great deal more hardly to't than they did. The two hundred *Siennois* Harquebuzers, that the Son of *Misser Bernardin* brought, did us notable service, as also did the Powder that *Bassompierre* sent for, for we had use for it all before we parted, by reason of the long continuance of the fight, where it was well assaulted, and better defended.

The Marquis de Marignan comes to relieve his men at the Fort Camoglia.

Error of the Marquis.

This was the issue of the fight, the greatest, and of the greatest duration without a Battail wherein I have ever been, and where I believe God Almighty did as much assist me, if not more, preserving my judgment all the while entire, as at any time in my whole life; for had I fail'd in the least particle of command we had all been lost, and the City to boot; for on that side we had not fortified at all, and all our confidence was in this Fort: I protest to God, that for at least three months after my hair stood an end, so oft as I called to mind the danger we had been in. The Enemy there lost six hundred men killed and wounded, as we were enform'd by prisoners we took, and we lost but an hundred and fifty in all both hurt and slain. That which made them lose so many was the light of the Torches, which gave our men such aim that they could not miss, especially being within a Pikes distance or two at the most of one another, which made a great incongruity in the Marquis, as I said before: for we having but little light, and they so much, we discovered them so plain, as gave us a mighty advantage. So soon as it was fair light day we went to take a view of what dead we had in the Fort amongst theirs, where I found my *Valet de Chambre* and my Groom, who both leapt in after the Captains; in my life I never had two better servants. Signior *Cornelio* and the Count *de Gayas* went likewise to visit the Cittadel, for I was no longer able to stand, being yet so weak with my great sickness, that with a puff one might have blown me down; so that I wonder how I was ever able to take such pains: but God redoubled my forces in time of need; for in truth during all this great and tedious fight I never ceased running and skipping, now here, now there, without ever feeling my self weary, till there appeared no more an Enemy to molest us. They came and gave me an account of all that had past, and there found a Kinsman of the Marquis, who was not yet dead, whom they caused to be carried to their Lodging, and his wounds dressed.

I will not forget to insert here for an Exemple to others, that if ever man was well seconded in a time of so great danger, I was, and would for no consideration deprive the Chiefs who were there of their due honor, nor the common Soldiers; for from the time that Signior *Cornelio* and the Count went out before me and charged the Enemy; neither after I was gone out to them did so much as any one man ever offer to come in again (as *Luffan's* Lieutenant, whom I had left at the Gate, swore to me) excepting *Bassompierre's* two Canoneers, who were sent for powder. All the whole City remain'd in arms during the whole time of the fight, and I will give the *Siennois* this commendation, with truth (as God is true) that there was no so much as any one man, who staid in the houses, and who did not take arms, both young and old, nor a man that discovered the least affection to the Emperor; which gave me a great assurance of two things, one of their Loyalty, and the other of their Courage. Three dayes after the Marquis sent me a Trum-

Loyalty of the Siennois.

per

pet (the same who had brought me the Present before) to see if any one of those was living who had entred the Cittadel, and that he would not deny to me, but that there were two of his Kinsmen; Signior *Cornelio* then carried him to look upon that who was yet alive, and he prov'd to be one; whereupon the Trumpet immediately returned to the Marquis to acquaint him with it, who at the same instant sent him back again, entreating me to restore him back to him, and that he would be responsible to me for his ransome, which I did in a Litter he had sent to that purpose: but he died three dayes after he came into their Camp.

Methinks you Governors of places ought here to take a fair exemple to present your selves to the fight: For there are some who say, that a Governor, or a Lieutenant of a Province never ought to hazard his own person, arguing that if he chance to miscarry all is lost. I grant them, that he ought not to expose himself at all times, and upon every light occasion, like an ordinary Captain; but when all lies at stake, what is it that you are made Governors and Lieutenants for? what question will be made of your courage? and how will your honor and reputation be brought into dispute? Will it think you acquit you to say, I would not hazard my self in the fight, lest losing my self I should lose all; especially in the night to relieve a Fort or a Citadel, considering I was however able to defend the Town? This excuse will not serve your turn; and believe me the loss of a Fort is of so great importance, that your Enemy has by that means one foot upon your throat already, you are therefore to die, or to recover what you lost, as I did, having at my going out caused the Wicket to be shut, to take from us all hopes of retreat, being resolv'd to die, or to expel the Enemy, and also letting them alone with their Conquest I had been infallibly lost.

And you Captains my Camrades, take notice and exemple by *St. Auban*, that you may value valiant men above money, for the love of money will lead you to the loss of your lives and reputations, and valiant men about you will defend both one and the other, and preserve you from danger and dishonor. Admire, and follow as near as you can the great heart of *Charry*, who although half dead, would yet come to the fight, and presented himself to enter the first, and pass by a Ladder through a hole, than which a more dangerous passage could not possibly be; for in such a place an Enemy has a mighty advantage. No danger nevertheless could deterre this brave Soldier from running the hazard. To conclude, I shall tell you Governors of places, that whenever you entertain an ill opinion of an Officer, you provide against his remissness, cowardise, or infidelity, as I did, by placing the Companies near to the Forts. But I had done better, *St. Auban* being suspected to me, since I could not totally rid my hands of him, to have employ'd him in some other place. It has since taught me to be wiser, and I have found advantages by it, having never since that time entrusted any man of whom I had a mislike. There are wayes enow to shake them off, without either offending any other, or discouraging the party himself.

The Emperor complains of the Marquis his slow Proceeding against Sienna.

A little after, as we understood, there came a Gentleman of the Emperor's Bed-Chamber, who brought letters to the Duke of *Florence*, and to the said Marquis, wherein he writ them word, that he thought it very strange this War should continue so long, and that he very well knew *Sienna* was not a place to resist Canon, but that it was the Marquis his custom evermore to spin out a War in length. In answer whereunto the Marquis remonstrated, that he had done all that in him possibly lay, and knew very well that Artillery would not take the Town, for I had valiant men within, and the whole City were resolute to stand to me to the last, speaking more honourably of me than I deserv'd, commending my vigilancy, and the provision I had made for my defence, so that he very well knew by the good order I had taken in the City, he should but lose so much time by attempting to batter. Notwithstanding the Gentleman being come from the Emperor to this effect, and having already spoke with the Duke of *Florence*, they together order'd it so, that they made the Marquis at last resolve upon a Battery. He had before omitted nothing that a good Soldier ought to do, having coop't us close in, without any hopes of relief, and yet he was accused of a design to protract the War: But it is the ordinary reward of a man's endeavour, when things do not succeed according to the appetite of such as talk of things at their ease. The desires of those we serve and fight for run a great deal faster than we are able to follow.

The Siennois frighted with the coming of the Artillery.

About the twentieth of *January* we had notice that the Artillery set out of *Florence*, to the number of six or eight and twenty Canon, or double Culverine to come to the Camp. The *Siennois* hearing this news were so curious as to send out a spy, that they might be certain of the truth of this report, who at his return bringing them word back, that the Artillery was already come as far as *Lusignano*, it put the whole City into some apprehension,

apprehension, and made them resolve the next day to assemble all the Gentry and the chief of the City to the Palace, there to determine amongst themselves, whether they should abide the assault, or surrender upon composition. Now I was not to huffe and vapour with these people, for they were stronger than I : I was therefore necessitated to win them by gentle remonstrances, and civil perswasions, without the least heat or shew of anger, and you may believe it was not without great violence to my own nature, that I proceeded after this manner, contrary to my disposition, and the image the Constable had represented of me to the King, as he had seen me in my younger and more precipitous age. A prudent and staid Governor, when he is amongst strange Nations must try as much as in him lies, to conform himself to the humour of the people with whom he has to do. With the *Germans* and *Swiss* you must be cholerick and rough : with the *Spaniards* you must observe their starchy face and formality, and pretend to be a little more religious and devout than you perhaps really are : with the *Italians* you must be discreet and circumspect, neither to offend them in themselves, nor to court their wives : as for the *French* man he is for any thing : but so it was that God gave me the grace, who am a *Gascon*, sudden, cholerick, willful, and froward, so to deport my self with this jealous and mistrustful Nation, that not so much as any one Citizen could ever complain of me. Now as all the Gentry and the Heads of the Corporation were going to the Palace, *Misser Hieronimo Hispano*, a Gentleman of *Sienna*, a principal man in the City, and one of the eight of the Council of War, before he went to the Palace, came in all hast to speak with Signior *Cornelio*, where he told him that all the chief of the City were summon'd to repair to the Palace, and that it was to determine, whether they ought to stand out a Battery, or to enter into Capitulation with the Duke of *Florence*, and the Marquis of *Marignano*, and that he had already heard that the major part of them had voted, that they ought to condition, and not to endure a Battery, and an Assault, for fear they should come by the worse ; that he was now going thither to them, wherefore he entreated him to give me notice of it. Hereupon Signior *Cornelio* came to me, and found me ready to take horse to go view the Guards : but so soon as he had told me the news we both went up into my Chamber, where we long debated by what means we might divert this blow ; and whilst we were in this deliberation came Signior *Bartolomeo Cavalcano*, who told me as much as I had heard before, and moreover, that he thought the resolution was already taken throughout the whole City, and that he only went to the Palace, to cast in his lot, and that after the lots should once be cast it would be too late to speak.

A Governor ought to conform himself to the humour of the people over whom he is placed.

We were all three in a very great straight, they which way to advise me, and I was as much to seek what advice to take. In the end I resolv'd to go to the Palace, and to take with me the *Rhinero* and his Captains, Signior *Cornelio* with his *Italians*, and Captain *Combas* with the *French* Officers. Our *Germans* began to suffer much for want of wine, and their bread was very small, for as for flesh there was no more talk of any, unless of some horse, or some ass, that was expos'd to sell in the Butchery, and as for money there was no such thing in nature ; for Monsieur *de Strozzy* had no possible means to send any in to us : all which consider'd, it put us into some fear, lest the *Germans* should joyn with the City to enter into composition, which was the reason that I desired Signior *Cornelio* to go to the *Rhinero*, and entreat him from me to bear me company to the Palace, and to bring his Captains along with him, and that he would in the mean time leave his Lieutenants and Ensigns every one in his own Quarters, to the end there might be no surprize about the Walls whilst we should be at the Palace : I wisht him also himself to do the same, and order'd Captain *Combas* to come likewise, which being done, I sent *Bartolomeo* in all haste to the Palace, to try if he could secretly gain any one to his party that might help to break this design : for I had an opinion, that if I could but divert this one blow, I would deal with so many people afterwards, that the blacks should be the greater number in the Lottery, and so they all went out of my Chamber without being further acquainted by me what I intended to do.

Great scarcity of all things in *Sienna*.

The Sieur de Montluc's practice.

I was yet so extremely lean, and worn with my late sickness, and the cold was at this time of the year so very great and sharp, that I was constrained to go continually with both my Body and my head so wrapt and muffled up in Furrs, that as they saw me go up and down the streets of the City, no one had any hopes of my recovery, believing that my inwards were decayed and perished, and that I would fall down and die on a sudden. What shall we do said the Ladies and the Citizens Wives, what will become of us if our Governor should die ? we shall all be lost ; for next after God all our hope is in him ; it is not possible he should escape. I do verily believe that the prayers of those good women redeem'd me out of the extremity and languishing weakness I was in, I mean that of my body ; for as to the vigour of my mind, and the quickness of my understanding,

A pleasant Sal-
ly of the Sieur
de Montluc.

nderstanding, I never perceiv'd any decay there. Having then before been accustomed to go so wrapt and muffled, and observing what moan the people made for me, to see me in so lamentable a plight, I call'd for a pair of Breeches of Crimson Velvet, which I had brought from *Alba*, laid over with gold lace, finely cut, and very neat, for I had made them at a time when I was forsooth in love. We had there leisure enough for those follies whilst we lay in Garrison, and having little else to do, it was fit to give the Ladies some part of our time. I put on a Doublet of the same, under which I had a Shirt finely wrought with Crimson silk and gold twist very rich: (for in those dayes they wore the neck-bands of their Shirts a good way falling over the collar) I then took a buffe Cellar, over which I put on the Gorget of my Arms, which was very finely gilt. I at that time wore gray and white, in honor of a fair Lady to whom I was a Servant when I had leisure; I therefore put on a Hat of gray silk of the German fashion, with a great silver Hatband, and a plume of Heron's feathers, thick set with silver spangles; the Hats they wore in those dayes were not so broad as they wear them now: I then put on a short Cassock of gray Velvet garnisht with little plaits of Silver, at two fingers distance from one another, and lin'd with cloth of silver, all open betwixt the plaits, vvhich I vvore in *Piedmont* over my Arms. Now I had yet two little bottles of Greek wine left of those had been sent me by the Cardinal of *Armagnac*, vvith vvich I vvet my hands, and vvith them rubbed my face, till I had brought a little colour into my cheeks, and then drank a small draught with a little bit of bread, after which I look't my self in the Glasse. I swear to you I did not know my self, and methought I vvvas yet in *Piedmont*, and in love as heretofore. At which I could not forbear laughing, for methought I had got on a sudden quite another face.

Of what the
Senate of *Sien-
na* consists.

The first that came to me vvith his Captains vvvas Signior *Cornelio* and the Count de *Gayas*, Monsieur de *Bossompierre* and the Count de *Bisque*, whom I had also sent for; vvho finding me dress'd after this manner, all fell a laughing. I strutted up and down the room before them like fifteen *Spaniards*, and yet had not strength enough to have kill'd a Chicken, for I vvvas so vvweak as nothing more. *Combas* and the French Captains came also, and the vvhole Farce tended to nothing but laughter for all the company: the last that came vvvas the *Rhinocroc* and his Captains, vvho seeing me in this posture, laught to that excess that he sobb'd again, when pulling him by the arm, I said to him, *What Colonel, do you think me to be that Montluc that goes every day dying through the streets? No, no, you are mistaken, that fellow's dead, and I am another Montluc sprung up in his room.* His Interpreter told him what I said, which made him laugh still more, and Signior *Cornelio* had already acquainted him with the reason why I had sent for him, and that it was necessary by one means or another to dispossess the *Siennois* of their fear. Thus then we went all on horseback to the Palace, where so soon as we were got up to the top of the stairs, we found the great Hall full of Gentlemen, and such other Burgers of the City as were of the Council. Within the great Hall on the left hand there is a lesser room, into which none were to enter but the Captains of the people, the twelve Counsellors, and the Eight of the Council of War, all which are called the Magistracy. Thus then I entred into the great Hall, where I put off my Hat to them, but was known by no body at first; they all believing me to be some Gentleman sent by Monsieur de *Strozzy* into the City to command at the Assault, by reason of my great weakness. I then entred into the little Hall, with all the Colonels and Captains after me, who kept at distance by the door whilst I went and sat down by the Captain of the people, in the place vvhere those vvho represented the person of the King vvvere used to sit, as I my self upon that account had often done. In going up with my Hat in my hand, I smil'd first upon one, and then upon another, they all vvondring to see me, and tvo had already deliver'd their opinions, vvhen I began to speak to them in *Italian* to this effect.

Harangue of
the Sieur de
Montluc to the
Siennois.

' Gentlemen, I have been told, that since the time you have been certain of the truth
' of the Enemies bringing up Artillery to your walls, you have entred into some debates
' which have rather begot amongst you fear and astonishment, than any noble resolution
' to defend your City and Liberty by Arms. Which I have thought very strange, and
' greatly wondred at, not being able to perswade my self to believe any such thing.
' However in the end I resolv'd with the Colonels and Captains of all the three Nations
' the King my Master has in this City, to come to you to this place, and to understand
' from your own mouths the truth of all that has passed. Now I beseech you Gentle-
' men weigh and consider well what you shall determine in this Council to which you
' are call'd; for upon this Council, and the resolution that shall be the issue of it, de-
' pends all your honor, greatness, authority, and the security of your State, your lives
' and

and honors, and the conservation of your ancient liberty; and on the contrary, all the shame, dishonor and reproach, with a perpetual infamy to your posterity, and dishonor to your famous Ancestors, who have left you for inheritance the Grandeur you now possess and uphold, having themselves ever defended and maintain'd it by Battels, with their weapons in their hands, against all those who have attempted to take it from them. And now when you ought to have purchast the occasion that presents it self at the price of half your wealth, that therein you might to all Christendom manifest and approve your selves the true legitimate Sons of those Ancient Warlike Romans, and of those Noble Ancestors, who have so often, and so bravely fought to assert and maintain your liberty, is it possible that so great and so generous hearts as those of the *Siennois* should enter into astonishment for hearing talk of Canon? will you be afraid for this? I cannot think that this proceeds from you, who have given so many, and so ample testimonies of your valour; neither is it out of any want of friendship to the most Christian King, nor out of any distrust you have in him, that he will not certainly relieve you, neither can it be out of any diffidence you have in one another, by reason of any factions in your City, for I have never observ'd the least division among you: But on the contrary, the greatest unanimity for the conservation of your liberty and Republick. I have ever seen you resolute to dye with your swords in your hands, rather than suffer it to be ravish'd from you. I have ever seen all men of all conditions move with the same motion, and inspir'd with the same resolution. Neither can it be for want of courage, for I never saw you fall out to skirmish, that some of your young men did not evermore signalize themselves above our people, though much older Souldiers than they, who in a longer practice of Arms have perform'd acts worthy to be prais'd and esteem'd of all. I cannot then believe that men who do so well, should for the noise of Canon, which brings more terror than harm, enter into astonishment, and resolve to surrender themselves slaves to that insolent and insupportable Nation of the Spaniards; or your neighbours, your ancient and professed enemies. Since then this apprehension cannot proceed from any defect in your selves, it must of necessity proceed from me, who have the honour to be Lieutenant for the King of *France* your good Friend and Protector. If as to what concerns me, you apprehend, that I shall want health and vigour to undergo that toil and labour that will be necessary, and requir'd at the time when the Enemy shall assault us, by reason of the weakness wherein I now am, through my great sickness; that consideration ought not to beget in you the least distrust, arms and legs do not do all: The great Captain *Antonio de Leva*, gouty and impotent as he was, has won more victories in his chair, than any other of our Age has done on horseback. God has ever been pleas'd to preserve my judgement, to preserve you. Have you ever known me fail? Was I then stretch'd at ease in bed when the Enemy gave you the great Camisado, and Scalado? Do but mark I beseech you, Gentlemen, the great grace God was pleas'd to shew me on a sudden, supplying me with as much strength as I had never been sick; by which you may perceive, that Almighty God loves us, and that he will not that either you or we perish. I feel my self strong enough now to wear my Arms, you shall no more see me swath'd and furr'd up as before. If perhaps you do it out of fear of my incapacity, or little experience, you do therein a great wrong to the King, that being as much, as to give all the world to understand, that His Majesty has hither sent you a man void of all ability, and poorly experimented to know how to order what should be done for the defence of your City? What? do you believe the King has so little kindness for you, as to send me hither, had he not had a great confidence in my capacity, and beforehand made sufficient tryal elsewhere both what I am, and what I can do? I shall tell you nothing of my self, it would not become me to be my own Trumpet, something you have seen your selves, and the rest you may have heard from others. You may then well judge, that the King has not singled out me, amongst so many Gentlemen of his Kingdom, and has not sent me to you, without having well weigh'd what I am able to do by the long experience he has had, not only of my Politicks in point of Government, of which you may hitherto have taken some notice: But moreover, of my conduct in matter of Arms, when an Enemy would carry a place by fine force. Do you fear, Gentlemen, my courage will fail me in time of need? what then do all those testimonies I have given you since my coming hither being sick avail? You have seen me fall out from the time I have been able to mount to horse, to go to see the skirmishes so near, that my self commanded them. And have you altogether forgot the day, that I entered into this City, and the great skirmish I then made? Your people saw it, and had a share in the fight; and upon *Christmas-Eve* yet a greater, where the fight last-

Commendari-
on of *Antonio*
de Leva.

'ed for six long hours together? Did I not then fight in my own person? Did you not then see, that I neither wanted judgement to command, nor valour to fight? I am ashamed to say so much of my self; but seeing you all know it to be true, I need not blush to speak it. I will tell you nothing, but what your selves have seen, I am no bragging Spaniard, I am a Frenchman, and moreover a Gascon, the most frank and plain dealing of all that Nation. Now methinks, Gentlemen, you have so much experience of your selves, as will render you worthy of a perpetual reproach, should you go less in your resolution, besides the ruine it would infallibly bring upon you. Methinks you ought to know me sufficiently, having been so long amongst you, and that I have omitted nothing of what the King propos'd to himself, I should perform for his service, and yours in the greatest necessity and danger. All this that I have remonstrated to you, as well for what concerns your own particular, as what relates to my self, ought to make you lay aside all apprehension, and to assume the courage and magnanimity that your Predecessors and selves who are now living have ever had. Wherefore I beseech you, that you will unanimously take up such a resolution, as valiant men, such as you are, ought to take, that is, to dye with your weapons in your hands, rather than to loose your Sovereignty and the liberty you have so long exercis'd and enjoy'd. And for what concerns me, and these Colonels and Captains, whom you see present here, we swear in the presence of God, that we will dye with you, as at this instant we will give you assurance. It is not for our benefit, nor to acquire Riches, neither is it for our ease, for you see we suffer both thirst and hunger: it is only in pursuance of our duty, and to acquit our selves of our Oath, to the end that it may one day be said, and by you, that it was we who defended the liberty of this City, and that we may be called Conservators of the Liberty of Sienna.

The Oath of
the Soldiers,
Foreigners.

I then rose up, bidding the German Interpreter to remember well all I had said, to repeat it to the Rhinecrœ, and his Captains, and then directed my speech to the Colonels, and said to them, *Signori mi & fratalli juriamo tutti & promettiamo inanzi Iddio, che noi moriremo tutti l'arme in mano con essi loro, per adjutar li a deffendere lor sicuressa & liberta: & ogni uno di noi s'obliga per le soi Soldati, & alsate tutti le vostre mani.* Which being said, every one held up his hand, and the Interpreter told it to the Rhinecrœ, who also held up his hand, and all the Captains crying, *Io, io huerlie*, and the other, *Ouy, ouy*, we promise to do it, every one in his own Language. Whereupon the Captain of the people arose, and all the Council, returning me infinite thanks; and then turn'd towards the Captains, whom he also very much thank'd, and with great cheerfulness. They then entreated me, that I would retire to my Lodgings, till such time as they had spoken with all the Council, who were in the great Hall without, and given them an account of what I had remonstrated to them; which I accordingly did, and at my going out of the little room, I there met with *Misser Bartolomeo Cavalcano*, who knew nothing of the Proposition I had made (for he entred not into the Council Chamber) who told me in my ear, that he thought they had all taken a resolution, not to endure a Battery. I then carried him back with me to my Lodgings, and three hours after, came four of the Magistracy, of which *Misser Hieronimo Espano* was one, having in charge from all the *Signeury* in general, to return me infinite thanks; and he told me, that *Misser Ambrosio Mitti* had made a speech in the accustomed chair, which is in the middle of the great Hall, against the wall, giving them to understand, what a Remonstrance I had made to them, wherein he forgot nothing (for he was a man of great Eloquence and Wisdom) and the Oath that all the Colonels and Captains had taken, finally exhorting them to resolve all to fight. I do not remember whether they put it to the * Balotte, or if they held up their hands as we had done: But they all assur'd us, that they had never seen a greater joy, then what generally appear'd amongst them, after the Proposition of the said *Ambrosio Mitti*. Telling me moreover, that after I had been in the said Hall, and made an end of the forementioned Harangue, the two Gentlemen, who had deliver'd their opinions before, that they ought to capitulate, and come to a composition with the Enemy, had requested the Senate to do them that favour, as to conceal what they had said, and take no notice of it, but give them leave to vote anew; which being accordingly done, they again deliver'd their opinions, that they ought to fight, and enter into no kind of composition, but rather dye with their Arms in their hands. I then told *Misser Hieronimo Espano*, that I would retire my self for all that day, and for all that night, to write down the order of the fight; which having done, I would immediately send it to the *Germans* in their Language, and to the French in theirs.

* That is a casting of Lots by little Balls, in use in most Cities of Italy.

The resolution of the Siennois.

Governors

Governors and Captains, you ought to take some example here, forasmuch as there are some, who say, they have surrendred a place, that the Soldiers would not defend, and moreover, that the Inhabitants of the Town went about to betray them, and by that means compell'd them to Capitulate. These are mere excuses, believe me they are mere excuses. The thing that compels you, is your own want of experience. Gentlemen and Camrades, when ever you shall happen to be at such a Wedding, put on your best Clothes, make your selves as fine as you can, wash your faces with Greek wine, and rub a good colour into your cheeks, and so march bravely thorough the streets, and amongst the Soldiers with your faces erect, having nothing in your mouths, but that very soon, by Gods help, and the strength of your own Arms, you will in despite of them, have the lives of your enemies, and not they yours; that it is not for them to come to attaque you in your own Fort; that it is the only thing you desire, forasmuch as upon that depends their ruine, and your deliverance. And by carrying your selves after that manner, the very women will take courage, and much more the Souldiers: But if you sneak up and down with a pale face, speaking to no body, sad, melanchollick and pensive, though all the City, and all the Soldiers had the hearts of Lyons, you will make them as timerous as sheep. Speak often to thole of the City in four or five words, and likewise to the Soldiers saying to them, Well friends, are you not in heart? I look upon the victory as our own, and hold the death of our Enemies already for certain: For I have I know not what Prophetick spirit, which whenever it comes upon me, I am always certain to overcome, which I have from God, and not from men. Wherefore rely upon me, and resolve all of you to fight, and to go out of this place, with honor and reputation. You can dye but once, and 'tis a thing that is predestin'd, if God has appointed it so, it is in vain for you to fly. Let us then dye honorably; but there is no appearance of danger for us, but rather for our Enemies, over whom we have the greatest advantage imaginable. And who Governors and Captains, would you have dare to say he is afraid, seeing you so bravely resolv'd? Let me tell you, that though they trembled before, they will lay aside their fear, and the most cowardly will become as bold as the most couragious of the Company. The Soldier is never astonish'd, so long as he sees the confidence of his Chief continue firm and unshaken. As the Chief therefore carries away all the honor, and the rest have nothing, but what he shall give them, in his report of their valour to the Prince; so ought he to resolve never to discover the least shadow of fear: For behaving himself after that fearless manner, the Soldiers themselves will be sufficient testimonie for him, so that the reputation he shall have acquir'd, shall remain indisputably his own, without any one being able to contradict it. I do not then advise you any thing, I have not first tryed my self, not only here, but in many other places also; as you will find in this Book, if you have the patience to read it. Now this is the order I set down for the fight, and for all the whole City, all which particularities I represent to you, without contenting my self to say, that *Sienna* was besieg'd, where I nine or ten months sustain'd the Seige, and was at last constrain'd to Capitulate by Famine; for of such a General account as that, a Kings Lieutenant, a Captain, or a Soldier, can make no benefit. This is the Historians way, and of these kind of Writers, there are but too many: I write of my self, and will instruct others that come after me; for to be born for a mans self only, is in plain English to be born a Beast.

All things depend upon the Chief.

The design of the Author.

I then order'd in the first place that the City should be divided into eight parts, of which the eight of the Council of War should have every one a part; that every one of the Council of Eight should appoint a person for whom he should himself be responsible, to take a List of the Quarter should be assign'd him, how many men, women, and children there were in that division, from twelve the males to sixty, and the females to fifty years of age, which were to carry Baskets, Barrels, Shovels, Picks, and Mattocks; and that each one of his own Quarter should make Captains of every Trade, without mixing them together: that every one should be commanded upon pain of death, so soon as ever their Captain should send for them to come to the place appointed immediately to haste away, as also the women and children; that every one should forthwith make provision of such things as were proper for his or her employment, and that the Masters of Men-servants and Maids, or their Mistresses should be obliged speedily to take order, that their Men and Maids be furnisht with tools and utensils wherewith to labour at the work, for which they shall be appointed, upon pain of two hundred Crowns, and the City to furnish the poor, who have not wherewith to buy them, at the expence of the publick Treasure: that the said Deputies shall make their Catalogues, and shall go from house to house to Register their people; and that so soon as the Captains, every one in his own Quarter should cry out Force, Force, every one both men and women should run

The order at *Sienna* for the Fortification.

to their tools, and present themselves at the place to which the Captain should lead, or appoint them to come; and that the Deputies should deliver in the Lists of all both men and women, they shall have found in their respective Precincts to each of the Eight of the Council of War, Quarter for Quarter; that the old men and women above the fore-mentioned Ages shall remain in their Masters houses, to get meat, and to look to the house. That the said Deputies should take a List of all the Masons and Carpenters, who should be found in their Quarter, which List they should also deliver to him of the Eight of the Council of War by whom they shall be deputed. And this was the order for the Laborers and Pioneers.

Order for the
Fight.

The order for those who bore arms, was, that the three Standard bearers, namely of *St. Martin*, of *Ciotat*, and of *Camoglia*, should forthwith take a view of all the Companies, which were four and twenty, and examine every mans arms, if they were in good order for fight, and if not to make them presently to be repaired: that they should refine all the Powder, and cause great store of Bullet and Match to be made: that the three Standard-bearers should every one keep in his own Quarter without stirring thence, till one of the Eight of War should come to give them order what to do; that the ancient Gentlemen who were not able to bear arms, nor to work, should present themselves to solicit the Pioneers of that Quarter where their houses stood, and to assist the Captains of the said Pioneers. Now I had ever determin'd, that if ever the Enemy should come to assault us with Artillery, to entrench my self at a good distance from the Wall, where the Battery should be made, to let them enter at pleasure, and made account to shut up the two ends of the Trench, and at either end to plant four or five pieces of great Canon, loaden with great chains, nails, and pieces of iron. Behind the * Retirade I intended to place the Muskets, together with the Harquebuzers, and so soon as they should be entred in, to cause the Artillery and small shot to fire all at once, and we at the two ends then to run in upon them with Pikes and Halberts, two handed Swords, short Swords and Targets. This I resolved upon, as seeing it altogether impossible for the King to send us relief, by reason that he was engaged in so many places, that it would not be possible for him to set on foot Forces sufficient to raise the Siege, neither by sea nor by land; and Monsieur de *Strozzy* had no means to relieve us, wherefore I would permit them to enter, and make little defence at the Breach, to the end that I might give them battail in the Town, after they had past the fury of our Canon and smaller shot: For to have defended the Breach had in my opinion been a very easie matter; but then we could not have done the Enemy so much mischief, as by letting them enter the breach, which we would have pretended to have quit, onely to draw them on to the fight.

* A Trench
within the wall
of a City to re-
tire into in case
of an Assault.

Centinels per-
dues.

For five or six dayes before the Artillery came I every night sent out two Peasants and a Captain, or a Serjeant, as Centinels perdues, which is a very good thing, and of great safety; but take heed whom you send, for he may do you a very ill turn. So soon as the night came the Captain set a Peasant Centinel at some fifty or sixty paces distant from the Wall, and either in a ditch or behind a hedge, with instructions, that so soon as he should hear anything he should come back to the Captain at the foot of the Wall, which Captain had in charge from me, that immediately upon the Peasant's speaking to him they should clap down upon all four, and so creep the one after the other to the place where the Peasant had heard the noise, or rather fall down upon their bellies close to the earth, to discover if there were not three or four who came to view that place, and to observe if they did not lay their heads together to confer; for this is a certain sign that they came to view that place in order to the bringing up of Artillery. To do which as it ought to be done, they ought to be no other than the Master of the Ordnance, the Colonel or the Camp-Master of the Infantry, or the Engineer, the Master Carter, and a Captain of Pioneers, to the end that according to what shall be resolved upon by the Master of the Ordnance, the Colonel, and Canoneer; the Master Carter may also take notice which way he may bring up Artillery to the place; and the Canoneer ought to shew the Captain of the Pioneers what is to be done for the Esplanade, or plaining of the way, according to the determination of the rest. And this is the discovery that is to be made by night, after you have discover'd a little at distance by day; for if those within be an Enemy of any spirit, they ought either by skirmishes, or by their Canon to keep you from coming to discover at hand. The Captain had order to come give me a present account of what he and the Peasants had heard or seen, and to leave the Peasants still upon their perdue, and a Soldier in his own place till his return. Three times the Enemy was discover'd after this manner, and immediately upon the notice, having also the List of the Eight Quarters, and of the Eight of War who commanded those

Quarters,

Quarters, I suddenly acquainted Signior *Cornelio*, who could presently tell me both the Quarter against which it was, and the Gentleman of the Eight of War that commanded it. I had never discover'd my intention to any one, but to Signior *Cornelio* onely, who was a man of great wisdom and valour, and in whom I reposed a very great confidence; who, so soon as he knew that I meant to give them Battail in the City, we did nothing of one whole day but walk the round both within and without, taking very good observation of all the places where the Enemy could make a Battery, and consequently by that knew where to make our Retirade. And so soon as ever notice was given me by the Captain who stood Centinel without the City, I presently advertized the Commander of that Quarter, and he his Deputy, and his Deputy the Captain of the Pioneers, so that in an hours time you might have seen at least a thousand, or twelve hundred persons beginning the Retirade. Now I had order'd the City to make great provision of Torches, so that those who had discover'd were hardly return'd to the Marquis, but that they saw all that part within the Town cover'd with torches and people, insomuch that by break of day we had very much advanc'd our Trench, and in the morning sent back those to rest, calling in another Quarter to the work till noon, and another from noon till night, and consequently others till midnight, and so till break of day, by which means in a little time we performed so great a work, that we could by no means be surpriz'd. After this manner I still turn'd the defences of the Town towards the Marquis his attempts, who lodg'd at the house of *Guillet the Dreamer*, and Signior *Fernando de Sylva*, brother to Signior *Rigomez* (who commanded on that side towards the little Observance, with whom I had some discourse upon the publick faith, the Friday before we departed out of the City, betwixt their Quarters and the Fort *Camoglia*) told me that the Marquis had some jealousy, that some one of their Council betray'd to me all their deliberations, seeing he had no sooner design'd to batter any part, but that we alwayes fortified against that place; for by night the least noise is easily heard, and so great a bustle cannot be concealed; and because he told me that he had compiled a Book of the particularities of the Siege of *Sienna*. he entreated me to tell him by what means I so continually discover'd their intentions, whereupon I told him the truth.

* A phrase signifying that a man is nonplust, and knows not what to do, which is properly to lie at the house of *Guillot the Dreamer*.

But to return to our subject, the Marquis in the end came and planted his Artillery upon a little Hill betwixt Port *Oville* and the great Observance. The choice of this place put me, who thought my self so cunning, almost to a nonplus, forasmuch as at Port *Oville* there is a very spacious Antiport, where the houses of the City do almost touch, having nothing but the street between, which made it impossible for me of a long time to make the necessary Retirade, to do which I must be constrain'd to beat down above an hundred houses, which extremely troubled me; for it is to create so many enemies in our entrals, the poor Citizen losing all patience to see his house pulled down before his eyes. I gave to the Count *de Bisque* the charge of terrassing up this Gate, for which use we took the earth out of the Gardens, and vacant places that lie a little on the left hand. O the rare exemple that is here, which I will commit to writing, that it may serve for a mirror to all those who would conserve their liberty.

A new Enterprize upon *Sienna*.

All these poor Inhabitants, without discovering the least distaste or sorrow for the ruine of their houses, put themselves their own hands first to the work, every one contending who should be most ready to pull down his own. There was never less than four thousand souls at labour, and I was shewed by the Gentlemen of *Sienna* a great number of Gentlewomen carrying of Baskets of earth upon their heads. It shall never be (you Ladies of *Sienna*) that I will not immortalize your names so long as the Book of *Montluc* shall live; for in truth you are worthy of immortal praise, if ever women were. At the beginning of the noble resolution these people took to defend their liberty, all the Ladies of *Sienna* divided themselves into three Squadrons; the first led by *Signiora Fortagnerra*, who was her self clad in violet, as also all those of her Train, her attire being cut in the fashion of a Nymph, short, and discovering her Buskins; the second was *la Signiora Picolhuomini* attir'd in carnatian Sattin, and her Troop in the same Livery; the third was *la Signiora Livia Fausta*, apparelled all in white, as also her Train, with her white Ensign. In their Ensigns they had very fine devices, which I would give a good deal I could remember. These three Squadrons consisted of three thousand Ladies, Gentlewomen, and Citizens, their Arms were Picks, Shovels, Baskets, and Bavins, and in this Equipage they made their Muster, and went to begin the Fortifications. Monsieur *de Termes*, who has often told me this story (for I was not then arriv'd at *Sienna*) has assur'd me, that in his life he never saw so fine a sight. I have since seen their Ensignes, and they had compos'd a Song to the honor of *France*, for which I wish I had given the best horse I have that I might insert it here.

The noble resolution of the *Siennois*.

The praise of the Ladies of *Sienna*.

And

Of a young
Maid of *Sienna*.

And since I am upon the honor of these women, I will that those who shall come after us admire the courage and virtue of a young Virgin of *Sienna*, who, though she was a poor mans daughter, deserves notwithstanding to be rank't with those of the noblest Families. I had made a Decree at the time when I was Dictator, that no one upon pain of severe punishment should fail to go to the Guard in his turn. This young Maid seeing a Brother of hers who was concern'd to be upon duty, not able to go, she took his Morrion and put it upon her head, his Breeches, and a Collar of Buff, and put them on, and with his Halbert upon her neck, in this equipage mounted the Guard, passing when the List was read by her Brothers name, and stood Centinel in turn, without being discover'd, till the morning that it was fair light day, when she was conducted home with great honor. In the afternoon Signior *Cornelio* shew'd her to me.

But to return to our subject, it was not possible of all that day, nor the night following for the Count to perfect his Terrass, nor we our Retirade, at which we wrought exceeding hard, leaving about fore-score paces to the Marquis, if he had a mind to enter there. We had made a Traverse by the Port *Oville*, where we had plac'd three great Culverins, laden as I have said before, at which place were Signior *Cornelio*, the Count *de Gayas*, and three Canoneers, who were there left by Monsieur *Bassompierre*. On the right hand upon an Eminence was the great Observance, betwixt which and the walls we had planted five pieces of Canon ram'd with the same, which the said *Bassompierre* commanded in his own person; yet both the one and the other were so well conceal'd, that the Enemy could discover nothing from the little hills about us. Well did they perceive, that above at the Observance there were people; for they had evermore a clap at that: but we were all behind a Trench we had cast up betwixt the Observance and the Wall of the City, tapist, and squar, so that we could not be seen. The Soldiers were all before the houses, through which they had pierc'd several holes to come, and go under cover. Behind the Retirade, which was not much above the height of a man, they were also sheltered from being seen. Signior *Cornelio* was also under cover, by reason that he lay in a low place, and under the shelter of a very thick wall, which join'd to Port *Oville*. The order of the fight was thus.

The order and
design of the
Fight.

Signior *Cornelio* had with him one Ensign of *Germans*, two of *French*, four of *Italians*, and four of *Siennois*, having also the Count *de Gayas* to assist him: and with me at the Observance was the *Rhinocroc*, with three Companies of *Germans*, two of *French*, two of *Italians*, and four Ensigns of *Siennois*. In all the two Troops both of Signior *Cornelio*'s and mine there was not so much as one Harquebuz, but Pikes, Halberts, and two hand-Swords, (and of those but few) Swords and Targets, all arms proper for close fight, and the most furious and killing weapons of all other; for to stand popping and pelting with those small shot is but so much time lost; a man must close, and grapple collar to collar, if he mean to rid any work, which the Soldier will never do so long as he has his fire arms in his hands, but will be alwaies fighting at distance.

The Battery of
the Imperial-
ists.

All the night the Enemy were placing Gabions for six and twenty or seven and twenty pieces of Ordnance, and by break of day they had planted twelve, as they would in that time have done all the rest, had it not been that they had been necessitated to draw their Canon up to this Mountain by strength of hand. The Wall is good enough, which not long since by one of the two Popes *Pius*'s, who were of the house of *Picolomini*, and of the Order of the people, had caused to be made. At break of day they began their Battery within a foot or two of the bottom of the Walls, at the distance of about an hundred paces; which they did to cut the Wall by the bottom, making account the next day with the rest of the Artillery in a short time to beat down the whole wall: but for all that the Count *de Bisque* ceased not continually to fill the Antiport, leaving us Flanckers, so that we could see all along the breach. About noon they gave over their Battery below, and began to batter the middle of the wall, when so soon as I saw them begin to let in light, I left Signior *Cornelio*, who continually went up and down from place to place, and took Monsieur *de Bassompierre*, with whom I went to the Fort *Camoglia*, from whence we could plainly see into the recoyle of their Canon: but I shall leave this discourse to finish the Order.

I left a French Company at the Fort *Camoglia*, another at the Citadel, there being already two Companies of *Siennois* at each, more than two Companies of *Germans* at the place, each a part by themselves; one of *Italians* at the Port *St. Mark*, and all along the wall towards *Fonde-brando*, *Siennois*, and towards *Porto Novo* the same, having given the word to the two *French* Companies, that in case I should stand in need I would send for them, leaving the *Siennois* still in the Citadel, and in the Fort. The same Instructions I left with the *Germans*, and had taken order that from six hours to six hours we would

would change the word, as well by day as by night, to the end that whilst every one lay close at his post, if there should be any Traytor amongst us, he might go to no place where he might have any Intelligence with the Enemy, to draw men from that part to weaken that Post, to carry them to another: but that no one should be believ'd if he did not bring the word, in changing of which it should be carried to the *Siennois* by two of the Council of Eight, by the one to the one half, and by the other to the other; so that unless those themselves brought the word they were not to stir from their Post. I was ever afraid that the Marquis had some intelligence in the City, which made me take this course to prevent him. The *Germans* who were at the great place had the same command, and moreover that an Officer, or a Serjeant of the others should come to fetch them; to which end there were six Serjeants chosen out of our *Italian* and *French* Companies, who had in charge, that during the time of the Battery, or of an Assault, they should continually be moving along the Curtain of the Wall to the Quarters I had appointed, and never to abandon their Quarter. It was also ordain'd that no one upon pain of death, of what Nation soever, not so much as the *Siennois* themselves should dare to abandon the Retirade, being of the number of those who were there appointed for the fight, and the same was carried quite round the walls of the City. It was also order'd, that of eight of the Council of War, four were continually to remain with me and Signior *Cornelio*, to the end that the two who remain'd with him might go continually on horseback with the word, to fetch such succours as Signior *Cornelio* should send for, to relieve him if occasion should be, and my two the like; that is to say of the Captains of the City, and the other four should go to the places where the six Serjeants were appointed to be, to the end that they might joyntly encourage the Soldiers to fight, if necessity should require. And there where there was no business to be done, and that any came to them with the word for succours, they should deliver him the one half, and keep the rest to defend that Post. That the Officers of the King, as Controulers, Commissaries of victual, Treasurers, or their Deputies, should ordinarily be, part by day, and part by night, still on horseback, riding up and down the streets of the City, and that from hour to hour one of them should bring me news how all things stood in the body of the City, and about the Walls, bringing us still some token or another that they had spoke with the four of the Council, and the Serjeants who were deputed with them. This was the order I gave, at least as much as I remember, never failing my self every day to visit the Companies, and to encourage the Inhabitants to do well.

I now return to what we did at the Fort *Camoglia*: Monsieur de *Bassompierre* ran to fetch a Canon we had in the Citadel; but as he went out to remove it the Carriage broke, so that instead of it he brought a Demy-Canon, which a *Siennois* the said *Bassompierre* had entertain'd in the quality of a Canoneer evermore shot in, and so well that he could hit with it as small a mark as if it had been a Harquebuz. He was assisted by some *Italian* and *French* Soldiers of the Citadel to bring it, whilst I was making ready a Platform with the Soldiers of the Fort, till my Company of Pioneers came, which I had sent for in all haste, and in less than an hour and a half we dispatcht it, where I mounted my Demy-Canon. I gave ten Crowns to our *Siennois*, that he might make some good shots with that Piece here, as he had done several at the Citadel before. The Enemy had plac'd Gabions on the Flank of their Battery towards us. *Bassompierre* and I went a little on the right hand, and observ'd the Bullet in the air like a hat on fire, flying very wide on the right hand, and the second as much on the left, which made me ready to eat my own flesh for rage: Monsieur de *Bassompierre* always assur'd me, that he would presently take his level right, and still went and came to and fro betwixt him and me. The third shot light upon the bottom of the Gabions, and the fourth playd directly into their Artillery, and there kill'd a great many of their men, whereupon all those that assisted fled behind a little house which was in the rear of their Canon. At which I ran and took him in my arms, and seeing him with his Linstock ready to fire again, said to him, *Frader mio da li da seno, per dio facio, ti presente dalteri dieci scoudi, & d'une biechier de vino Graco.* I then left him the French Captain, who had the Guard of the Fort, to furnish him continually with such things as he stood in need of, and Monsieur *Bassompierre* and I return'd to our Post. There then advanc'd a German Ensign to the Enemies battery, who came along by the other Gabionade with his colours flying, and this might be about four of the clock in the afternoon, we could see him march from behind the Observance, and was no sooner come to the Artillery, but our Piece fir'd and kill'd the Ensign, upon which the *Germans* immediately fled away, retiring to the place from whence they came. And this *Siennois* made so many brave shots, that he dismounted them six pieces of Canon, and their Artillery remain'd totally abandon'd till the beginning of the night, with-

The Marquis
draws of his
Canon.

out playing any more than two pieces of Canon, that were covered with Gabions, and flankt towards the Fort *Camoglia*, which our Artillery could not touch, because they shot over by reason of the height of the Gabions, and in the twilight they made seven or eight shots at the Observance where we were, and the houses adjoyning, and of all night after shot no more. We work't exceeding hard all night to finish our Retirade, and the Count *de Bisque* was no less diligent at the Antiport, so that two hours before day all was perfected, and every one settled in his Post where he was to fight. That which made us make so much haste, was, that we heard a great noise at their Artillery, and thought they were bringing up the rest, which made me put out a man to discover their Battery, who brought us word, that they had cut above fourscore paces of the wall, within a span or two of the bottom, and that he believ'd in a few hours they would have beaten it totally down, which we did not much care for though they did, for we hop'd to sell them their Entry very dear; and about an hour before day they ceased their noise, which made us think that they only expected the break of day to give fire. I then mounted upon the wall, having Captain *Charry* always with me, who by main force would needs have me down when the day began to break, and soon after I perceiv'd, that at the Windows of the Gabions there was no Artillery, and that instead of planting more they had drawn off those there were. I then called out to Signior *Cornelio*, that we were out of danger of an Assault, and that the Enemy had drawn off their Canon; at which news every one began to come upon the wall, where the *Siennois* sufficiently rated the Enemy in their language, saying, *Coloni marrani, venete qua vi metteremo per terra vinti brassidi muri*. They were constrain'd to stay three days at the foot of the mountain to repair their Carriages, which the Demy-Canon we had brought to Fort *Camoglia* had broken and spoild them.

The Marquis
his resolution.

Now (as I have already said) the Gentleman of the Emperors Bedchamber had all the while kept a great deal of clutter what Canon would do to the winning of the Town: but after he had been an eye witness of all that has been related, and that the Marquis had remonstrated to him that the Retirade, and those other Fortifications I made within, was to let him enter, and to give him Battail in the City (for if I knew what he did, he was no less enform'd of my proceeding, there being evermore one Traytor or another amongst all people) he then was of the same opinion with the Marquis and the other Captains, that the Town was never to be taken by force; but that it was to be reduc't to famine, and therefore thought it convenient that the Artillery should be sent back to *Florence*. He then return'd back to his Master to give him an account of what he had seen, and that the Marquis could do no more than what he had already done. I do not know whether or no he acquainted the Emperor with the fright he had been in, which the Marquis himself gave me a relation of at my going out of *Sienna*, as he went along with me above two miles of my way, where he told me, that at the time when their Artillery was forsaken, by reason of the Haveck our Demy-Canon made amongst them, he was close by the side of the little house in his Litter, being then very lame of the Gout, where his Litter being set down upon the ground, this Gentleman of the Emperor's was talking to him, having his hands upon the Cover of the Litter, and his head within it, whispering with the said Marquis; when our Governor seeing the Artillery abandoned, and every one retr'y'd under the shelter of the little house made a shot at it, with which a part of the wall, which was of brick fell upon the Litter, so that the said Gentleman was by it beaten down upon the Marquis's Legs, so astonish't as nothing more, and the Marquis swore to me, that in his life he was himself never in so much fear of being kill'd, as at that time: that they drew the Gentleman out from off his legs, and himself after with much ado, all the Litter being full of the ruine, and covering of the said house. And the said Marquis moreover told me, that at the great fright he was in his Gout left him, for the whole ruine fell at once upon him, and upon the Gentleman, who verily thought himself to be kill'd. I have often heard that the apprehension of death has cur'd many diseases; I know not if the Marquis his Gout be returned since, but he assur'd me he had never had it after from that fright, till the time I saw him. If it be return'd or no I leave others to enquire.

The Marquis
his danger and
fright.

The Germans
can no longer
endure the
want of bread
and wine.

This might be about the middle of *January*, and not above eight dayes after we began to perceive that the *Germans* grew very impatient at the little bread they had, having no wine, which was the most insupportable of all. The *Rhinecroc* himself, who was sickly, could no longer endure, there being nothing to be had unless it were a little horse-flesh, or a piece of an *Ass*. Signior *Cornelio* and I then began to contrive which way we might get these *Germans* out of the City, and conceited that if they were gone we could yet keep the Town above two moneths longer, whereas if they staid we should

be

be neceſſitated to ſurrender : we therefore concluded to ſend a man privately to *Monſieur de Strozzy* to remonſtrate all this to him, and to entreat him to ſend for them after the moſt plauſible manner he could (which I alſo directed him how to do) and ſent to him Captain *Coffeil*, who is now my Enſign, very well inſtructed. It was with exceeding great difficulty that he was to paſs, which that he might do, we were to fight two Courts of Guard, by reaſon that the Marquis had already caſt up a great number of Trenches, which came up cloſe to the walls of the City on every ſide. Of theſe Captain *Charry* fought the one, and the Count *de Gayas* with a Company of *Italians* the other ; ſo that whiſt they were fighting he got over the Trench, and recovered the rear of the Camp with his Guides, and two dayes after return'd in Company with an *Italian* Gentleman call'd Captain *Flaminio*, who brought Letters to the *Rhinecroc*, and to me alſo wherein *Monſieur de Strozzy* writ to me to ſend the *Rhinecroc* with his Companies out to him, for that he intended to ſet on foot a flying Army, having with him great ſtore of *Italian* horſe and foot, and that without ſome of thoſe *Tramontane* ſinews he ſhould never be able to relieve me, and that he would proteſt againſt me if the City was loſt. To the *Rhinecroc* likewise he ſent very obliging letters, having before-hand made Captain *Flaminio* very perfect in his Leſſon. The *Rhinecroc* upon the receiving theſe orders broke out into very great complaints, ſaying that *Monſieur de Strozzy* reduc'd him to the greateſt extremities, and that it was impoſſible for him to get away without being defeated : but that he would however ſpeak to his Officers, which he did, and which begot a very great diſpute amongſt them. At length one of them in whom he repoſed the greateſt confidence, and who ſerv'd him in the quality of Camp-Maſter, remonſtrated to him, that he had much better hazard with his ſword in his hand to make his way through the Marquis his Camp, than ſtay to die of famine, or by a Capitulation to ſurrender himſelf to the Enemies diſcretion, which however in a few dayes he muſt of neceſſity do ; for there was nothing left to eat, and their Soldiers began to murmur, inſomuch that they evermore expected when a great part of them ſhould go give themſelves up to the Enemy, which made them reſolve to depart. The *Rhinecroc* was not much to be blam'd for his unwillingneſs, it being a very perilous Journey, for at the very ſallying out of the Gate, he was of neceſſity to fight ſeveral *Spaniſh* Guards, and half a mile from thence another, at a Trench the Enemy had caſt up near unto a certain Mill, which was in his way. Upon their determination to depart, I gave expreſs charge that no one living ſhould ſpeak of this ſally, cauſing the Gates of the City to be cloſe ſhut, and at the beginning of the night they all came with their Baggage to the great place before *Porto Novo*.

A device of the
the *Sieur de*
Montluc to be
rid of the Ger-
mans.

The *Siennesis*, who underſtood nothing of all this, at the ſeeing the *Germans* in this marching poſture, began in all haſte to repair to the Pallace in very great deſpair. I then cauſ'd three Companies to ſally out, two of *French*, and one of *Italians* ; the firſt where- of was led by Captain *Charry*, the ſecond by Captain *Blacon* (who ſince dyed a Hugonor at *Xaintonge*) and the third by the Count *de Gayas*. Captain *Charry* had order to fight the firſt Court of Guard, which was in a great ſtreet of the Suburbs, the ſecond was at the *Auguſtins* in the ſame ſtreet, and the third at *S. Lazaro*. They had in command from me, never to give over till they had fought all the three Courts of Guards, and the Count *de Gayas* took the way on the outſide of the Suburbs on the right hand all along by the houſes, ſtill marching ſoftly on to rally our men together, as they ſhould be ſeparated and ſcatter'd by the fight. The *Tertia* of *Sicily* lay at the *Charter-houſe*, conſiſting of very good Soldiers, and the *Rhinecroc* at the going out of the Gate took on the right hand, entring into a valley, and the Count *de Gayas* remain'd upon the eminence moving ſtill ſoftly on, which produc'd two effects for the relief of our people, the one as has been ſaid, by gathering our ſquandred men together, and the other to ſuccour the *Rhinecroc* alſo, if he ſhould ſtand in need ; and ſo we began to open the Gate, it being about one of the clock in the night. Captain *Charry* marched out firſt (for it was he who alwayes led the dance) *Blacon* after him, the Count *de Gayas* next, and then the *Germans*, who in a trice put themſelves into the Valley. We immediately heard the fight betwixt our *French* and the *Spaniards* : Captain *Charry* routed the two Courts of Guards, the one after the other, and beat them up as far as that of *St. Lazaro* ; whereupon thoſe of the *Charter-houſe* came out to relieve their people, and came to the *Auguſtins* (where *Blacon* had made a halt expecting Captain *Charry*) and there clapt in betwixt them. Captain *Charry* having done his buſineſs, thought to return (hearing very well that they were fighting with *Blacon*) and met the Enemy, which redoubled the fight. The Count *de Gayas* could not come to aſſiſt him, by reaſon that I had expreſſly forbid him to engage in the fight, till he ſhould firſt be ſure that the *Germans* were out of danger : but in the end he was conſtrain'd to do as the reſt did, our two *French* Companies being driven upon him.

The *Germans*
go out of *Si-*
enna.

The Fight be-
twixt the
French and the
Imperialiſts.

The Fight continued above a long hour. Signior *Cornelio* and I were without the Gate by the Portcullis, and nothing was open but the wicket, and there as the Soldiers came one after another, we put them in, when on a sudden we heard the fight coming towards us, some crying *France*, and others *Spain*, when at last they all came up pel mel together to the Portcullis. We had torches within the Gates, and through the wicket saw a little light, by which we drew the Soldiers in. I must needs say, there were very valiant men, both on the one side, and the other; for not so much as either *French* or *Italian*, ever once ran furiously upon us, but still fac'd about at the Portcullis, and never retir'd, but step by step, till we pull'd them in. All the three Captains were wounded, and we there lost what slain, and wounded above forty of the best Soldiers we had, both *French* and *Italians*, and in the end we got in all the rest of our people. And because before the Sally, the *Siennes* were astonish'd at the departure of the *Germans*, I made Signior *Cornelio* to go about to the several Guards, and to the Forts, to reassure our men, for no one knew that the *Germans* were to go away, and I my self went to the Palace, where I found all the Senate in a very great distraction, to whom I spoke as followeth:

Speech of
Monsieur de
Montluc to the
Siennes.

'I see well (Gentlemen) that you have here assembled your selves upon the occasion of the *Germans* departure, and that you are enter'd into some apprehension and jealousy, that by that means your City will be lost: But I must tell you, it is the conservation, and not the loss of your City; for those six Ensigns devour'd more, than the twelve of the *Italians* and *French*. On the other side, I know you must have heard that the said *Germans* already began to mutiny, being no longer able to endure. I also discover'd well enough, that even their Captains were not like to govern them, themselves apprehending that they would go over to the Enemy, and you your selves have for five or six days last past heard the Enemy call out to us at the very foot of our walls, that we were lost, and that our *Germans* would soon be with them. Yet did not this proceed from any default in their Officers, but from the impatience of the common Soldiers, who were no longer able to suffer. Now (Gentlemen) should you appear dejected upon their departure; the world would say, that both your courage and ours, depended only upon theirs, and so we should dishonor our selves, to honor them; to which I shall never give my consent: for you knew all the great fights that have hapned in this siege, have been perform'd by you, and us only, and they have never so much as sallied out of the Town, save once only, that in spite of me the *Rhinoceros* would send out his people under the conduct of his Nephew and his Camp-Master, and would accept of no one of any other Nation, than his own, at which time you saw how soon, and how easily they were beaten back, even into the ditch of the Ravelin of *Porto Novo*; so that if, by good fortune, I had not been there, and had not made the *Italian* Guard sally out to their rescue, not a man of them had come off alive. I will not disparage them, but they are much more proper for a Battel, than a Siege. Why then (Signiors) should you be concerned at their departure? I will say one thing more to you, that although I had also sent away the twelve Companies that remain with me in this Town, I would yet undertake to defend your City, provided the Captains stay'd behind to relieve me. You must make your Ensigns Captains of the Watch by turns, who shall have two nights of intermission, and ours shall have but one, and we must begin to contract our allowance of bread to fourteen ounces, and you of the City to ten. You must also put the useless mouths out of Town, and appoint six persons to take a list of their names to morrow, without further delay, and that without regard of persons, and speedily thrust them out of your City, by which expedient we shall make our bread last three months longer, which will be a sufficient time for the King wherein to relieve us, especially now that the Spring is drawing on. Cease therefore your apprehensions, and on the contrary approve what I have done in order to your service. If I have done it without pre-acquainting the Senate with my design, it was not out of any disrespect to them, but to keep this departure secret, which was of very great consequence, as you your selves may have observ'd; I having been constrain'd to put Monsieur de *Strozzy* upon the business to deliver my self from a people so entirely devoted to their bellies.

The Germans
by no means
proper for a
siege.

The Sieur de
Montluc chosen
Dictator at
Sienna for a
month.

The Senate having heard my Remonstrance, desir'd me to go to my repose, and that they would consider of what I had said, rendring me very many thanks for the comfort and good counsel I had given them. In the morning my whole Speech was divulg'd all over the City, and there was no more thought of fear amongst them: But they could not well agree amongst themselves about the unprofitable mouths, forasmuch as every one was willing to favour his own relations and friends; wherefore by *Ballotte* they created me their Dictator General for the space of a month, during which time neither the Captain

of

of the people, nor the Maſtracy had any command at all, but I had the abſolute authority and dignity, anciently belonging to the old Dictators of *Rome*. I thereupon created fix Commiſſaries, to take a liſt of all the uſeleſſ people, and afterwards deliver'd the roll to a Knight of *Malta*, accompanied with five and twenty, or thirty Souldiers, to put them out of the Town, which in three days after I had deliver'd in the Liſt, was performed. A thing, that had I not very good witneſſof, both of the *Siennois*, the King's Officers, and the Captains who were then preſent in *Sienna*, I ſhould not however have mention'd in this place, leſt the world ſhould take me for a liar: but it is moſt perfectly true. The Liſt of theſe uſeleſſ mouths, I do aſſure you amounted to Four thouſand and four hundred people, or more, which of all the miſeries and deſolations that I have ever ſeen, was the greateſt my eyes ever yet beheld, or that I believe I ſhall ever ſee again; for the Maſter was hereby neceſſitated to part with his ſervant, who had ſerv'd him long, the Miſtreſſ with her maid, beſides an infinite number of poor people, who only liv'd by the ſweat of their brows; which weeping and deſolation continued for three days together: and theſe poor wretches were to go thorow the Enemy, who ſtill beat them back again towards the City, the whole Camp continuing night and day in Arms to that only end; ſo that they drove them up to the very foot of the walls, that they might the ſooner conſume the little bread we had left, and to ſee if the City out of compaſſion to thoſe miſerable Creatures would revolt; but that prevail'd nothing, though they lay eight days in this condition, where they had nothing to eat but herbs and graſs, and above the one half of them periſh'd, for the Enemy kill'd them, and very few eſcap'd away. There were a great many Maids and handſome women indeed, who found means to eſcape, the *Spaniards* by night ſtealing them into their quarters, for their own proviſion, but it was unknown to the Marquis, for it had otherwiſe been death; and ſome ſtrong and vigorous men alſo forc'd their way, and eſcap'd by night: But all thoſe did not amount to the fourth part, and all the reſt miſerably periſh'd. Theſe are the effects of War. We muſt of neceſſity ſometimes be cruel, to fruſtrate the deſigns of an Enemy. God had need to be merciful to men of our Trade, who commit ſo many ſins, and are the cauſers of many miſeries and miſchiefs.

The uſeleſſ mouths thruſt out of *Sienna*.

You Captains and Governors of places, if you be not perfect already, learn theſe Arts and Stratagems: It is not all to be valiant and wiſe, you muſt alſo be circumſpect and cunning. Had I entreated the *Rhinocroc* to depart the City, he would have been diſpleas'd, and have reproach'd me, that I ſent him to the ſlaughter, but I proceeded more diſcreetly, ſerving my ſelf with the authority of *Monſieur de Strozzy*, wherein I had no other end, but to gain time to tire out my Enemy, and to give the King leiſure to relieve us: But as I have ſaid before, he emplo'd his Forces there where he had the moſt concern. *Nearer is the ſkin than the ſkirt*. Never fear to diſcharge your ſelves of uſeleſſ mouths, and bar your ears from all crys of the afflicted: Had I obey'd my own diſpoſition, I had done it three months ſooner, which if I had, I might peradventure have ſav'd the Town, or at leaſt I had longer held my Enemy in play; and I have a hundred times ſince repented me, that I did not.

The Marquis ſeeing that I had put the *Germans* out of the Town (who were the greateſt part of them defeated by the way, and thorough their own great fault, which I ſhall

The *Germans* defeat.

not however give any further account of, for they were not defeated about *Sienna*, but elſewhere upon their march, where their own fear ſurpriz'd them, without any great reaſon) and ſeeing alſo that I had driven out the uſeleſſ people, both which would help to prolong the Siege, with the contracting our allowance of bread (which he had alſo learn'd from thoſe that went out) theſe things made him to think of ſome other way, to bring

The Marquis his deſign.

us to his bow; fearing leſt ſome ſnow ſhould fall in the Spring (as it often falls out in thoſe parts at that time of the year) which ſhould it ſo happen, he ſhould then be conſtrain'd to raiſe the Siege, and repair to the Cities to eat, for he was almoſt in as great neceſſity as we, and the Soldiers of his Camp were fain to eat Mallows, and other herbs, as well as

The Marquis his ſufferings.

ours, by reaſon that oftentimes their proviſions could not be brought in due time; for it all came from about *Florence*, which was thirty miles off, and upon little Aſſes, excepting 100 Mules, and thoſe were to bring ſufficient to ſerve whiſt they could go and come, which was five or ſix days, and every return ſome of their beaſts of burthen dyed. For about the Camp there was no more, ſo much as one herb; neither hay, ſtraw, nor grain to be found, and much leſſ any one Inhabitant within ten miles of the Road. And all his Cavalry lay yet ten miles beyond *Florence*, excepting the Company of Signior *Cabri* the Marquis his Nephew, which conſiſted of no more than fifty Horſe, and was alſo every fifteen days to be reliev'd, by fifty others that were quarter'd at *Banconvent*. So that had God been pleas'd to ſend us a little ſnow, though but for eight days only, his Camp would

The Marquis
his practices in
Sienna.

would have been necessitated to rise, and to shift for themselves in the most commodious quarters abroad in the Country. All these things together put the Marquis upon an attempt to shorten the War, wherein his design was one way or another to sow division amongst the quarters of the City, seeing us weak, and knowing very well, that although we had yet twelve Companies, there was nevertheless not eighteen hundred men: To which effect by those of the *Siennois* who were banish'd the City, and were with the Marquis, an invention was found out to gain a Citizen of the Town called Messer *Pedro*, a man with one eye, and of the order of the people (which was that wherein we most confided, together with the order of the Reformators) and that by the means of certain little boys, who went with little sacks to gather herbs in the Meadows upon the River *Tressc*. By whom the Marquis so order'd the business, that he corrupted this man, and made him a Traytor to his People and Countrey; and the form of this practice was, that Messer *Pedro* should receive several blanks, sign'd by the *Siennois*, who were in the Marquis his Camp, which he himself should write over at his own discretion.

The plot of this design was thus, that Messer *Pedro* should in his Letters write these words, *that they wonder'd they should thus suffer themselves to be so manifestly abus'd by the Seigneur de Montluc; and that a child might discern all the assurances he gave them of relief from the King of France to be no other than gulleries and deceits: That although they had unworthily been thrust out of the City, yet did they nevertheless, with tears in their eyes, infinitely lament to see them so miserably loose themselves, and that if they would send out a man to go so far as Rome, to enquire if the King was raising an Army for their succour, they would then infallibly discover the Cheat: That they begg'd of them not to suffer themselves to be reduc'd to the last morsel, which if they should do, they would not then come off cheaper, than at the price of their heads, the ruine of their estates, their wives and children: That they had yet means to make their peace with the Emperor, by the Mediation of the Marquis, if they would let him into the Town, which was a thing easie enough to do, if they would consult and joyn with some of the City, who had already engag'd themselves to them; and that they might know who were of the intelligence, they were to go into such a street, and where they should see a little white Cross under the door, the Master of that house was one.* This one ey'd Dog perform'd his office exactly well, and directed his Letters to one of those in whom we repos'd an absolute trust, being very certain, that he would forthwith carry it to the Magistrate, and that the Magistrate would also in the morning send into the street mention'd in the Letter, and would seize upon the Gentleman of the house, at whose door the Cross should be found. However he resolv'd ever to make his Cross at some house of the orders of the *Novi*, and the Gentlemen, forasmuch as the other two Orders had them in suspicion, and the Marquis thought (knowing the humor of the *Siennois*, and the hatred they bore to one another) that immediately, so soon as that person should be taken, they would hurry him without any other form of Justice to the Scaffold, by which means those two Orders of the *Novi*, and of the Gentlemen, would enter into so great an animosity and despair, that to save their lives they would be constrain'd to betake themselves to arms, to possess themselves of a Canton of the City near unto the walls, to favour the Enemy, and to help them into the City.

This cursed Rogue then began to forge his first Letter, and by night went and thrust it under the door of the house of one of the Gentlemen, who was unsuspected, and made his little Cross in another street at the house of one of the richest Gentlemen of the Order of the *Novi*; so that in the morning the Gentleman to whom the Letter was directed, found it in the Entry of his house, presently read it, and carry'd it to the Magistrates, who so soon as they had look'd upon it, immediately sent it to me by Messer *Hieronimo Hispano*, sending me word withal, that they had determin'd to go apprehend the said Gentleman, and forthwith to carry him directly to the Scaffold. Whereupon I sent the Signiors *Cornelio* and *Bartolomeo Cavalcano* back to them, to entreat them not so precipitously to proceed to blood, for that it might be an invention of the Marquis to set division amongst us: but that they might do well to commit him to prison, which they accordingly did. Two days after there was another Letter found in the same manner, in the house of a Gentleman of the Order of the *Novi*, a man no more suspected than the other, and the little Cross under the door of one of the Order of the Gentlemen: At which the Senate was so incens'd, that I was fain my self to go to the Pallace, where I had much ado to obtain the favour, that they would defer execution for five days only, to see if in that time God would please to give us further light into this Fact. All the whole City was enrag'd, and talk'd of nothing but cutting off heads. As God help me, it could never sink into my head, that it was any other, than a device of the Marquis, for I knew very well with whom I had to do. I then entreated Messer *Bartolomeo Cavalcano*,
that

that he would never cease day nor night, to go visit the said Gentlemen, and the Citizens of the Orders of the Gentlemen, and the *Novi*, whom the misfortune concern'd, to entreat them not to despair, and to tell them, that I would take order no blood should be shed, and that I gave no credit to those Letters and Crosses. Signior *Cornelio* also assisted me very much in this affair, who had a very great interest in the City, by reason of the Cardinal of *Ferrara*, with whom he had always liv'd during his abode in this City. The Sieur de Montluc's wisdom.

Now three or four days after this, thinking the fury to be over, behold another Letter, and another Cross found in the same manner as before: At which every body lost all patience, and would immediately drag all three to execution. I then ran to the palace, taking Signior *Cornelio* and Signior *Bartolomeo* along with me. As I was going it came into my head, that I had no way to divert this blow; but by a colour of devotion, and so soon as I came there, I found the great Hall already almost full of men of the Reformators, and of the Order of the people: when so soon as I enter'd into the Hall of the Magistracy, they all began to cry out, *that it was now no longer time to forbear, but that they were to proceed to a speedy execution of Justice*; whereupon having taken my place, I spoke to them in Italian, as at other times, after this manner.

'Gentlemen, since the time that I have had the honor to Command in your City, by the appointment of the King my Master, you have never undertaken any thing, whether as to matters of War, or as to the Government of your Corporation, without first communicating to me your intention, and asking my opinion and advice. Wherein, by God's good pleasure, I have been so happy, that I have hitherto never advis'd you to any thing which has not succeeded to your advantage and honor; neither would I do it for the world, my own life and safety not being dearer to me, than your preservation. Seeing then (Gentlemen) I have been so fortunate, as ever to have given you sound and useful counsels; let me beseech you to retain the same opinion of me now, and to give credit to me in an affair of so great importance, as this that presents it self before you, with which your judgements seem to be very much perplex'd. I beg of you with joyn'd hands, and in the name of God, that of all things you take heed of embruining your hands in the blood of your Citizens till the truth shall be fully known; neither can it possibly be long conceal'd: 'tis to much purpose to cover the fire, the smoak will however issue out; in like manner they may endeavour to mask and disguise this practice, but the truth will infallibly appear. All the world (and I beseech you be of my opinion) cannot make me believe, that this is any other than an Artifice, and a trick of the Marquis, who having found that the Lyon's skin will do him no good, has therefore put on that of the Fox, the better to bring about his design. Which to do, he had no better, nor more subtle way, than by sowing division in the heart of your City. And which way could he better do it, than by making you believe there are Traytors among you, and within your own walls? Knowing very well that that would make you not only to imprison such suspected persons, but also to put them to death, and by that execution to set discord in your City, for true blood cannot lye. The Parents and friends of the sufferers will bear the death of their kindred, though it should be just, with great sorrow and discontent, and will endeavour to revenge them; by which means behold you have created so many domestick enemies, much more dangerous than those without, and you will be perplexed about the death of your own people, at the time when you meditate that of your open and declared foes. See then (Gentlemen) what joy, what satisfaction and delight you will administer to your enemies when they shall know that you busie your selves about cutting off the heads of your own Citizens, and of those, who I dare say and swear are innocent. However it may prove to be, the expectation of the truth can no ways be prejudicial to you, for you have them in sure hold: you are secure of your prisoners, you have them under safe custody. I will also be vigilant on my part, why then should you make such haste to put them to death? For the honor of God believe me, you will not repent your patience. I have no interest but yours, let us have recourse to God in so great a necessity. Command that all your Clergy to morrow order a general Procession throughout the whole City, and let every one be enjoyn'd to be assisting at it, and let them joyn in prayer, that it may please God to do us that grace as to discover to us the truth of this affair, the treason, if treason there be, and the innocency of the Prisoners, if there be none. I assure my self that God will hear us, and you will soon be satisfied of the truth, after which you may proceed to justice against the guilty if cause require: but to do it before, and in heat to embrew your hands in the blood of your Citizens, without having maturely weighed every circumstance, you would in my opinion do very ill, and bring a great mischief upon your City. Gentlemen,

The Sieur de Montluc's Harangue to the Senate of Siena.

'men, the sole affection I have to your service, your safety, and conservation, has made
'me speak thus freely to you without any other consideration, and I once more most
'earnestly beseech you to grant me this favour, as for a few dayes to supersede your sen-
'tence, which in the mean time we will employ in prayers and supplications, that God
'will please, by manifesting to us the truth, to direct our justice.

A General
Procession.

I had no sooner ended my Speech, but that a confused murmur arose throughout the whole Hall, some saying I, and others no, for there will be evermore some opposers; but in the end my advice was followed, and presently intimation given to the Churches, and to all the people, to prepare themselves against the next day for a general Procession, to pray unto Almighty God; for as for fasting we had enough of that already. I was myself assisting at the Procession, and all the Captains; together with all the Gentlemen and Ladies of the City, the Kindred of the Prisoners followed weeping; and to be short, all the whole body of the City this day, and the day following were in humiliation and prayer, every one beseeching of God, that he would please to afford us that grace, as to discover the truth of this treason. In the mean time I slept not, for all the night Signior *Cornelio* and I were in consultation, which way this practice of the Marquis could be set on foot. I consider'd with my self, that the business being gone thus far, he who carried on the designe would not rest there, and that the Council of the City would not be kept so secret, that the Marquis would not infallibly have intelligence of what had been concluded, there being evermore some tell-tales in these great Assemblies; and then very well knew that I had committed an error, in so openly declaring that I was assur'd it was a trick of the Marquis, it being to be feared that it would make him enter into some jealousy of his Agent. Now because it was likely he would by his Letters and Tickers give us some new alarm, I thought fit to cause certain men to walk up and down the streets of the City by night, after the most private manner they could, to try if by that means something might not be brought to light, and after this manner caused Centinel to be made two nights together. By day I caused the people to be taken up with Processions in three respective Parishes, and when any of the Signiory came to tell me, that it was so much time lost, and that they must proceed to Justice, I entreated them to have patience, assuring them that I began to discover some light into the business; for it was necessary to proceed after this manner, to restrain the fury of the people.

The prudence
of the Sieur de
Montlug.

The Traytor
surpriz'd.

Now it hapned that the third night about midnight this *Messer Pedro* was seen to pass by, and stopping at a house, put his hand to a Casement, which was low, and hapned to be shut, and one of the three Letters had been found to have been put into a low window as that was. He then kneel'd down, and under the door put in the Letter as far as he could thrust his arm, which having done he went his way along the street. A Gentleman who lay at watch went presently after him, and taking him by the arm said, *che siete voi?* to whom the other replyed, *Io sono Messer Pedro* (I cannot remember the fir-name of this Rascal) the Gentleman then knew him, and said to him *dove andate?* who made answer *me ne vo á la guardia*, to which the Gentleman return'd, *adio adio*; which having done he knockt, and made them open the door, where he found the Letter of the same contents with the former. He then immediately went and carried it to the Magistracy, who sent me two of their Council, to give me an account of the whole business, and those two went and call'd up Signior *Cornelio*, who came along with them; where amongst us it was concluded, that the Gates should not be open'd in the morning, nor the Guards and Centinels reliev'd, till he was first taken; and in the morning Signior *Cornelio* went with a hundred men to beset the house both before and behind. Signior *Cornelio* knew the man, and so soon as he had placed his Soldiers, knockt at the door, where he found him yet in bed, and presently sent me word of his being taken. Whereupon, the time of my Dictatorship being expir'd, I made use of entreaties, as before, requesting the Senate that he might be forthwith put upon the Rack, for he both denied the Letter, and also that he had seen the Gentleman of all that night. As he was upon the Rack he begg'd that they would torment him no more, for he would confess the truth, which he did from point to point, together with the Marquis his practices to set division in the City. Upon which confession they would in the heat have presently hang'd him at the windows of the Palace: but I entreated them not to do it yet, and so he was clapt up in a Dungeon. I then entreated the Captain of the people to deliver to me the three Gentlemen, who were prisoners, for that I had a desire to talk with them at my Lodging; which he accordingly did.

Messer Pedro
confesses his
treason.

They were brought by Signior *Cornelio* and *Bartolomeo Cavalcano*, and so soon as they were come to my Lodging I remonstrated to them, "that they ought by no means to
"stomack

"Stomach their imprisonment, nor to bear the Senate any ill will for seising of their persons, affairs being reduced to such terms, that the Father ought not to trust his Son, nor the Son his Father, since it concern'd no less than their lives and fortunes, and that therefore I desir'd they would go to the Magistracy to give them hearty thanks that they had not proceeded to speedy execution, but had had patience till such time as God had discover'd the truth. They return'd me answer, that I should pardon them, that being a thing they would never do; neither was it they that had saved their lives, but that it was I, and that they would give God thanks and me; but that they had no obligation to them at all. We were all three above a long hour labouring to perswade them, where I remonstrated to them, that not to do the thing I requested of them was to accomplish the Marquis his designe, and to give him his hearts desire, which was, that they should remain in division and mortal hatred; and whatever else I could contrive to say, that might any way serve to perswade them to go, I represented to their consideration to pacifie and appease them. In the end remembring how highly they stood obliged to me for the saving their lives, they promised me that they would do it, and Signior *Cornelio*, and *Messer Bartolomeo* at my request went along with them, for I was afraid they might repent by the way; where so soon as they came before the Magistracy, one of them spake for the rest, remonstrating their innocency, and the wrong that had been done them; which nevertheless they would no more remember, considering the necessity of the time, and the Estate of the City, affectionately beseeching them to esteem them for their good Citizens and friends, and loyal to the Common-wealth; and that for the time to come neither they nor their posterity might have any blemish upon their names upon this occasion, they desired they would please to grant them Patents seal'd with the broad Seal for their satisfaction. The Captain of the people then made them a very ample Remonstrance, wherein he entreated they would excuse them, if the publick safety being in question, they had been constrain'd to shut their eyes to particular interests, and by the importance of the affair had been constrain'd to be so severe in their inquisition: but that they did acknowledge and esteem them to be good and loyal Citizens. Whereupon they all descended from their seats and embraced them, and as *Messer Bartolomeo* told me, the most of them with tears in their eyes: and so every one retired to his own house.

The Prisoners
go to the Senate.

Now because this one-ey'd Villain was of the Order of the People, which was the greatest party in the Town, and wherein was most Soldiers, I was afraid that should they put him to death, those of his Order might make some stir in the Town, saying, that now it was well enough known of what Order the Traitors were, which might occasion some mutiny or sedition, and make them in the end betake themselves to arms, which was the reason that I made a request to the Senate to give me his life, and to banish him for ever, that all things might be hush'd up, and that the Marquis might not say that any of his policies had succeeded any more than his attempts by arms. And thus were all things discovered and hudled up, for the Senate granted my request.

The Sieur de
Montluc begs
the Traitor's
life.

I have often since wondred how I came to be so discreet, and so moderate in an affair of this importance, considering how reasonable it was, that an example should be made; but it would peradventure have done more hurt than good. We must not alwayes be so severe, and the seeing others so hot upon blood I do believe made me a little more temperate. And you (Gentlemen) who have the charge of places, do not suffer your selves to be transported at the first appearance of things, nor upon too light information; consider and weigh the circumstances, and hinder the violence of the people over whom you command by one pretence or another, as I did, amusing them with Processions; not that that was not nevertheless well done, but I would see if time would make any discovery; and had I suffered these men to have been put to death, their kindred might perhaps have been prompted with some spirit of revenge. Above all things endeavour to preserve union amongst those over whom you shall happen to command, as I did in this City, where all was accommodated and appeased. Consider also with what enemy you have to do; for you may well imagine that he will leave no stone unremov'd, nor no artifice untried, to set division in your City; as I have formerly read in *Livie*, the great Captain *Hannibal* did to sow dissension amongst the *Romans*. Your wisdom and prudence (Governors of places) must discern if there be appearance in the thing; whether or no the party accused be a man capable of practice, or have any means whereby to bring his purpose about, and whether or no he have done any thing any wayes tending to such a design. If in apprehending him you discover any confusion in his countenance, or variation in his answers. You ought in this to be very circumspect and discreet, and to consider that there is nothing more easie than to calumniate a man. God be praised.

Worthy considerations of a
Governor.

all

all here passed with moderation, and the Prisoners with their friends came to give me thanks.

Now after the Marquis saw himself disappointed of his expectation, and that all his plots and stratagems came to nothing, he suffer'd us to rest in peace, not expecting to have us till we should be reduced to the last morsel of bread; and we began to enter into the month of *March*, when we were in the greatest necessity of all things; for of wine there had not been one drop in the whole City from the middle of *February*: We had eaten all the Horses, Asses, Mules, Cats and Rats that were in the Town. Cats sold for three and four Crowns a piece, and a Rat for a Crown. And in all the whole City there was only remaining four old Mares, so lean as nothing more, which turned the Mills, two that I had, the Controller *la Moliere* his, the Treasurer *l'Espine* another, Signior *Cornelio* a little Bay pad-Nag, that was blind with age, and *Misser Hieronimo Hispano* a Turk of above twenty years old. These were all the Horses and Mares that were left in the City in this extremity, which was greater than I can represent it, and I do believe there is not in nature so dreadful a thing as Famine. We had from *Rome* some hopes sent us of succours, and that the King was sending away the Mareschal *de Brissac* to relieve us, which was the reason that we again lessened our bread to twelve ounces, and the Soldiers and Citizens of the Town to nine: whilst in the mean time by little and little we lost several Inhabitants and Soldiers, who fell down dead as they walked the streets, so that they died without sickness. At last the Physicians found it out that it was the *Mallows* they fed upon, that being an herb that does relax the stomach, and obstructs digestion. Now we had no other herbs all along the walls of the City, they having been all eaten before; neither could we come by these without sallying out to skirmish, and then all the women and children of the Town went out to gather them. But I saw I lost so many men in these skirmishes, that I would no more permit any one to sally out. Now to hear any more news of the Mareschal *de Brissac* was henceforward impossible, for the Trenches were brought up to the very Gates of the City, which Trenches the Marquis had also redoubled for fear we should sally out upon him in despair, and give him *Battail*, as the *Stennois* in their antient wars had formerly done, as themselves report.

This memorable sally of the *Siennois* was in the year 1526.

In this condition we languished on till the 8th of *April*, that we had lost all manner of hopes of relief, and then it was that the Seignury intreated me not to take it ill if they began to think of their preservation. When seeing there was no other remedy, unless to eat one another? I could not deny them, cursing to the pit of hell all those who engage men of honor in places, and then leave them in the lurch. Yet did I not herein intend to speak of the King, my good Master, he lov'd me too well for that; but those who gave him ill counsels to the prejudice of his affairs, and I have ever observ'd more evil than good Counsellors about Princes. They then sent out one of their people to the Marquis to entreat of him a safe conduct for two of their Senate, whom they would send to him, which he granted, and they began to capitulate. The Marquis himself did very much facilitate the Treaty, and they began to enter into great confidence of him, for he very well saw, that to cause the City to be sack'd and ruin'd would be no profit, neither to the Emperor, nor the Duke of *Florence*, and would only benefit the Soldier, and on the other side he fear'd lest if the *Stennois* could obtain no good conditions, we should sally out upon him, *a la desesperade*, having already lost above the third part of his men, who were either dead through the length of the Siege, or run away, so that he had almost no *Italians*, who were quarter'd at the Fort *St. Mark*; and the Marquis had remain'd for above a month with no more than six Ensigns for the Guard of his own person, all the rest being in the Trenches; neither could he ever relieve them with more than ten Ensigns, and those had only one night of intermission, and some such Guards there were that were not reliev'd in six days. To this condition was he reduc'd without, as well as we within; neither could he make any use of his horse, no more than *Monseigneur de Strozzy* could of the Cavalry he had, by reason that there was no manner of thing upon the ground, to give the horses to eat from *Montalzin* to *Sienna*, and from *Sienna* to *Florence*.

The extremity of the Marquis.

I will now give an account of my self after what manner I liv'd. I had no manner of advantage, no more than the meanest Soldier, and my bread weighed no more than twelve ounces, and of white bread there was never above seven or eight made, whereof three were brought to my Quarters, and the rest were saved for some Captain that was sick. Neither those of the City, nor we from the end of *February* to the 22th of *April* ever eat above once a day; neither did I ever hear so much as any one Soldier complain, and I can assure you the Remonstrances I often made to them serv'd to very good purpose; for if they would have gone over to the Enemies Camp, the Marquis would have treated them very well; for the Enemy very much esteem'd our *Italian* and *French* Soldiers, and in the skirmishes

skirmishes that had happened betwixt us had had very sufficient tryal of their valour. I had bought thirty hens and a Cock to get me eggs, which Signior *Cornelio*, the Count de *Gayas*, and I eat, for we all three constantly eat together; at noon in one place, and in the evening at another; but towards the end of *March* all these were eaten, the Cock and all. 'Twas pity we had no more: and so I remain'd without flesh, and without eggs, and had nothing to eat but my little loaf, with a few pease boyl'd with a little Bacon and Mallows, and that but once a day only. The desire I had to acquire honor, and to put this baffle upon the Emperor, so long to have held his Army in play, made me find this so sweet that it was no trouble to me to fast: and this pittiful supper with a bit of bread was a feast to me, when returning from some skirmish, I knew the Enemy to be well drub'd, or that I knew them to suffer under the same necessities we did.

But to return to the Capitulation; the Marquis sent to the Duke of *Florence*, and *Don Juan Manricón*, who was Embassador from the Emperor to the Pope, and resided at *Florence* by reason of the Siege; whereupon the said Duke sending a safe conduct, the *Siennois* also sent to the Pope (which was Pope *Julio*, who died two or three days after) from whom they received a very scurvey answer, he reproaching them with their obstinacy, and commanding them to submit to the Duke of *Florence* his mercy without any condition. He was a terrible Pope: but the Duke proceeded after a more modest and courteous manner, as a Prince ought to do, who would gain the hearts of a people, and indeed he was one of the greatest Politicians of our times. It behooved him so to be to establish his Principality, in the time of two of the greatest and most ambitious Princes that ever were, who had both of them a great mind to get footing in *Italy*. But the *Spaniard* was more subtle than we, and this Duke manag'd his business very well; his name was *Cosmo*, and I believe he is yet living. In the mean time Commissioners for eight daies together went, and came betwixt *Florence* and the Camp, and upon Monday night the Capitulation was brought to *Sienna*, and the morning before the Marquis had sent a Trumpet to me, entreating I would send two Gentlemen out to him in whom I might confide, he having something to say to them that he desired I should know, and that he was come to *St. Lazare* to that effect. I thereupon sent out to him Signior *Cornelio*, and Captain *Charry*, who being come to him, he there acquainted them with the terms of the "Capitulation, which would that night be brought to the City, and that amongst other "things there was one Article which exprest, that the *Sieur de Montluc* with his Italian "and French Companies, and all the Officers of the King, should march out with Bag "and Baggage, Colours flying, Drums beating, with match lighted, and Bullet in mouth: "but that this Article would do me no good, forasmuch as we did not belong to the *Siennois*, but to the King of *France*; and being we did not belong to them, they consequently had no power to capitulate for us; that therefore I was my self to capitulate "in the name of the King my Master, which if I thought fit to do, he assur'd me I "should have what conditions soever I would demand, and that his service to the Emperor excepted, he would do as much for me as for the Cardinal his Brother: that he and "I were two poor Gentlemen, who by our Arms were arrived to such degrees of honor, "that the greatest both of *France* and *Italy* would be glad to have our places, telling them "withal he would there stay to expect my answer. They found me at *Porto Novo* walking with *Messer Hieronimo Espanos*, where after I had received his Message, I bad them go back and tell him, "that I very well knew he had read the Roman History, wherein "he might have taken notice, that in the times of the antient warlike *Romans* they had "sent one of their Colonies to inhabit *Gascony*, near to the *Pyrhenean* Mountains, of which "Province I was a Native, and that if he would not content himself, that the *Siennois* "had comprized me in their Capitulation, I would at my coming out let him see, that "I was descended from those warlike *Romans*, who would rather have lost a thousand "lives, could they have had so many to lose, than an inch of their honor: that I had rather the *Siennois* should capitulate for me, than I for them, and that for my part the "name of *Montluc* should never be found subscrib'd to a Capitulation. They then return'd to him, to whom having repeated my answer, he said to them in Italian. *Che vol dir questo? mi pare che vol jogar a la desperata. Altre volte io rose due forteresse con ragione, ne per questo ne fui mai represo de l'Imperatore, & no restas Majesty a servir si di me.* Signior *Cornelio* then told him, that I was positive in this determination, and would rather put all to the hazard of the sword, than to the hazard of a Capitulation. Well then said he, recommend me to him, and tell him I will let him see that I am his friend, and that he may march out in all assurance upon the Capitulation of the *Siennois*, or after what manner he pleases himself; and so they return'd.

Oh Camrades, you have here a fair exemple before you, when you shall find your

The *Sieur de Montluc's* provisions.

Pope *Julio*.

The wisdom of the Duke of *Florence*.

A Proposition of the Marquis de *Marignano* to the *Sieur de Montluc*.

The *Sieur de Montluc's* Answer.

selves in such an affair, never to discover any fear, for nothing in the world so much startles an Enemy, as to see the Chief with whom he has to do to be undaunted in all extremities, and that he gives him to understand he will rather run the hazard of a Fight than a Capitulation; nothing so much puzzles him as that, besides the encouragement it gives to your own people. I was as much afraid as another, seeing my self so desperately engag'd, and no news of any relief, neither of victuals nor men: but ask any one who is yet living, whether they ever saw me any more dejected than the first day I came into the City. And at the last of all, when we were reduc'd to the extremest necessity of all things, I was more resolute to fight than before, which I believe conduced much to the obtaining of so good conditions both for the *Siennois* and for us, as we could have had, had we capitulated the first day the Enemy sat down before us.

Late at night came the Capitulation, and upon Tuesday morning four of the Senate brought it to me, wherein I found an Article, that every one of what mean condition soever should go out with Bag and Baggage, their Wives and Children, who had a mind to depart the City, except the Exiles and Rebels to the State of the Emperor, the King of *England* (which was King *Philip*) and the Duke of *Florence*. I then very well understood that this Article would fall heavy upon the poor *Florentines* who were with us in the City, and who had been banisht upon Monsieur de *Strozzy*'s account. There were also *Neapolitans*, and *Millanois*; so that I there clearly saw above a hundred men thrown away, and their heads surrendred to the Scaffold, which made me desire the Senators to return, and that in an hour I would come to them to the Palace, and shew them the deceit that was couched in their Capitulation, entreating them in the mean time speedily there to assemble all the principal members of the City, which they did, and I took along with me Signior *Cornelio*, and *Bartolomeo Cavalcano*, who was ready to die for fear when he understood my proposition, for he was a *Florentine*; where being come I made to them this Remonstrance.

The Sieur de
Montluc's
Speech to the
Senate upon
the Capitula-
tion.

Soldiers pass
every where.

"Gentlemen, I have seen your Capitulation, which tends rather to the cutting off of your heads, than to any indemnity for your Lives and Estates. You have there one Article, that every one generally shall enjoy the benefit of the Capitulation, their Lives and Estates saved, excepting such as are Rebels to the Emperor, the King of *England*, and the Duke of *Florence*. Now you know very well that the Emperor has caused you all to be declared Rebels in his Imperial Chamber, as Subjects of the Empire, for having rebelled against him. By which you see you are declared Subjects, and you say you are not Subjects, but only stand in recommendation to the Empire. The dispute is not yet determined, whether you are Subjects or recommended, and when the Enemy shall once be got within your walls, and that you are in their power, what Judges will you have to determine of the Question, except the Hangman, and with your heads, for it will certainly be by that way that they will go about to assert their title. Behold then you will all be put to death, your Estates confiscate, and your Wives and Children a prey to the Conqueror. As for me, and the Soldiers they will permit us safely to depart, for Soldiers pass in all places, and ever better cheap than other sorts of men. They know we have nothing to lose but our Arms, and that we are bound to obey our Prince; should they offer any outrage to us, we shall have our revenge in turn at one time or another, for men do sooner meet than mountains: But all the mischief will fall upon you, considering the hatred the Emperor and the Duke have conceiv'd against you. A Prince rarely pardons Subjects who have once rebelled against him; but if ever he can pick a hole in their coats, he will be sure to take hold of the occasion. Since then we have so long liv'd together, without ever having so much as one unkind word pass betwixt us, and that I have receiv'd so many honors at your hands, if you will take my advice, we will make the Marquis think of something he never thought of yet, that is we will fall out with our weapons in our hands to the fight, and give him battail, and we ought to believe, that God will be on our side, and assist us, considering the cruelty they would exercise upon you. For my own part, I freely offer you my life, and those of all my Captains and Soldiers to die with you, that as we have liv'd, so we may die together, rather than to see you so basely betray'd and sold to slaughter. *Credete à me, à me dico che son vecchio, & à cai sono passate molte cose inanti li occhi.*

Now I knew very well, that this exception did not point at the *Siennois*, but only at those I nam'd before, so that this was only a device of mine, to make the *Siennois* engage with us in the fight, for I had rather have put all to the hazard of the sword, than that any one of those who were within with us, and who upon my account had been obstinate in the defence

defence of the City should be lost. They took it however for current pay, and after I was departed from them, all of them resolv'd to fight it out to the last man. I then presently sent them word what they were to do, which was, that the Standard-bearer should command all their Powder to be refined, their Swords, Halberts and Pike-heads to be scow'r'd and ground: that upon pain of Death, every one who was able to bear arms, should be ready in two days, and that the Priests and Religieux, who had taken arms for the defence of the Town at the Battery, should now take them again under the same Captains they did before; insomuch that I do believe that for two or three days so great a bustle in the City had never been seen. The two Deputies hereupon of the Duke of Florence and the Marquis, who had safe conduct into the City, return'd about three of the clock in the afternoon back to the Marquis, where they shew'd him this Article, which had put not only the whole City, but also the Soldiers, into despair of fair Quarter, telling him how we were all resolv'd and by what means they came to understand the hubub, and preparation that was making in the City to give him Battel, which was the reason that he sent all night to the Duke of Florence and Don Juan Manricom, whom I since saw with the Queen of Spain at Bayonne, giving them an account how all things stood, and entreating them withal, that since he was now upon the point to have the Town surrendred to him, they would not for this one Article put him in danger of losing all; but consider, that he had to do with a great Captain, and an old Souldier, commending me more than I deserv'd: that as themselves very well knew, he had lost near upon the one half of his Army, and had a great many sick of those he had left, and that he had not twenty Horse, there being nothing upon the place to support them, nor any means by which to bring them any from other places; and that they would do well to weigh and consider of this affair, for as for his part, he must discharge himself upon them, if any thing fell out amiss. So soon then as the Duke of Florence and Don Juan saw the *Siennois* resolution, they dispatch'd to him *le Consignou* the Duke's chief Secretary, with a Blank to put in whatever we would demand, for he stood upon thorns, till he was Master of the City. It was upon Wednesday morning that the *Consignou* came to the Camp, when the said Marquis sent for the two Deputies, who had been on Tuesday night return'd into the City, where they inserted in the Articles, that all those who had been banish'd, and Rebels of the State of the Emperor, Empire and Duke of Florence, should go out in all security, as well as the rest, and in this posture we remain'd till Sunday morning the 22 of April, that we went out in the order following:

The *Siennois* resolve to fight.

The Capitulation again concluded.

Before any one of us stirr'd out of the Town, I restor'd the Citadel and the Fort *Camoglia* into the hands of the *Siennois*, where they put an Ensign of the City into each, as I also made them to place an Ensign at every Gate of the City that stood open, which being done, I return'd to *Porto Novo*. The Marquis had planted all his Spanish foot all along the street that leads to *S. Lazaro*, on both sides the street, his Germans were drawn up in Battalia, a little on the right hand in a Camp, and at *S. Lazaro* was Signior *Cabry* his Nephew with fifty or threescore horse, which was all they could make (as I have said before) and three hundred Italian Harquebuzers, which they had drawn out of the Forts of *Camolia* and *S. Mark*, and was the Convoy the Marquis had appointed to conduct us. Signior *Cornelio* then, and the Count de *Gayas*, arm'd at all points, with their Pikes shouldred went out side by side, with a Company of Harquebuzers at their heels, after them went out two Captains at the head of the Pikes, amongst whom were a great Company of Corslets, and in the middle of the Pikes, the Ensigns display'd and advanc'd, and in the rear of them the rest of the Harquebuzers, with two Captains in their rear. I had overnight sent to the Marquis, that he would be so civil to the ancient women and children, who were to go out with us, as to lend them forty or fifty of his carriage Mules; which he did, and which before I went out, I distributed amongst the *Siennois*, who put upon them the ancient women, and some children in their laps. All the rest were on foot, where there were above an hundred Virgins following their Fathers and Mothers, and women who carried cradles with Infants in them upon their heads, and you might have seen several men leading their daughter in one hand, and their wife in the other, and they were number'd to above eight hundred men, women and children. I had seen a sad parting at the turning out the useless mouths; but I saw as sad a one at the separation of those who went out with us, and who remain'd behind. In my life I never saw so sad a farwel; so that although our Soldiers had in their own persons suffer'd to the last extremes, yet did they infinitely regret this woful parting, and that they had not the power to defend the liberty of these people, and I more than all the rest, who could not without tears behold this misery and desolation of a people, who had manifested themselves so devout for the conservation of their liberty and honor. So soon as Signior *Cornelio* was gone out,

The manner of the Surrender of Sienna.

The Surrender of Sienna was upon the second of April, 1555.

The courtesy of the Marquis of Maignano.

The French
march out of
Sienna.

Discourse be-
twixt the Mar-
quis of Marig-
nano, and the
Sieur de Mont-
luc.

all the Italians follow'd, and the Citizens in the rear of the Italians. Then at the head of our French went out S. Auban and Luſſan arm'd, with pikes upon their shoulders, and a Company of Harquebuzers after them, two Captains at the head of the Pikes, with another company of Harquebuzers led by Charry and Blacon, having each of them a Halbert in his hand, and the Enſigns in the middle of the Pikes, after the ſame manner the Italians had paſt before. After theſe I went out arm'd, and Meſſer Hieronimo Eſpanos ſide by ſide with me, for I was afraid they would have ſeiz'd upon him, he having been a principal Actor in the revolt of the City. He was mounted upon an old Turk, and I upon another miſerably lean and haggled out, notwithstanding which I ſet a good face on the matter, and made the beſt meen I could. I left two Siennois Enſigns at the Gate, entreating them to clap to the Gate immediately after me, and not to open it till the Marquis himſelf came. The ſaid Marquis rid up and down, and Signior Chiapino Vitelli with him through all the files, to take care that no one meddled with the Siennois, for as to our Baggage, it was ſo little, as it made no number. The Spaniſh Camp-Maſters then came to ſalute me, and all their Captains. The Camp-Maſters alighted not, but all the Captains did, and came to embrace my knee, after which they again mounted on horſeback, and accompanied me till we came to the Marquis and Signior Chiapino, which might be about 300 paces from the Gate, where we embrac'd, and they plac'd me betwixt them. After this manner we paſſ'd on diſcourſing all the way of the ſiege, and the particularities had happen'd upon it, attributing much honor to us, the Marquis particularly ſaying, *that he had great obligation to me, for that beſides he had learn'd ſeveral ſtratagems of War, I was the cauſe he had been cur'd of his Gout; telling me the fear, that both he and the Emperor's Gentleman had been in, which did not paſs without much laughter: Whereupon I told him, that he had put me into a much greater fright the night of the Scalado, and yet that I was not for all that cur'd of my feaver; adding moreover, that he had done very ill to come upon me, as the Jews did to take our Lord, for he brought along with him Lanthorns and Torches, which gave me a great advantage: to which he reply'd bowing his head (for he was a very courteous Gentleman) Signior, un'altra volte ſero piu ſavia.* I then told him, *that had he continued his Battery, he would have had no very good bargain of us; for the Gaſcons were an obſtinate people, but that they were fleſh and bone as other men were, and muſt eat.* With this, and other diſcourſe of the ſame nature we entertain'd ourſelves, till we were got a mile beyond S. Lazaro, and there the Marquis bad Signior Chiapino Vitelli go to the head of our people, and ſpeak to Signior Cabry, to take care there ſhould be no diſorder, and that if any one offer'd to take any thing from us, he ſhould kill all ſuch as ſhould attempt it, and that he ſhould give the ſame command to the Captain of the three hundred Harquebuzers. So ſoon as Signior Chiapino was gone from us, the Marquis embracing me in his arms ſaid theſe words, in as good French as I could have ſpoke my ſelf. *Adieu Monsieur de Montluc, I pray preſent my moſt humble ſervice to the King, and aſſure him, that I am his moſt humble and affectionate ſervant, as much (my honour ſafe) as any Gentleman in Italy. I then return'd him thanks for the good inclination he had towards the King, and the courteſies I had receiv'd at his hands, which I would proclaim in all places wherever I ſhould come, and when it ſhould ever lie in my power to do him ſervice, would requite.* He offer'd me the ſame, and ſo we fell to embrace again. He had then no more than four or five horſe with him, they being all behind in the ſame order he had left them, and ſo he return'd back towards the City, and ſoon after Signior Chiapino Vitelli return'd, where we alſo embrac'd and parted.

Courteſie be-
twixt the
Souldiers.

Great famine
in Sienna.

We then went to *Arbierroute*, a little Village upon the *Treſſe*, or elſe the River it ſelf is call'd *Arbie*, and there we found eighteen Aſſes loaden with bread, which the Marquis had ſent thither to diſtribute amongſt us upon the way; of which one part I gave to the Siennois, another to the Italians, and the third to the French. To do which, as I paſſ'd through the *Spaniards*, I ſaw that the Soldiers had alſo purpoſely brought bread along with them to give to our people. I dare boldly ſay, and that by the teſtimony of thoſe who were then with me, that this bread ſav'd the lives of two hundred perſons, and there are many who will affirm, that it ſav'd the lives of four hundred, and yet could it not go ſo far, that there was not above fifty who dy'd that very day; for we had been from *Wednesday* till *Sunday* without eating any more than ſix ounces of Biscuit a day a man; and upon the *Thursday* of two horſes I had, I kill'd one, that would now be worth 900 Crowns, he was then indeed very lean, which I divided amongſt the Italian and French Companies, cauſing all the oyl to be taken out of the Lamps in the Churches, which I likewiſe divided amongſt the Souldiers, who with Mallows and Nettles boil'd this fleſh and oyl, and ſo ſuſtein'd themſelves till *Sunday* morning, when not a man amongſt us at our going out, had eaten one bit of any thing in the world? The Marquis alſo cauſ'd

four

four Borachio's of wine to be brought for me, together with five or six loaves of white bread, and so soon as we came to *Arbierroule*, we halted, and under some Sallows that were by the River side, eat our bread. I gave two of my Bottles of Wine to the *Siennois*, the other two we drank our selves, each one a little, and afterwards went on our way directly towards *Montalsin*, when so soon as we came to *Boncovent*, Signior *Cabry* made the foot Convoy to return: but till he saw Monsieur de *Strozzy*, who came out with a party of horse to meet us, would himself never leave us; and then he bade me farewell, taking me in his arms, as he did Signior *Cornelio*, the Count de *Gayas*, and all our Captains, for he was a very worthy Gentleman, and a brave Soldier, as any they had in their Camp. So soon as we came up to Monsieur de *Strozzy*, we embrac'd, without being able either of us to utter one word; neither am I able to say which of us had his heart the most full of the remembrance of our fortunes. In this manner then, nothing but skin and bone, and more like Ghosts than men, we arriv'd at *Montalsin*, which was upon *Sunday*, and all *Monday* and *Tuesday* we were shut up with the Treasurers and Comptrollers, to examine and state our accompts, and to see what I had borrow'd to lend the Souldiers, where we found that the King was four months to us in arrear, and Monsieur de *Strozzy* gave me 500 Crowns of his own money to carry me into *France*. I dare swear he had not half so much more left; for Signior *Cornelio* and I had been constrain'd to borrow 400 Crowns to disengage his great Order, which he had pawn'd to a Jew at the beginning when he came to *Sienna*. I would afterwards have restor'd it to him, and namely at *Thionville*, though he would never receive it, but laugh'd at me; and this was the end of the Siege.

O Camrades, you who shall do me the honor to read my Book, will you not grant me what I have said before, that God did ever as much go along with my fortune, as with that of any other Captain of my time? You have observ'd the great adversities I sustain'd in this Siege, and the little helps I had, nothing being to be expected from without, his Majesty having his hands so full on every side. You have heard that no art nor force was spar'd to reduce me, you have also seen the great famine I endur'd, the traverses the Marquis perplext me withal, and the extremities to which I was at last reduc'd, which if you please maturely to consider, you will find that I have been as much assisted by Almighty God, as any man that has born Arms these hundred years. I cannot lye in my Book if I would, there are too many witnesses alive for that. Do you not then see, that I spoke the truth, when I said before, that we are to employ all that God has given to men, before we give our selves for overcome? Pray consider, whether or no any thing was here to be omitted, or whether I ever omitted or forgot any thing in what condition soever I was, but put this poor City, and moreover the Kings honour and reputation in dispute throughout the whole world. I never call it to mind, but it makes me sad to think what a folly I committed in exposing this City, together with his Majesties reputation, and all the rest of us, to the Enemies discretion, at the last morsel of bread. For the King would by no means have had me reduc'd to that, and let any one ask Monsieur *la Chappelle*, whom his Majesty expressly dispatch'd away to me, to give me advice, that I should not suffer my self to be reduc'd to that extremity, as to come off to his dishonor. Princes are proud, and fight more for glory than for purchase; and I must needs say, that it was not the work of man, but of God, that we came off so good cheap, as we did.

Two days before we came out of *Sienna*, the Senate gave me my discharge in Patent, signed with their broad Seal, acknowledging therein, that I would neither Capitulate for the City, nor for our selves: but that considering the extremity to which they were reduc'd, I would not hinder them from doing it, calling me to witness of the loyalty and fidelity they had manifested to his Majesties service, wherein they had in nothing fail'd of the Oath they had made to him, and that I went out upon their Capitulation, and not they upon mine. Now where will you find in any History, that ever man went out of a place without capitulation, if he did not steal away by night, but not after the manner I went out. For every one will confess that I did not belong to the *Siennois* and that consequently they could not capitulate for me; as the Marquis told Signior *Cornelio*, and Captain *Charry*. So it was, that by the good will of God, I came out after this manner, and the Patent is to be seen in the King's Treasury, as I shall say hereafter.

I know very well (Gentlemen) that many of you will take delight in what I have to say to you, concerning the Government and Conservation of places, and that others will make little account of it, forasmuch as there are a sort of people so good natur'd, as to think they know all things of themselves, and nothing value the knowledge and experience of other men, as if God had sent them into the world like *S. John Baptist*, inspir'd

Signior Cabry
his Character.

The good fortune of the
Sieur de Mont-
luc.

The Declaration of the
Siennois in honor of the
Sieur de Mont-
luc.

inspir'd from their Mothers wombs. Which is the reason we are not to wonder, that so many fall into mishaps; for their own arrogancy and self conceit, leads them by the hand till they come to a Precipice, from whence they tumble headlong from the top to the bottom, with so great a fall, that they are never able to rise again. Yet was this nothing, if the fall hurt no body but themselves; but the King and his people suffer also by it. Do not then disdain to learn, and although you may have great experience of your own, yet can it do you no great harm to hear and read the discourses of old Captains. When I was but five and twenty years old, I took more pleasure in hearing an old Soldier talk, than ever I did to sit and chat with the finest woman that ever I was in love with in my life; therefore I beseech you take a little notice of what I am going to say.

The desire of
eternizing a
mans name.

When your Prince shall give you a place to keep, you are to consider three things; first the honor he does you in reposing so much confidence in your valour and wisdom, as amongst others to make choice of you, to entrust with a Command of that importance. Wherein the honor he does you, is no little one, forasmuch as he does not only honor you in your own person, but moreover sets a mark of reputation upon your whole race, by entrusting in your hands a Key of his Kingdom, or some City of very great importance to him as this was, the Siege whereof I have related to you. This honor, I say, that he does you, draws so long a train after it, that your renown does not only spread it self through the whole Kingdom from whence you come, and the Countreys adjoyning to the place you defend, but moreover throughout the whole world. Every body is curious to enquire who does well or ill, and who is a good or bad Commander; nay, although we have no concern in the affair, yet are we evermore inquisitive after news, for such is the nature of man: by which means thorow all Forreign Nations your name will be for ever known, either to honour or infamy. For whatever is done, is committed to History, without which the greatest part of men of Honor, would not care for acquiring renown, it costs so very dear. Never did any man ever purchase it upon harder terms than I; but the laudable desire we have to perpetuate our names, makes the pain seem easie to him who has a generous heart. Methought all the time when I read *Titus Livie*, that I saw all the brave *Scipio's*, *Cato's*, and *Cesar's* alive, and when I was at *Rome*, and saw the Capitol, calling to mind the things I had heard (for I for my own part was ever a bad Reader) methought I ought to find those ancient Romans there. The Historians then, who omit nothing of any kind in their writings, will mark your name in white or black, with glory or with shame, according to your desert, as you see they have done by so many Captains who have gone before us.

The second thing that you ought to set before your eyes, is to consider if you lose the place committed to you, first what a loss it will be to the King, it being part of his estate, and his house, there being no Garrison, that is not properly the Kings own house, besides that the revenue is his, of which you deprive him in losing the place, enrich his Enemy, and augment his reputation, whilst you dishonor your own Master, who shall read in the Histories dedicated to Eternity, that in his Reign such a Town, such a Castle, such a Fortres was lost. You ought then to reflect upon the miseries you bring upon his poor Subjects, how many curses will they load you with, who shall be neighbours to the place you have lost; for they will certainly be destroy'd, and by your carelesness or cowardize ruin'd and undone. They will curse the hour that ever you was born, and especially the poor Inhabitants, who through your fault, must either change their King and Master, or taking their children upon their backs, be constrain'd to seek another habitation. O that the poor English who had above three hundred years been settled in the Town of *Calice*, have reason to curse the cowardize and treachery of him, who so infamously lost so strong a place! How can you ever have the confidence to look up, should you once fall into such a misfortune as this? Before you were honor'd and esteem'd, and every one rejoyc'd at your coming, praying to God to preserve and bless you; but should you once fall into a misfortune like this, instead of prayers and acclamations, you shall meet with affronts and injuries; for prayers, maledictions, and they will curse you to all the Devils in Hell. Instead of caressing, they will turn their backs upon you, every one will point at you, so that a hundred times a day, you will curse the hour that you were not kill'd upon a platform, or in a breach in the defence of your Garrison, rather than so shamefully to have given it up to your Enemy.

Women hate
Cowards.

And not only your Master, the Princes and Lords will look upon you with an eye of contempt, but the very women and children; nay, I will say more, your own Wife, though she make a shew of love, will hate and despise you in her heart; for the nature of all women is such, that they hate all Poltrons, let them be never so proper men, or never

never so handsomely dress'd, and love the bold and couragious, let them be never so slovenly or deform'd. They participate of your shame, and although being in your arms in bed, they may pretend to be glad of your return, they wish in their hearts you had been smother'd, or carried away by a Canon shot: for as we conceive it to be the greatest disgrace to a man to have a Whore to his Wife, the women also think that the greatest shame can befall them is to have a Coward to their husband: and thus *Monsieur le Gouverneur*, you who have lost your place, you will be in a marvellous happy condition, when you shall be curs'd in your own bed.

But what shall we say of your Children? people will not only reproach them, that they are the sons of a Cowardly father; but they will moreover themselves see his name in Print, and the mischiefs of which his Cowardize has been the cause. For a Town is never lost, let it be never so considerable, that it does not draw a great deal of inconvenience along with it. It brings so mighty an inconvenience upon your children, that to extinguish your ill repute, and to raise their own to some tollerable degree of esteem, they must hazard their lives upon all occasions, without either fear or wit, and few escape being kill'd, who by this means to wipe off the stain from their family, would signalize themselves. How many have I seen in my time, who by endeavouring to repair some notorious fault, have lost themselves and expos'd themselves to death upon the first occasion has presented it self, being asham'd to live. And though your children should escape these dangers, yet will the King be afraid (what great reputation soever they may have acquir'd) to trust a Town to their custody, lest the Son should take after the Father, as it ordinarily comes to pass. Thus shall you not only ruine your selves, but your whole Family.

To avoid and to break the neck of your ill fortune, and of all these mishaps, there is a good remedy, which I have learn'd my self, and am willing to teach it you, if you know it not already. First you ought to consider all this that I have told you, and set on the one side the shame, and on the other the honor you will obtain, if you bravely defend your place, remaining victorious; or at the least having done all that a man of Honour could do, to come off Triumphant, and like a Conqueror, though you be overcome, as you see I did in this Siege. Imagine still that you see your Prince and Master before you, and what countenance you ought to hope for, if by your Cowardize you lose his place. And seeing nothing ever had a beginning, but that it had likewise an end, consider from the beginning what the end is like to be, and remember that your Master has not entrusted this place in your hands to deliver it up, but to defend it; that he has put you into it, not to live there only, but to dye there also bravely fighting, if occasion be. If you ask him at your going away to your Command, Sir, must I dye before I surrender the place you have given me in trust? he will tell you, that you are to fight to the last moment of your life; for being you are his Subject, your life is his. The *Seigneur de Farnac* one day told the King, that it was the greatest craft and Policy, that ever Kings found out, to make their Subjects believe, that their lives were theirs, and that it was the greatest honor they could have to dye for their service: but that it was a great simplicity in us to believe it, and to keep such a clutter with this fine bed of honor. It is nevertheless true, that our lives and estates are the Kings, our souls belong to God, and our honour is our own, for over my honor the King has no power at all.

To return to what I was saying before, if in accepting the charge committed to you, you have not this resolution within your selves, you would do a great deal better to make an excuse. There are ways enow to put it off, and there will be enow, who will be glad to accept of what you refuse. If you accept it with a resolution to bring it to a handsome issue, do one thing, never think of dying. 'Tis for a Coxcomb to fear death, till he see it within three inches of him, and yet cannot he forbear representing it to his imagination, though it be a hundred Leagues off. On the contrary, meditate how to kill your Enemy; for if you once enter into an apprehension and fear of death, you may assuredly give your place for lost; for that is to take away your understanding and your judgement, which is the best piece in your harness. 'Tis to much purpose to be valiant, if this fail you at need; which if you intend to preserve, you must by no means enter into this fear of dying; for fear is of it self, and by the frailty of our own nature so apt to intrude upon us, without our needing to assist it with our own imagination. If then it present it self before you, you must reject it, and have sudden recourse to the intention of the King, and to what end he plac'd you there. Think of the shame and dishonor you are running into. Read often, or cause to be read to you, Books that speak of the honor of great Captains, principally those of our own times; as for example, *Langey* and another, who has writ in Italian (I cannot think of his name) who has writ so

Children de-
fam'd by the
Fathers;

A Saying of the
Sieur de Far-
nac to the King.

A Captain
must never
fear death.

well

well since King *Charles* the eight. I have often read him, and he is a very good Author. Would to God that all of us who bear arms would take up a custom to write the things we see and do; for I am of opinion it would be better done by our own hands (I mean as to feats of war) than by those letter'd men, for they too much disguise the truth, and this relishes of the Clerk. Read then these Books, and meditate with your selves, if I do like *Antonio de Leva* at *Pavie*, the *Sieur de Lude* at *Fontarabie*, the *Signeur de Bonillon* at *Peronne*, the *Signior de Sansac* at *Miranda*, and *Montluc* at *Sienna*, what will they say of me? what honor shall I carry back to my own house? and on the contrary, if I surrender, what shame and infamy for me and mine? Then apply your selves to Almighty God, and beg of him that he will defend you from falling into these misfortunes, resigning up all things into his hands. After this assist your selves with all that he has put into the power of men, as you see I did in this Siege, and above all things be always diligent and vigilant, evermore mindful of your charge, if you do this (forgetting withal death and danger) you will find means to defend your place, though it were but a Dove-Coat; and though it should be lost, you having perform'd your duty, you must conclude it to be by the hand of God. We must however always trie; for I have seen a place lost that was never suspected to be in danger, and such a one sav'd as has been given over for gone. If you there die in your defence, you will neither dishonor your selves nor your posterity, but shall be laid in your grave with an immortal renown, which is all that a man of arms ought to desire. For a man that fears to die ought never to go to the wars, there being in the world so many other employments to which he may apply himself, especially in this Kingdom of *France*, where there are so many orders, what of Justice, and what of the Finances; too many indeed for the good of the King and of his Kingdom, such a brave and numerous youth living idle, who would be fit to bear arms. As I have entred sometimes into the Parliaments of *Tholouze* and *Bordeaux*, since my being the King's Lieutenant in *Guienne*, I have a hundred times wondred how it was possible so many young men should eternally amuse themselves in a * Palace, considering that the blood ordinarily boyls in young men; I believe it is nothing but custome, and the King could not do better, than to drive away these people, and to enure them to arms. But to return to you who have the Government of places, and you who have a mind to put your selves into a Town to defend it, if you so much fear death, never go, though it be but a folly to fear it, for those that blow the fire at home in their own houses are no more exempt than the others, and I do not know what choice there is betwixt dying of a Stone in the kidneys, and being knocked o'th' head with a Musket bullet, though, if God would give me my choice, I should not be long in choosing.

Captains that have well defended places.

A man that fears dying must never go to wars.

* Or Hall, or Court of Justice, or Law.

Above all things (Camrades) you must be sure to be evermore intent upon your Enemy, and have your Judgment Centinel to spy what he can do against you; and play two parts, saing to your self, If I was the Assailant, what would I do? on which side should I make my attaque? for you ought to believe that your opinion, and that of your Enemy do very often jump. Communicate then what you have thought of to such as you know to be of understanding, sometimes in common, that you may give no distaste to the rest; but most frequently in private. When you shall find your selves engaged with a people, where you are to piss small, and have not the ruling power, apply your selves to their humours, and bite your tongues rather than speak too much. Reduce them by sweetness and obligation, and above all things, when you are to suffer, your selves shew the way. For if you (*Monsieur le Governor*) will keep open house, and in the mean time cut others short of their bread, you will draw upon you the hatred of all your Captains and Soldiers, and it is but reasonable that you who have the greatest share of honor, should likewise have the greatest share of suffering.

A Governor ought frequently to shew himself to the people.

I will put you in mind of another thing, which is, that when extraordinary want presses upon you, you seldom remain shut up in your Cabinet, but shew your selves to the Captains and Soldiers, and appear to the people with a chearful and assured countenance, Your single presence will redouble their courage. I have in my time known several of the King's Lieutenants, who have driven away the Gentlemen, by making them sometimes wait too long in their Halls, without vouchsafing to speak to them. A Gentleman will be civilly used, especially a Gascon, and in the mean time they pretend to be wonderfully busie. I have known one once in my life (whom nevertheless, because he was Master of a great many very good qualities, I shall forbear to name, for no man is perfect) who two hours in a day would constantly lock himself up in his Closet, pretending to be busie about some dispatch of importance, but it was to read *Orlando Furioso* in *Italian*, as his own Secretary told us, which we took highly ill from him, we being in the mean time left to measure his Hall, or to take a survey of his Court. Do not use men of condition,

dition ſo. Your hours of vacancy and pleaſure ought to be ſpent in walking upon the Rampires, and viſiting the Magazines, to ſee that nothing be wanting.

If you happen to be in a place where you ſhall be reduced to great ſcarcity, forget not to ſerve your ſelves with the means I uſed to rid my ſelf of the *Germans*, and take example by my Error; for I deferred it too long: but it was becauſe I thought the Marquis would force me by the ſword, and not by famine; but he was as ſubtle as I. If you ſuſpect any treaſon, and cannot diſcover the bottom of it, cauſe ſome counterfeit information to be given you, and without naming the perſon, ſay you are inform'd that there is treaſon plotted againſt you, and that you are upon the point to diſcover it; pretend alſo to have ſome intelligence in your Enemies Camp, though you have none, for this will be a Countermine. I will ſay but this one word to you more, which is, that you ſet at once before your eyes the favour and diſpleaſure of your Prince, for you have your choice. A King's indignation does not cool like that of another man. They ſeldom forgive a man that makes them loſe any thing, for they would alwayes win. How was that brave *Monſieur de Lautrec* received at his return from *Millan*, and yet God knows he was not in fault. He was wont to ſay, it was the greateſt affliction of his whole life. Suffer then all ſorts of extremities, and omit nothing that men of honor ought to do. I know very well that men muſt loſe and win, and that no place is impregnable; but chooſe rather a hundred thouſand times to die, if all other means fail, than to pronounce that infamous and hateful, I yield.

Monſieur de Strozzy lent me a Galley to carry me back into *France*, and ſent a Kinfman of his, a young man of twenty years of age, and a Knight of *Malta* to *Civita Vecchia* to make it ready, and would that the Knight ſhould himſelf conduct me to *Marſeilles*. On Wednesday morning then I took poſt, and went to *Rome*, where I arriv'd about four of the clock in the afternoon, having ſent the Captains *Luffan*, *Blacon*, and *St. Auban* to ſtay for me at *Civita Vecchia*; *Monſieur de Strozzy* having given them leave for four months, the reſt remain'd with the ſaid Signeur. The Cardinal of *Armagnac* lodg'd me in his own Palace, and I was receiv'd with as much honor by all the Kings Miniſters, as any Gentleman could be. They had already heard of my coming out of *Sienna*, the Marquis having ſent word of it by an expreſs Courier to the Cardinal his Brother. I there found *Monſieur le Cardinal* of *Guiſe*, and the Duke of *Ferrara*, the Father of this that now is, being yet there ſince the creation of Pope *Marcellinus*. His Holineſs asked the Cardinal of *Guiſe* if I was arriv'd, as he had been told, to which the Cardinal making anſwer, that I was, he entreated him to bring me to him, for he had a great deſire to ſee me. The Cardinal found me at the Ambaſſadors *Monſieur d'Avanſon*, where he told me that I muſt go to his Holineſs, who had a deſire to ſee me, and *Monſieur d'Avanſon* lent me his own Coach. I found the Pope newly got up, and ſet in a Chair by his Bed ſide, ſo ill that he had much ado to ſpeak: but nevertheleſs he entertained me with very great favour. I told him that I would not now trouble his Holineſs with diſcourſe, but that I hoped God would in two or three daies reſtore him to his health, and that then I would come and give him an account how all things had paſſed at *Sienna*. He then told me that he had already been informed of me, but that he ſhould be glad to hear it again from my own mouth; adding theſe words, *That I might ſay never any man, of what Nation ſoever, had ever had ſo much intereſt, love, and eſteem among the Siennesis as I.* I then took my leave that I might not be a trouble to him, and returning back found the Cardinal of *Guiſe* ſtill at the Ambaſſadors, to whom I ſaid, that they might again go enter the Conclave to chooſe another Pope, for that this by to-morrow night would not be alive, and my words prov'd true; for the next day about Vespers he died, and the day after I took leave of all my friends, and went to *Civita Vecchia*, which was on Friday, and upon Saturday morning by break of day I went aboard. The pomps, pleaſures, delights and curioſities of this City could not detain me a day longer, conceiving I might elſewhere be ſerviceable to the King my Maſter. One thing I muſt needs ſay, though it be in my own commendation, that as I paſſed along the ſtreets, and going to the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, every one ran to the windows, and to their doors to ſee the man that had ſo long defended *Sienna*. Which only ſerv'd to enflame my courage the more to acquire more honor; and though I had ſcarce money to carry me home, I fancied my ſelf as rich as the greateſt man in *France*.

About break of day we ſet ſail, with as good a wind as we could deſire, and in the cloſe of the evening came to *Capocorea*, we there came to an Anchor, and two hours before day paſſed the ſtraight betwixt *Sardignia* and *Corſica*, and about nine of the clock in the morning came to *Bonificaio*, where was *Monſieur de la Moſſe*. I had heard at *Civita Vecchia*, that Prince *Auria* was gone towards *Piombino* with three or four thouſand Soldiers,

Error of the
Sieur de Mont-
luc.

Artifices of a
Governor.

The Sieur de
Montluc at
Rome.

The death of
Pope Marcell-
linus.

Monſieur de
Termes before
Calvy.

which he had embarked in two and fifty Gallies, and that he went to fight Monſieur de Termes, who was battering Calvy. This intelligence was the reaſon that I went to Bonificaio, to give notice of it to the ſaid Sieur de la Molle, who immediately thereupon ſent away to the ſaid Sieur de Termes, and ſo ſeaſonably, that he was ſcarce riſen in time to avoid being ſurpriz'd, and was conſtrain'd, as he himſelf told me ſince, to tumble three pieces of Cannon into the Sea, which he afterwards went to fiſh out again. I there did him a good turn, and a good piece of ſervice for the King my Maſter. You who bear arms, and have a deſire to ſerve your Princes well, have evermore an eye to every thing that concerns them, to give notice of every thing that you conceive conducing to their ſervice. I have known ſome ſuch good friends, as have rejoyced at the miſcarriage of their Companions, thinking to augment their own glory by their diſgrace: I never did ſo, nor would I do it to the greateſt Enemy I had in the world. Of this I could produce great and notable examples; but I paſs them by to return to my buſineſs. The Baron de la Garde lay alſo in a Sea-port near unto the place where Monſieur de Termes was, and had ſpeedy intelligence, that prince Auria's Fleet was out at ſea, but he knew not where, however ſuſpecting the worſt, he ſpeedily hoift ſail, making directly for Marſeilles, which was the cauſe of Monſieur de Termes his ſafety; for as Prince Auria thought to have ſurpriz'd the Baron de la Garde in this Haven where he lay, he had intelligence that he was gone away not above five or ſix hours before, which made him to follow after, ſteering the ſame courſe (which was upon the ſame Saturday, that I had the good gale of wind) and purſued him as far as the Iſles Dieres. The Baron without ſtaying held on his courſe towards Marſeilles, and it was well he did ſo, for had he ſtayed at the Iſlands he had been truſſed, forasmuch as he had no more than fourteen or fifteen Gallies. I departed from Monſieur de la Molle upon Sunday about ten of the clock, and of all day could make no way, the wind being contrary: but about two hours before day the ſame wind we had upon Saturday before return'd, and we ſet forward, it being Monday morning.

Two and fifty
Galleys of
Prince Auria.

About break of day I asked the Knight, if they had no bigger ſails, who told me, theſe were the largeſt they had, enquiring of me why I asked that queſtion, and whether I had a mind to make more haſte, to which I made answer that I had, whereupon he preſently clapt a ſail upon the Miſſen, and about break of day there fell a great miſt, which continued till the Sun grew pretty high, that it began to diſperſe: the Watch then from the Main-top began to cry out *a ſail, a ſail*, and preſently after *a Galley, a Galley*, at which the Knight told me, that they could be no other than either Prince Auria, or the Baron de la Garde. When the miſt ſuddenly clearing up we ſaw our ſelves in the middle of two and fifty Gallies, whereof fourteen that were ſeparated from the reſt of the Fleet ſteered their courſe toward Sardignia, and we were between them. Every one in the Galley then began to deſpair; the Pilots would make for the Coaſts of Barbary to eſcape; the Maſter was not of this opinion, but rather that we ſhould make forwards by force of Oars and Sails: St. Auban and the other Captains were in the greateſt fright that poſſibly could be, ſaying, that being newly come out of ſo great an extremity as the Siege of Sienna, they were upon the point to be reduc'd to that miſfortune, as to ſee themſelves chain'd to the Oar, which rather than to undergo, they had far better die with their ſwords in their hands. What face ſoever I might ſet upon the matter, I was in no much better heart than they, and would have been glad to have been planting Cabages. On a ſudden four of the fourteen began to turn their prows to fall upon us, whiſt the others in the mean time ſtoke ſayl to ſtay for them; and as the other had made all the ſail they could to come upon us with all their Oars amain, the heads of their Gallies were juſt over againſt our Cook-room. Now the Knight all this while not ſpeaking one word, whiſt every body in the Galley was crying out in a miſerable confuſion, I ſaid to him, *O Knight, you ſeem to loſe your ſelf; you have been bred with one of the braveſt men that ever went to Sea, which was the Prior of Capua*; to which he made answer, *No me perde, no me perde per Dio: mas io gardo la mie*. The Enemies Gallies in the mean time came within a Harquebuz ſhot to encloſe us, and then the Knight running from Poop to Prow, encouraged every one, making them to row amain, inſomuch that when they thought to have hemm'd us in, we were got above fifty paces before them, and began to beſtow upon them ſome Harquebuz ſhot. They purſued us about half a league; but by reaſon of our three ſails, together with our fear that lent us wings, it ſeem'd as if our Galley flew before them, ſo that they preſently gave us over, and tack'd about, and our Seamen plyed them with their courteous kind of language, every one ſtriving who ſhould pay them moſt with railing; and thus by the great diligence of our Seamen, we in deſpite of them eſcap'd. Towards night the wind began ſo to ſlacken, and change upon us, that we could not get to Marſeilles till Tueſday ſupper time, where we found the Count de Tande, the Counteſs, and the Baron de

la Garde at supper in the Garden of Monsieur *Blancart*, who were all astonish'd to see me, having made account that I was dead, and *Sienna* sack'd and burnt down to the ground; for they being in *Corfica* had heard news day by day from *Romania*, that I was at the last extremity without any hopes of composition; the Baron *de la Garde* had been confident in this belief all the while he was with Monsieur *de Termes* in *Corfica*, and also after he was come back to *Marseilles*, and that I would play a desperate game at my coming out, in case the Marquis would not give me such conditions as I would have. Others said that I had lost my understanding, and that God would punish me for my great temerity and folly. They were talking of me just as I entred into the Garden, but they would not let me tell them any thing till I had supp'd, for they had almost done. I had soon dispatch'd, for I was forbid to eat much after I had fasted so long, which I think was the death of very many after they came out; for nature must by little and little be compos'd, and restor'd to her usual habit. I afterwards gave them an account from point to point of all that I had done, which they thought very strange. The Baron was very much astonish'd when I told him, that Prince *Auria* had pursued him as far as the Isles *Dieres*, giving God thanks that he had not yielded to the importunity of those he had with him, who would have perswaded him to cast Anchor at the Islands, and gave Monsieur *de Termes* for lost, or at least all his Artillery: but I told him, that upon my intelligence Monsieur *de Molle* had dispatch'd away to him in all diligence to give him notice. The next day I dispatch'd away the Sieur *de Lecussan* to the King, to give his Majesty notice of my arrival, for the Count had told me, that the King was very much dissatisfied with me, for suffering my self to be reduc'd to the last morsel, by reason whereof he could expect no other than the loss of me, and the ruine of the City, upon which depended all his reputation in *Italy*. See what hazards we run to serve these Princes! but there is no remedy, they are born to command, and we to serve and obey; and God knows if I had not cause to complain to be so abandon'd, and left a prey; but 'tis all one they think it yet too much honor for us to die in their Quarrels. The Baron mightily pressed me to send thither, and moreover made *Lecussan* promise him to ride night and day, which he did. I stayd with them until Friday morning, that I took post and came to *St. Mathurin* the 9th or the 10th of *May*, where I found the said Sieur *de Lecussan*, who staid there to tell me the great joy the King was in when he heard the whole story, his Majesty wondring at my fortune, and saying to every one, that he thought me the most fortunate man upon earth, after such and so long a Siege, and without hopes of relief, to come so honorably away, especially having to do not only with the Emperor, but also with the Duke of *Florence*, who desir'd to be reveng'd of the *Siennois*. He looked also upon the escape I had by Sea, out of the clutches of Prince *Auria*, for a singular good fortune. The next morning I was at the rising of Monsieur *de Guise*, who could never have his fill of embracing me, and led me to the Kings Bed-chamber, who was yet in Bed, but awake. At his entring into the Chamber he began to cry out aloud, leading me in by the hand, *Sir, here is your lost man*, and I then drew near to kiss his Majesty's hands, who embrac'd me with both his arms, holding my head to his bosom; almost as long as one might be saying a *Pater noster*, saying to me twice whilst he held me in this posture. O Monsieur *de Montluc*, you are infinitely welcome, I never thought to have seen you more; to which I made answer, that God had preserv'd me to do his Majesty yet once in my life one good piece of service. He said he believ'd it, and was assur'd that I would not spare my life to do it; whereupon he again embrac'd me, and then start out of his bed. I then retired my self to the apartment the Vice-Chamberlain by his Majesty's order had appointed for me, as well satisfied with the gracious countenance of my Master, as if he had given me the noblest Present; for I have ever been proud, and 'tis natural for me to be so, being a Gascon. This alone had been sufficient to have made me have gone through impossibilities. The Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and the Constable were at this time at *Ardes*, treating a Peace betwixt the Emperor and the King.

The King dissatisfied with the Sieur *de Montluc*.

The Sieur *de Montluc* arrives at Court.

The Gascons proud.

After, when his Majesty had din'd, about one of the clock he retir'd into the Gallery, Monsieur *de Guise* only being with him, where he was pleased to call for me, and so soon as I was enter'd Monsieur *de Guise* shut to the door. After which his Majesty would have me to give him an account at large of all the particularities of this Siege, from the first day I enter'd into *Sienna*, to the last, which made the story continue so long, that the Captains who were come along with me, and waited without upon the Terrats, told me, that they heard the clock strike five times whilst I was in the Gallery with the King. He was very much delighted with the order I took about the retrenchment of the bread, and the manner after which I did it, together with the Remonstrances I made to the Captains, and to the Senate. He was also mightily pleased with the resolution I had taken

The Sieur *de Montluc* makes a Narrative to the King of the Siege of *Sienna*.

A question of
the King's to
the Sieur de
Montluc.

His pleasant
Answer.

Another ques-
tion of the
King's to the
Sieur de Mont-
luc.

The Sieur de
Montluc justifies
Monsieur
de Strozzy to
the King.

to give the Marquis battail in the City, and above all things with the order I had drawn in reference to it, which was at that time much fresher in my memory than it is now, and was printed in *Italy*; and I remember the last time I return'd out of *Tuscany* the Duke of *Urbino* told me at *Pesero*, that he had it by him, and had never in his life read any thing that pleased him so much as that. His Majesty would also that I should make a Narrative of it in writing, which I did, and whereof he distributed several Copies to divers Governors, and one I remember he caused to be sent to *Mariembourg*, where the Marechal de *Coffeé* commanded, or else Monsieur de *Fumel*. He expressed a great sense of pity when he heard the business of turning out the useles mouths, and in conclusion was pleased to ask me two questions. The first was, how I could make the four Nations, mortal enemies to one another, agree so well together; for all of them in general, as he had been told, had behav'd themselves so exceedingly well to one another, without the least disorder, that they could not possibly have done it better: A thing that every one looked upon as a miracle, so much as the Emperor himself, wondring I could compose these people after this manner (the *Italians* themselves, who came out of *Italy* reporting it to him) as an unheard of thing. To which I made answer, that I had found it a very easie matter, and (being I saw he had a mind to hear it, and that I saw he took a delight in my Narration) I told him, that I went one Saturday into the Market, where in the sight of all the people I bought a Sack, and a little Cord to tie it with, together with a Fagot, all which having before them all laid upon my Shoulder, when I came to my Chamber I call'd for fire to light my Fagot, and after took the Sack, and there put into it all my ambition, all my avarice, my particular hatreds, my lechery, my gluttony, my sloth, my partiality, my envy, my particularities, and all my Gascon humours, and to be short, all that I conceiv'd might hinder me from considering every thing I was to do in order to his Majesties service; and told him moreover, that if all his Ministers to whom he entrusted the commands of men and places would do the same, his Majesties affais could not but prosper; for my mind was ever free and undisturbed with any thing that might hinder me from considering what I had to do, and bring about my design, which was never to go out of that place but with the last morsel in my mouth; and I will say moreover, that whoever shall strip themselves of the forementioned vices, and burn them, God will ever be assisting to them, who favouring our designs, we cannot fail to effect whatever we have a mind to undertake. For God ever goes along with such people, and on the contrary abandons those who do not serve their Masters after this manner, because they forfeit the Oath they have taken, having sworn loyally and faithfully to serve him, which no man can possibly do retaining these vices. His Majesty laughed at my discourse, commanding me to tell him one thing, and to tell him true, to which I made answer, that I would no more lie to him than I would to God Almighty. He then asked me whether Monsieur de *Strozzy* could not have reliev'd me if he would; for his Ministers at *Rome* had several times sent him word, that he was in a capacity to do it, and that it only stuck at him that I was not reliev'd? To which I answer'd, that his Majesty asked me a thing himself was better able to resolve than I. How can that be said he, seeing I have not been upon the place? Sir, said I, you Kings and Princes have so long ears, that you hear every thing that is done, though you be a hundred leagues off: notwithstanding I told him that his Majesty being engaged in *Scotland*, at *Calice*, at *Mariembourg*, and other neighbouring Castles; at *Metz*, and *Piedmont*, and in *Corfica*, he ought better to know than I, whether after having provided all things necessary for all these places, wherein his honor was engaged, he had been in a condition to send money to the said Sieur de *Strozzy* wherewith to raise a sufficient Army of horse and foot to fight so great forces as the Marquis had before *Sienna*; which if his Majesty had not been able to do, how could he imagine Monsieur de *Strozzy* should relieve me, who had not a man to make head against the *Spaniards* and *Germans*? That of *Italians* it was true, he might have had but too many: but that had been no equal match: that Monsieur de *Strozzy* was full of courage, and very affectionate to his service; but that no one could flye without wings; and that three several times he had run very great hazards for his service, of which I also gave him a particular account. His Majesty then told me, that he was satisfied with my answer, and that he believ'd Monsieur de *Strozzy* to be his servant, and too much a man of honor to be any way in fault; making me thereupon very many excuses, for that having been engaged in so many places at once, it had not been possible for him to send an Army into *Italy* to the said Sieur de *Strozzy* strong enough to raise the Siege, and to give the Marquis battail. Why then Sir, said I, you are neither to blame Monsieur de *Strozzy*, nor your self, both of you having done all that lay in your power, but this will teach you another time to look better to your affairs. This was a charity had been done the said Monsieur de *Strozzy*, who was as much concern'd

cern'd as the King, and more about the loss of *Sienna*, for the hatred he bore to the Duke of *Florence*. After we had ended our discourse, his Majesty went out to look the Queen, and Madam de *Savoy* that now is, to whom he repeated all that I had said to him, especially that about Monsieur de *Strozzy*, which the Queen was very glad of, and the next day did me the honor to give me thanks for the office of friendship I had done Monsieur de *Strozzy*, who was a concern of hers. I had no reason to do otherwise, for besides that I had lied, I had a particular honor for him, and it was just I should have so, forasmuch as he lov'd and esteem'd me more than any Gentleman that ever came out of *Gascony*.

This was upon *Monday* and upon *Tuesday*, Madam de *Valentinois* told me, that she had never known any man return from an employment with whom the King was better satisfied than he was with me, and that he did highly commend me. Which whether or no she said to flatter me, I cannot say: but she better knew then any other, for she had very much gain'd the King's heart, and told me that I was very happy. As I was talking with her, the King came, and put me again upon some passages of my voyage. Now I had there the Patent and Declaration the Senate had given me under their broad Seal; wherein was declar'd, that I would never consent to the Surrender of *Sienna*, nor Capitulate in the name of the King: but also that they call'd me to witness, whether they would ever hear of any Capitulation, till they were reduc'd to the utmost extremity, and the last morsel of bread. His Majesty took the Patent, and read it; after which he ask'd me, Why I would not Capitulate for my self and the Souldiers, telling me that he wonder'd the Marquis did not defeat me at my coming out. To which I made answer, That it was for two Reasons, whereof one was, that I had made a resolution never to surrender any place; but rather to dye, and that the name of *Montluc* should never be found to a Surrender or a Capitulation, having never put my self into a Town to deliver it up, but to defend it to the last moment of my life, as I had sent word to the Marquis by Signior *Cornelio* and Captain *Charry*. The other Reason why I would not Capitulate was, that in case either His Majesty, or any of his Successors, should hereafter reconquer *Sienna*, and that the *Siennois* should fortifie themselves with his protection, as they had done before, he might herein be left free to his own liberty and discretion. For they could not say, that his Lieutenant *Montluc* had consented to their Surrender, and that His Majesty ought not to quit his own interest; nor that of those who were to succeed him to the Crown of *France*. The chances of War, Sir, said I, are divers and variable. *Millan* and *Naples* have been the one twice, the other three times in our possession, and *Sienna* may be ours again. I have done nothing to prejudice your title, His Majesty lik'd my Reason so well, that he remain'd very well satisfied, commanding me to lay up the Patent amongst the Records of my Family, that it might be preserv'd for ever. Madam de *Valentinois* then put in, and said, that the Archives of a private Gentleman, was not so secure, as the Treasury of a King, and that if this Patent was of so great importance, his Majesty might do well to cause it to be laid up in his. He then took it out of my hand, and gave it to one of his Gentlemen, or else to Madam de *Valentinois* to deliver it to Monsieur le Garde de *Sceaux*, who since was Cardinal of *Sens*, commanding him to lay it up in his Treasury, amongst the Evidences of the Crown. This cannot be above sixteen or seventeen years ago: So that if it would please the King his Son, who now reigns, to command Monsieur de *Fizes*, who was at that time Secretary to the Cardinal, to search for the Patent, I am confident it would be found. I would I had given 500 Crowns for a Duplicate of it, that I might have such a Record of my self, and insert it in my Book. For that will testifie that I came out of *Sienna* with Colours flying, Arms shoulder'd, and Drums beating, without any Capitulation at all. A thing not to be found in any History, that ever any man did the like. So that no one ought to think it strange, that I so much desire a Copy of that Patent; neither ought the King so much to despise it, as to be out of hopes one day to make it useful to him, and His Majesty ought rather to be curious than I to have it sought out; for he is the most concern'd.

Madam de Valentinois.

The resolution of the Sieur de Montluc.

The day following being *Wednesday*, Monsieur de *Guise* in the evening told me, that His Majesty was the next day resolv'd to give me the Order; which in those times was so noble a thing, and so much sought for, that the greatest Prince in *France* would not have been satisfied without it, and would rather the King should never confer any honor upon him, than deny him that; for it was then a mark of honor, that was not so profan'd as it is now adays. The next day then, being *Thursday* in the morning, the King was pleas'd to honour me with it, and after dinner I begg'd leave of him, that I might go to *Paris*, to put my self into some tollerable Equipage, for that I was too torn and tatter'd for a new Knight of the Order. He was pleas'd at the first word to grant me leave, and

The Sieur de Montluc made Knight of the Order.

Recompences
given by the
King to the
Sieur de Mont-
luc.

The good na-
ture of King
Henry the se-
cond.

and before I went gave me an allowance of three thousand Francs in Pension out of the Exchequer, and three thousand Livers Revenue out of his Demeasns, wherein the County of *Guare*, where part of my own estate lies, was compriz'd, and *Bregeyrac* made up the rest. I two years enjoy'd the County, but not *Bregeyrac*, forasmuch as it was mortgag'd before. I very much desir'd to disengage it, because Monsieur de *Valence* my Brother had a Priory there, and had rather have settled himself in *Perigort*, than any other part of *France*. If I could have done it, I should very well have prevented the Roguery that has been hatch there since. His Majesty also gave me two thousand Crowns in ready money, bidding me moreover ask him any thing else that I wanted. I then asked him two Councillors places in the Parliament of *Thoulouze*, to help to raise my daughter's Portion, whom I married to Monsieur de *Fontenilles*, Monsieur de *Valence* having sent me instructions from *Paris* to ask that of the King, of which I should sooner raise money than of any other thing. His Majesty was pleased at the first word to give me this also, and with this money I married my said daughter, together with some little more that my wife had. His Majesty moreover promised me the first Company of *Gens d'Arms* that should become vacant. I had not the first, nor the second, but I had the third; for Kings promise so much, that it is not possible for them to keep their words with all. This vacancy hapned after my return from *Montalzin*, the second time his Majesty had sent me beyond the Mountains, and was the Company of Monsieur de *la Guish*. These were the benefits I receiv'd from the King at that time, which were no small ones, and in brief I had whatever I desir'd. I am sure since the death of this good Prince my Master I have a hundred times wish'd my own, considering the traverses have been given me, and the crosses I have had. It had not been in the power of mankind to have done me wrong if he had liv'd, for he never forgot any services, let them be never so inconsiderable; neither was it in the power of calumny to take away his good opinion from any one that did him good service. And on the contrary when any one fail'd in his duty, what good countenance soever he might shew them, out of complacency to such as would dispose him of the ill opinion he had conceiv'd, it never came from his heart, as the Marechal de *St. André* has often assur'd me, who told me his humour. He was very familiar with him, and understood him very well. Five or six daies after, his Majesty came to *Paris*, where I ask'd leave of him to go home to my own house, to see my family, which he freely granted. I shall never conceal the benefits, and the honor my Masters have conferr'd upon me, that being only worthy, and becomming a mean and dirty nature, and an ungrateful heart.

The End of the Third Book.

THE

THE
COMMENTARIES
OF
Messire Blaize de Montluc,
MARESCHAL of
FRANCE.

The Fourth Book.



Had scarce been three weeks at my own house, when His Majesty The King's
dispatch'd a Courier to me, commanding me forthwith to repair command to
to him wherever he was, without reply, or staying for any other the Sieur de
command: which I presently did, having scarce seen my house Montluc,
and my friends: But *Glory is a notable spur*. At my arrival His
Majesty told me, that I must of necessity go into *Piedmont* to
Monsieur de *Brissac*, who had sent to demand me to command
the Foot, making account that to relieve *S. Jago*, where Monsieur de
Bonnivet was shut up, he must be forc'd to come to a Battel. Two

days after I had my dispatch, the King manifesting great tokens of Friendship to me,
and to be very well satisfied with my service. I found Monsieur de *Brissac* at *Turin*
very ill of the Gout; and the next day went to seek out Monsieur d' *Aumale*, who Monsieur d'
commanded the Army at *S. Valent* near *Uplian*, which consisted of five thousand foot, Aumale com-
a thousand men at Arms, and twelve hundred Light Horse. The King at my going mands the Ar-
away, gave me a Courser of his own, which was an exceeding good one, and which I my.
ordered with my Train to follow after me, for I went post. The same day that I came
to Monsieur d' *Aumale*, I would go to take a view of *Uplian*, in order to a siege; for the
Duke of *Alva* had made a fool of the work, and quitted *S. Jago*; and the said Sieur d'
Aumale lent me a little grey Nag. I went then in open day to discover the place, with-
in less then fifty paces of the wall; for I would let them see, that for having been
lately with my Wife, I had forgot nothing of what I was wont to do. This discove-
ry was made in the sight of Monsieur d' *Aumale*, and several others: where at my re-
turn I gave him so good an account, that he found I had told him the truth of all.
The next day he drew part of the Army toward the Castle, where the Enemy had cast
up a great Platform, environed with a large ditch, with a * *Tenaille* that covered the * A *Tenaille*
Castle, and betwixt the *Tenaille* and the Castle, there was fourscore paces or more; in is a kind of
which space they had moreover cast up a Trench in the middle; to the end, that in case Fortification
they should lose the head of this great Bastion and *Tenaille*, before they could get to the of the shape
Castle, they might retire to this Trench. Monsieur d' *Aumale* had at this time for En- of a pair of
gineers *Duno* and *Balafergues*, who began their Trenches above five hundred paces from Pincers.
the Town, where they found the earth so full of little flints, that a hundred men could
not cast up twenty paces of Trench in a day, and the said Monsieur d' *Aumale* spent
two days in this kind of work. I was very much discontented that they would not do The Siege
as I would have them; but in the end Monsieur d' *Aumale* was resolved himself to see in Sep. 1593.
what I would counsel him to do, so that an hour after day-light, we went on that side
by the corner of the Town on the left hand, and behind a little Chappel, which was
within fifteen or twenty paces of the Counterscarp. He took no soul living with him
but

Monsieur d'
Aumale goes
himself to dis-
cover.

The danger of
Monsieur d'
Aumale and the
Sieur de Mont-
luc.

Chipi Camp-
Master.

but me and *Fequieres*, who as I have been told, has since fac'd about to the House of *Guise*, though the said Seigneur shewed him as much favour and respect, as any Gentleman about him. Monsieur d' *Aumale* and I went upon the Counterscarpe, and *Fequieres* went underneath, where we measured how much of the Counterscarpe we were to cut, to plant the Artillery upon the brink of the Ditch; and to discover also if the Enemies Harquebuzers might not see into the Recoil of the Canon, and us also, should we lodge on the other side of the Counterscarp. We went upon it, and all along by the Ditches above sixscore paces, and whispering to one another, past by two of their Centinels, without being questioned by them: so that had we brought two Ladders with us, Monsieur d' *Aumale* would have tempted Fortune, to have seen what would have been the issue (for she often presents her self, when we least dream of any such matter) and when we came to the third Centinel, he call'd out and wak'd the rest, who as I believe were certainly asleep, which made the said Seigneur and me retire towards the little Chappel, much better accompanied at our return, than when we went, but it was with good round volleys of Harquebuzer shot, so that we were constrained to run into the Chappel, the backside of which *Fequieres* recover'd. Now this Chappel was open towards the Town, and that part to which the door had been hung, when it had one, was a square pillar of stone, about the thickness of a man that was not very gross, and the Harquebuzer shot put us in such haste, that Monsieur d' *Aumale* was forc'd on a sudden to clap behind this pillar bolt upright, and I behind him, for all the Chappel besides was open. In my life I never heard so great Harquebuzer shots; I know not whether it was not our fear, that made them seem so, but I am sure there was good cause to be afraid, for the Bullets almost continually slap'd against the pillar with which Monsieur d' *Aumale* shelter'd himself: He serv'd me for a shield, and I held my head and my body close to him. They kept us there above a long half hour besieg'd, and it is most certain they had heard us; for vvhhen vve were enter'd into the Chappel, vve heard them in Spanish cry out, *Juro a Dios ellos son en la Capilla, io los è entendidos*. Monsieur d' *Aumale* has often since talkt to me of the frights we were in; for I do verily believe that above a hundred Harquebuzers came to take aim at us, they also threw wisps of flaming straw into the ditch, that they might aim the better. *We were in a fine case*, said Monsieur d' *Aumale*, *should they sally out upon us*. Sir, said I, *those of the house of Lorrain were never so unhappy as to be taken skulking: neither will the rule of War permit them to sally out, without knowing what we are: We have here a good Buckler of Barcellona: All this while the bullets clatter'd against the stones, and it was convenient for us to tweak in our buttocks*. *Fequieres* play'd here one very senseless trick; for not knowing where we were, he whistled to call to us, which I believe was the reason they shot so very long. In the mean time the Alarm run quite thorow the Town, and in the end they grew as weary of shooting, as we were of being shot at, and so we walk'd out and found *Fequieres* behind the Chappel, who had made a cunninger choice of his retreat than we, and there Monsieur d' *Aumale* concluded the night following to bring the Artillery to the edge of the graff, and all our Ensigns. And there I got the victory of the Engineers, who said, that all our men would be kill'd there, and that we should be forc'd to quit the Canon; and hereupon by good fortune arriv'd Monsieur de *Caillac*. In the morning Monsieur d' *Aumale* in my presence told him all we had seen over night, and sent *Fequieres* along with him, to go to discover behind the Chappel: for the same night the said Seigneur had appointed two Ensigns, that lay a great way from the Chappel, to go and immediately to encamp themselves just behind it. The besieg'd committed there a great incongruity, for they ought not to have contented themselves with laying the Chappel open only, but they ought moreover to have raz'd it to the ground. Monsieur de *Caillac* at his return was of our opinion; whereupon Monsieur d' *Aumale* permitted Monsieur de *Caillac* and me to go and carry along with us the Pioneers to cut the Counterscarpe, ordering *Duno* and *Balasergues* to bring the Canon after, and caus'd a Gabionnade also to be made in the Meadow, some forty or fifty paces from the Counterscarp, wherein to lodge the powder: so that by break of day we had cut the Counterscarpe, and the Artillery was planted in Battery so near, that the very muzzle of the Canon hung over the Graff. Beginning to batter, Monsieur de *Bonnivete* went to and fro in the very face of the Bastion, betwixt the Battery and the place where Monsieur d' *Aumale* was, and the Marechal de *Cosse* did the same. Two nights before we had cast up the Trenches at the head of the Bastion, which cover'd the Castle to approach to the Ditch, the Baron de *Chipi*, who was Camp-Master, put his Soldiers into Camitado, and threw himself headlong into the Ditch pel-mel amongst them, and gain'd two Cazamatts that flank'd the Ditch, killing those that were within them, for they could not retire:

and

and at the ſame inſtant Monsieur d'Aumale commanded the Engineers to mine at the head of the Baſtion, which they did, and made three. Monsieur de Coſſé then ran to the Baſtion to ſee if the Mines were ready, and ſo return'd to Monsieur d'Aumale to the Battery we were making. Hitherto I could make no mention of Monsieur d'Anguien, the Prince of Condé his Brother, and Monsieur de Nemours, they being only there for their pleasure, and without any command, being come poſt from Court, upon the report of a Battail ſpeedily to be fought; no one believing that the Duke of Alva would have return'd without ſtriking a blow: However they were never abſent from the work, and at the Aſſault went on together, and Monsieur de Bonniot with them. There came along with them ſeveral other Lords, and amongſt others Monsieur de Ventadour, de Lude, de l'Auſun, de Malicorne, and de la Châſſaigneray. Now two of the Mines wrought a very great effect; for they overturn'd almoſt all the top of the Baſtion into the ditch, and in the cloud of duſt that was raiſed, the Baron de Chipy, and the Captain with him upon the ruine came to blows with fourſcore or a hundred Spaniards (that were entred but four or five dayes before, but not without the loſs of a great many of their men at their entry) and two or three hundred more, all choice men, and cull'd out of all the Spaniſh Companies; and there died there above fourſcore; and our people moreover won from them the Trench they had caſt up in the ſpace betwixt the Baſtion and the Caſtle, for they would have retir'd to their Trench, and ours followed ſo cloſe, that they entred with them. They then attempted full ſpeed to recover the Caſtle, but he who commanded within it would not let down the draw-bridge, ſo that there all the reſt were diſpatch'd. This was the ſucceſs of the Baſtion, which was bravely carried. There was there ſlain Caſar de Naples, a Nephew of the Duke of Alva, and among the Priſoners Signior Sigifmondo de Gonzaga, and Captain Lazaro, Lieutenant of the Duke of Alva's Guards, with ſeveral others, whoſe names I have forgot. I muſt now return to the breach, which to ſpeak the truth was reaſonable enough. It was aſſaulted at the ſame time with the Baſtion, as it ought to be, where though all theſe Princes and Lords behav'd themſelves with very great bravery, mounting the breach themſelves to encourage the Soldiers, yet did they within gallantly defend it, and ſent us back again very well beaten. Here was ſlain the Count de Creance, and ſeveral others bore him company; yet knowing what had been done on the other ſide it comforted us a little, and gave every one hope that we ſhould bring about our deſign. Being mounted upon the Platform of the Bulwark which was left entire, I ſent Dano to tell Monsieur d'Aumale that he muſt lodge three or four pieces of Canon upon this Platform, to thunder the Enemy in the Town; which accordingly was preſently done, ſo that in the morning they all began to play.

Here there is wanting ſeveral particularities of this Siege writ by Monsieur de Montluc, as appears by the ſixth Book.

This ſo much aſtoniſh'd thoſe within, that they began to lay their hands upon their hearts, and to parly. In the end the Capitulation was concluded; and alſo for the Caſtle, againſt which (to ſave the Governor's honor) we made fifty Canon ſhot. In the mean time news was brought that Monsieur de Termes was coming in the quality of the Kings Lieutenant, which gave great occaſion of diſcourſe, and ſeveral reaſons were by ſeveral men given for this change. The next day about noon came a Secretary of the Mareſchal de Briſſac call'd Verbin, with letters to all the Princes, wherein he excus'd himſelf, aſſuring them that this command of Monsieur de Termes did not proceed from him: And the ſaid Verbin told me from the Mareſchal, that he earneſtly entreated me to ſpeak to all the Princes, that they might not entertain that opinion of him; which I did, though perhaps I had not that credit with them that ſeveral others had: but I know not how it came to paſs, I have ever had more than I could hope for. Now you ſhall hear what was made of one word onely that I ſaid to this Verbin. The thing I ſaid to him was this, that Monsieur de Gonnort, de Gourdon, and I conceiv'd the Mareſchal might do well to write to the King, that his Maſteſty would pleaſe for a few dayes to defer the coming of Monsieur de Termes, being that perhaps theſe Princes would make a difficulty of obeying a Gentleman (the ſaid Sieur de Termes having as yet no other title) which might perhaps cauſe them to leave the Army, a thing they could not do without drawing ſo many people along with them, as might be prejudicial to his ſervice. This was every title of what I ſaid to him: but this honeſt man went, and told the Mareſchal, that I had flatly told him, that I would not obey Monsieur de Termes, which God knows was the furtheſt end of my thought; for I had formerly obeyed him, and was not now ſo high in the ſteps as to play the Prince. He

The Sieur de Montluc's advice miſinter-
preted.

was ever a very great friend both to me and to all my Brothers, and has as great an esteem for me, if not greater, than any Gentleman of *Guienne*, and we have ever liv'd together at this rate.

Montcalvo discovered.

This past after this manner, and we marched straight to *Montcalvo*, expecting the arrival of *Monsieur de Termes*, who came to the Siege, and behav'd himself with great modesty; for he was very discreet, and would never take upon him to command. We laid Siege to the Castle (for the Town was carried at the first, neither indeed was it strong) and batter'd by the base of a Bastion on the right hand the Gate: but it was impossible to do any good by making a breach there, forasmuch as we must have storm'd it with Ladders, so that our people having made an attempt were repuls'd. I went then in the night to discover the Ditch, and went so far as under the very Draw-bridge, which was close under the Wall, to see if there were not a Flanker that defended the Gate, and found that there was one below, which played all along the Ditch: the Enemy threw down fire-works upon me, and there hurt me a Serjeant of the Company of *Monsieur de Lioux* my Brother; and yet we were no more than three that entred into the Ditch.

Montcalvo surrendered.

The Governor hang'd.

At my return I consulted with *Monsieur de Caillac* to place two pieces of Canon upon the Counterscarp, just overagainst the Gate, to the end that we might shoot directly against the beams to which the chains were fastned, that the draw-bridge might fall down, after which we should soon beat down the Gate on the inside. We told all this to *Monsieur d'Aumale*, who gave us leave to do as we thought fit. The night following we lodg'd the Gabions, and three pieces of Canon, which was done by one of the clock at night. All the Princes came to see our work, and *Monsieur d'Anguien* taking me about the middle said to me, *You have formerly been my Soldier, I will now be yours.* Sir, said I, *you are very welcome, neither ought a Prince disdain to play the Pioneer in time of need; here is work for you.* *Monsieur de Cossé* came presently after, whom I took by the hand, and led him to see all that we had done, when after these Princes and Lords had seen all, they retir'd themselves to repose till day, and I remain'd upon the place. In the morning when the Captain of the Castle saw himself coop'd up after this manner, he began to sound a Parley, and surrendered upon free quarter, with bag and baggage, and liberty to draw away a little piece of Artillery to save his honor. The Capitulation being signed, he presently march'd, and went straight to *Pont d'Asture*, where their Camp-Master *Don Arbore* lay, who gave him no leisure to enter any house to give an account of his fortunes but immediately hang'd him up, as he deserv'd; for at least he ought to have endur'd an assault, which if he had, upon my word he had found us enough to do.

You who put your selves into places, beware never so soon to enter into fear, and though your enemy may have play'd his game very well, and that you have reason to suspect your own condition to be dangerous enough; yet if there be never so little possibility of defending your selves, rouse up your spirits, and do the best you can, entrench your selves within, and consider that your enemy is more afraid to attack you, than you are to defend your selves; for it must be a very ill place indeed, if you have not some means to withstand an Assault, seeing you durst hold out a Battery. Do not think to save your honors by carrying away a Flag, or some small piece of Artillery, as this Captain did: for all this is of very little moment, and he who lies before you will easily grant such trifles as these, provided he has his end, and you the loss and shame. Do but think what sorrow and repentance this poor Captain, who so easily surrendered himself, had upon the Gallows, and if then he would not rather have chosen to have died in the Breach. When you have done all that men of honor can do, there is then no remedy, you must submit.

The importance of *Montcalvo*.

The Sieur de *Montluc* traduced to the King.

The taking of this place was of very great importance, for *Montcalvo* bridled and kept in awe, not onely *le pont d'Asture*, but also all the places upon the River *Pau*, and in the plain of the Marquisate of *Montferrant*, and moreover very much assur'd *Cazal*. The Army staid there seven or eight daies, during which time news was brought to the Princes, and to *Monsieur d'Aumale*, that the King was something dissatisfied at the disobedience I made mention of before. I also was put into the fine story, some honest man having done me that good office, as to affirm that I was the Incendiary, and the greatest Mutineer of all, which (how false soever) was so far believ'd, that the Constable sent me a letter, wherein he writ, that the King had commanded him to send me word, that I should forthwith retire to my own house, and that he would not I should any more intermeddle in this expedition. This did not much astonish me, for I knew the King would do me the honor to hear my justification: but the *Marschal de Brissac* was however so kind as to send his Brother *Monsieur de Cossé* to Court, by whom he assur'd his Majesty of the contrary to what he had been inform'd against me; with which the King was satisfied, and acquitted

acquitted me at my arrival : (for this occasion'd me a Journey to Court) where his Majesty received me with as much favour as ever, particularly enforming himself from me of the affairs of *Piedmont*, and especially about the Princes in our Army, with whom he was not very well satisfied : but I had a care of prating too much, for as much as I was sure either the Constable, or Madam de *Valentinois* would have known it, and so from hand to hand it would have been carried about, that *Montluc* had been the Author.

A caution for such as have the privilege to talk with their Princes.

O that a man that lives amongst the great ones had need to be discreet, and to carry his cup even ! These tale-carriers have never any good meaning with them : they would have done as much by Monsieur de *Strozzy* at my return out of *Italy*, and it was well for me that I spoke discreetly of him ; for both the Queen and he took it very kindly at my hands : if you know any thing of importance to your Masters safety, or his service, you are obliged in fidelity and duty to give him notice of it ; but to go and tattle to him saying, Sir, such a one does not do well, such a one goes negligently about his business, such a one does this and that, you very well deserve to have your throat cut : for great persons are not to be talk'd of at that rate ; and he that told the King I was the occasion of the disorder in the Army, was no better than a Rascal, for there was no such thing : but it is no wonder people should make such stories of me who am but a poor Gentleman, when they dare to slander Princes and others the greatest Nobility of the Nation. These are ordinary things at Court, and 'tis there a kind of trade ; forasmuch as the depression of one is the advancement of another : they play at *thrust out the harlot*, where the *weakest go to the walls*. There is no remedy, a man must run through this inconvenience, for a good heart cannot stay at home, and he that will warm himself, must either approach the fire, or the Sun. Our Sun is the King that illuminates and warms us with his rays wheresoever we are ; if any one step in before you, you must arm your selves with patience, and the Duke of *Guise* his Motto *Chacun a son tour*.

The Duke of Guise his Motto.

After I had staid some time at Court I took leave of his Majesty, and retir'd home to my own house, where I remained five or six moneths in repose, and when I was busie about ordering the affairs of my Family (which I never had leisure to look into,) his Majesty dispatched away a Courier to command me to come post away to him, writing to me to send away my Train straight to *Marseilles*, without giving me the least intimation whither he intended to send me. I forthwith obeyed his command, for I was never resty, and being come to Court, I there found two Gentlemen of *Sienna*, who were come in the behalf of their whole Country, to beseech his Majesty to send me to command them, making great complaints of Monsieur de *Soubize* ; not that he any way tyrannized over them, or did them any injury, but by reason he had lost some places belonging to their State, though I believe Monsieur de *Soubize* had done all that in him lay, but no one takes any loss whatever in good part, and all the world judges of things by the event. At my arrival the King told me that I must return to *Montalzin* to be his Lieutenant General there. I contested a great while not to go, not that the command was not highly honorable : but I was afraid I should *embark without Biscuit*, and to speak the truth, whoever would do his business well, must not go so far from home ; for a man is never remembred at that distance. If any thing presents it self for your advancement, you are sure never to hear of it : but for the acquiring honor and renown 'tis often better to be further off, than near at hand. Your fame shall more encrease, and you will be more honored and esteemed by Strangers than your own Countrey-men. On the other side I had more mind to be employed in the Wars of *France* near to his Majesties person : but no excuses would be allowed, neither indeed could I heartily deny my good Master. The *Siennois* so soon as they saw that I was come, were again importunate with his Majesty to send me away, speaking much more in my commendation than I could any way deserve : without further delay then I departed, and took my way to *Marseilles*, where I found seven Ensigns of foot the King was sending away to *Rome* under the command of Monsieur de la *Molle*, in which Regiment my eldest Son *Marc Antoine* had a Company, and Captain *Charry* another. The Baron de la *Garde* embarked us, and landed us at *Civita Vecchia*, where I immediately took post and went to *Rome*.

The Siennois send again to the King for Monsieur de Montluc to command them.

Monsieur de Soubizade.

Now Cardinal *Caraffa* being come into *France* to entreat the King, that if there should be occasion at *Rome* for the Popes service I might make some stay there, his Majesty commanded me so to do, and I found the Cardinal already come to *Rome* before me, where I was very welcome to the Marechal de *Strozzy*, to the said Cardinal and the Duke de *Palliano* his Brother, by whom I was the next morning carried to kiss the Popes feet, who made exceeding much of me, asking of me several particularities concerning *France*. The Duke of *Alva* had his Camp already within twenty miles of *Rome*, and the said Cardinal had made a Levy of three thousand *Swiss*, who were already come thither. I was ever of

The Duke de Alva against the Pope,

The people of
Rome nothing
warlike.

opinion that we should march out into the Field, ten miles from the City, and there to encampour selves, till such time as the Duke of *Alva* should approach the walls of the City, ever fearing that would happen that did fall out, though Signior *Cornelio Ursino*, who govern'd the affairs of war for the Pope, would never hearken to my advice; but began to design Fortifications within the City near to the wall, where I had a Post assign'd me. Above three weeks past, the Duke of *Alva* never approaching nearer than five or six miles, during which time the *Romans* every night gave the Alarm amongst themselves, so that nothing was to be seen, but people running some towards *St. Peters*, others to the Palaces of the Cardinals who were of the Spanish Faction, and in my life I never saw so great disorder. This People are not very warlike; they are also composed of sundry Nations, I think they are not of the Race of the *Cæsars*, *Cato's*, *Scipio's*, and other brave *Romans*, there are too many delights and luxuries amongst them to produce many men of war. Now the Cardinals of *Armagnac* and *du Bellay*, *de Lansac*, and *de Avanson*, were of opinion, that if I made a speech to the Captains who commanded in the City, to acquaint them with the order I had observ'd at *Sienna*, they would take it better from me than from any other, both they and all the City remembering the reputation I had acquir'd at that Siege, and the Marechal *de Strozzy* and Cardinal *Caraffa* being also of the same opinion, they caused all the chief men of the City, their Captains, Lieutenants, and Ensigns to assemble in the base Court of Monsieur *d'Avanson*, who was then Ambassador there, and there in the presence of the said persons I made them the following Oration in Italian. Monsieur *de Lansac* is yet living, who so soon as I had done, told me, that he could never have believ'd that a Gascon could have made so good an Italian.

The Sieur de
Montluc's Harangue to the
Romans.

"Gentlemen, since the time that the Duke of *Alva* is approached something near unto your City, it appears to us *French* that you have conceiv'd some new apprehension, and without any great cause, insomuch that upon the least Alarm you enter into an extraordinary fear and astonishment; so that should the Enemy approach your walls whilst you are in this confusion, they might enter at pleasure without any great opposition; forasmuch as when you ought to keep silence in your City, especially in the night, and that you ought rather to run to your walls, than to shuffle your selves into the strange disorder you do; you on the contrary run some to *S. Peter*, others to the Churches, and others to the Palaces of the Spanish Cardinals, with the greatest confusion in the world. This must of necessity proceed from one of two causes, either from want of courage, or from a defect in your conduct, in that you do not strictly command such order as your people ought to observe both by day and by night in a time of danger. If you do it for want of courage, it is then a sign you have not well consider'd what people your enemies are: and what can they be other than men as you are? do not we bear the same arms they do, and are they not as good as theirs are? are not they as vulnerable and as subject to die by our blows as we are by theirs? Is not the Pope's quarrel holy and just, and better than theirs? This ought to make us hope that God is on our side. And what part or portion has the King of *Spain* in *Rome*, what right or title to any of the Pope's Territories, or to your habitations, that God should assist him more than us? What is become of the valour of those ancient *Romans*, who have left you the great renown they acquir'd in their dayes? What other Nation does now inhabit *Rome*, that may have depriv'd you of the courage left you by those, from whom you pretend to be from all antiquity lineally descended? Oh Gentlemen, how infinitely do you wrong the reputation of your famous Ancestors in discovering your selves to be afraid of people who are no other than men as you are? And you do your enemies the greatest kindness imaginable, in giving them occasion to boast, that they are terrible to those who formerly made all the Nations of the world to tremble at their arms. If this fear proceed from the evil order you have hitherto established, there is nothing so far amiss, that in one day may not easily be remedied, for by entring into present consultation from whence this default proceeds, the business is done: and so you shall manifest to all the world, that it is not want of bravery, but of good discipline; and your people shall recover heart, seeing themselves secur'd by the good orders you shall give. Do not think it strange if I declare that I am asham'd of what I see in your City, when having been formerly in *Sienna* commanding a People besieged by the Marquis of *Marignano*, with forces double to what the Duke of *Alva* has, I can say to the great honor of the *Siennois*, that in all that time I never observed so much as any one Citizen afraid. Happy are those *Siennois* who have manifested themselves to be extracted from, and the true legitimate Sons of your ancient Fathers, who founded these walls and theirs also, as they have themselves assured me, and do also bear the same arms you do. And although

Praise of the
Siennois.

“ although their City be loſt, their valour and renown is not for all that buried nor ob-
 “ ſcur’d, but fit to give every one hopes that it may one day be recover’d by their valour
 “ and virtue : whereas if you behave your ſelves no better hereafter than hitherto I have
 “ ſeen you do, I cannot forbear to tell you, that I would ſooner undertake to defend *Si-*
 “ *enna*, with the women of that City only to fight under my command, than to defend
 “ *Rome* with the beſt *Romans* you have. Pardon me (I beſeech you) if I tell you the truth :
 “ for I do it not for any advantage I expect ſhould accrue either to the King my Maſter
 “ or to my ſelf; but for your own good, and to prevent the total ruine of your City,
 “ which if it ſhall be aſſaulted by your enemies, will be miſerably ſack’d, and worſe
 “ handled, then it was in the dayes of *Monſieur de Bourbon*. You may be confident,
 “ Gentlemen, that could I take any pleaſure in your ruine, I ſhould not now make you
 “ this remonſtrance in the preſence of theſe honorable perſons : but being ſorry, as your
 “ ſervant (you being good friends and confederates of the King my Maſter) and deſiring
 “ to die with you for your conſervation, I am conſtrain’d to be thus plain, and to ſay
 “ this to you I have done; theſe Gentlemen the Kings Miniſters having alſo aſſur’d me,
 “ that you would take it better from me, than any other, for the eſteem you have of me
 “ ſince the Siege of *Sienna*. I beſeech you therefore take my advice, and if in any thing
 “ I may be aſſiſting to you, upon the leaſt ſummons I will immediately attend you in
 “ your counſel. ’Tis poſſible the remembrance of the Sack of your City by the Seigneur
 “ *de Bourbon* may have put you into ſome apprehenſion; but you are to conſider that you
 “ were then ſurpriz’d; but you have now your weapons in your hands. Doubt nothing,
 “ fear not your enemies, but divide your City, and appoint every one his place to repair
 “ unto upon occaſion, to the end that your own confuſion do not deprive us of the means
 “ to relieve you, if the enemy preſent himſelf to the aſſault: diſpoſſeſs your Citizens of
 “ their fear, if they be afraid, that there may be no confuſion, and for the reſt trouble
 “ not your ſelves; for knowing the good order you have taken, you ſhall ſoon ſee your
 “ enemies forc’d to retire. They all return’d me very many thanks, and ſo departed, aſ-
 ſuring us that they were going to give ſuch orders, that the accidents which had hapned
 before ſhould never be again, earneſtly intreating me to come the next morning to their
 Council, and that there they would ſhew me the order they were going to take, to receive
 thereupon my opinion and advice. Which was accordingly done, and we altogether
 provided ſo well for their affairs, that there was no more mention of fear, nor ſign of
 diſorder. I went to the heads of the people, and ſhewed them what they were to do,
 whom I found chearful enough in the buſineſs: yet this great multitude is compoſed of
 divers humors, but a man may reduce them all to one, when they ſee it is for their own
 good and ſafety. In ſhort, all things were very much better, which the Pope alſo took
 exceeding well at my hands.

Now a few dayes after the Duke of *Alva* remov’d his Camp, and took his way to- The Duke of
 wards *Tivoly* twelve miles diſtant from *Rome*. I know not whether becauſe he under- *Alva* retires.
 ſtood the City ſtood better upon its Guard than before, and that the order of things was
 changed there, or that his intention was not to approach any nearer to the City. And be-
 ing that in *Tivoly* was Signior *Franciſco Urſino* with five Italian Enſignes, and that the
 Town was not ſtrong, the Mareſchal, the Cardinal *Caraffa*, and the Duke de *Palliano*
 were afraid that the Duke of *Alva* was gone to take *Tivoly*, and cut all thoſe in pieces
 within it, which was the reaſon that they entreated me to march all night to go fetch off
 the ſaid Signior *Franciſco*, giving me the two Troops of light horſe of the Popes Guards,
 two Troops of horſe of the Duke de *Palliano*, commanded by the Captains, *Bartolomeo* and
Ambroſio, and four hundred Harquebuzers under the command of my Son *Marc Antony*, *Marc Antony*,
 and Captain *Charry*. Cardinal *Caraffa* had aſſur’d me upon his honor, that the Enemy *eldest Son to*
 could not paſs the *Tiber*, and that I might make my retreat at pleaſure, having evermore *Sieur de Mont-*
 the *Tiber* betwixt the Enemy and me. By Sun-riſe I was at *Tivoly* with the Horſe, and the *luc*.
 Foot arriv’d two hours after, where I found that Signior *Franciſco* had heard no manner
 of news of the enemies, and after I had told him, I was in no ſmall doubt what would be-
 come of us; for I very well knew before I ſet out from *Rome*, that the Duke of *Alva* had
 taken the way of *Tivoly*, and now perfectly underſtood, that he came privately to ſurprize
 Signior *Franciſco*, for aſmuch as he had had no intelligence of his motion. I therefore eating
 only a ſnap or two, cauſing the horſes to be baited, and the foot to have a little refresh-
 ment, ordered Signior *Franciſco* to cauſe the Drums to beat, that we might preſently diſ-
 lodge, and put our ſelves into the field, entreating him to lend me a Troop or two of his
 people who were acquainted with the Countrey, for that my ſelf would go play the Scout,
 whiſt every one was making himſelf ready to depart: and it was well for me I did ſo;
 for Signior *Franciſco* having ſent out two of his men to diſcover, they return’d as we ſate

The Sieur de
Montluc fetch-
es off Signior
Francisco usi-
ng from Tivoly,

The Sieur de
Montluc's dili-
gence.

The Retreat.

The Sieur de
Montluc's de-
sign.

Ascanio de la
Corne.

at dinner, and had brought word that there was no news of any Enemy in all the Coun-
treys; but I would not trust to that, and therefore went with my two Troopers, when so
soon as I was out of *Tivoly* upon a ridge of a hill, I plac'd my self under a Tree, for
it began to be very hot, when presently all along a little Copse, I perceived a great number
of horse marching straight down to the *Tiber*, and others in a valley, who came directly
towards me, and in the midst of a plain on this side the little Copse, I saw something
which I could not discern what it should be; I then presently sent word to Signior
Francisco, that I had discover'd the Camp, and that he should in all diligence get his
men out of the Town, and march them away on the other side of the *Tiber*. The Sol-
dier whom I had sent to carry him this intelligence was scarce got into the City, when be-
hold eighteen or twenty *Spanish* Ensigns, who were laid down in the Plain, got up, and put
themselves upon their march. I then galloped away my self, where I found, that as yet
not so much as one man was got out of the City, and hasted the *Italian* Ensigns with all
diligence to march away, causing the gate of the City to be shut, and there I played a
very cunning trick, for I carried the keys along with me, thinking the enemy could not
of a long time break down the gates; for the *Tiber* passed through the middle of the
Town, where there is a Bridge, and very fair and good Mills in the City it self, which
I had caused to be begun to be broken from my first arrival; but that work could not be
finisht. I left Captain *Charry* at the Gate, and my Son *Marc Antony* at the Bridge to
sustain him, and I went and came running to and fro to hasten the *Italians* to march,
when so soon as they were all out of the Gate I went to draw off Captain *Charry*, and we
began to break the Bridge, which was of wood, and immediately the Enemy was in the
City. I placed Harquebuzers all along in the houses that looked into the street, the
Soldiers using extraordinary diligence to break the Bridge, after which I marched directly
to the Gate. I had placed the Cavalry before the *Italians*, and we were inevitably to pass
through the streight of the Rocks, where we could only pass one by one. Till we came
to the going out of the Gate we had the Enemy continually upon us, and it is no more than
fifty paces from the Gate to that straight; so that seeing they could not themselves get to
us, but one by one, they gave us over, and returned to rifle the City. Their *Italian* foot
came after the *Spaniards*, and thought to have entred the City to have had their share of
the spoil, but the *Spaniards* would never let them in, but held them in talk at the Gate
whilst they were busie at their plunder. So soon as we came to the Plain I made my Son
and Captain *Charry* with the four hundred Harquebuzers turn on the right hand along
the ridge of a Hill, about a thousand paces distant from us, and the two Companies of
the Duke de *Palliano*, telling them the myserie, that in case the Enemy should pass the
Tiber, they should still make forwards along the ridge towards *Rome*, and take no care for
me. And indeed we had as good have lost all the Ensigns Monsieur de la *Mole* had, as
these four hundred Harquebuzers, for they were the very flower of all the Companies.
I was not got half a mile into the Plain, when behold all the Cavalry upon the
banks of the *Tiber*, and their *Germans*, who began to pass, and particularly some horse by
the Mill, where they could onely pass one by one. I then gave all for lost, for I was to
retire twelve miles before the whole Army, and made no question but that the Cavalry
would carry over a great many of Foot behind them: but if I lost the one, I would not
lose the other. Now Signior *Francisco* marched still at a good round rate, at about a
Harquebuz shot distance from the *Tiber*, and the others along the ridge over against us.
When fifty or threescore of the Enemies Horse came up to us, I then took one of the Cap-
tains of the Guard with his Cornet, whilst the other still march'd on in the rear of the Foot,
causing them to mend their pace, and faced about upon the Enemy; who thereon made
a halt; and so soon as I made a shew as if I would charge them, turn'd their backs to
retreat, though I cannot imagine why, and I turn'd about to pursue my way. After that
they never offer'd to come towards me, though more of their own people came continu-
ally up to them, but it was only three or four at a time: so that seeing me a good way
advanc'd, they turn'd back again and fell to taking Cattle that were grazing in the fields.
Now you must know what my deliberation was, by which you may see whether I had a
mind to lose my self with these people, or to escape with our own. The Duke de *Palliano* had
given me a grey Turk, that flew upon the ground, and was an extraordinary fleet one;
my design therefore was to engage the Enemy with this Troop, and in case I should see
no possibility of saving that party, I would then retire to our own people, who were go-
ing directly to a Castle that held for the Pope, and in which there was a Garrison, where
I made account to secure most of the horse, it being not above five miles to that Castle.
Two dayes after a Trumpet told us that the Duke of *Alva* would never permit Signior
Ascanio de la Corne to pass the *Tiber*, forasmuch as he had not one Harquebuzer, but Ger-
mans,

mans, all the *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Foot being at *Tivoly*. And thus I retreated ſtraight to *Rome*, ſending to our people to come to us, and we rallied at the Bridg neareſt to *Rome*, over which we paſſed, it being three hours within night when we came to *Rome*. This is the fortune I had in this Retreat.

When ever (Captains my Companions) you ſhall be in any place where you are the leaſt in doubt, never truſt to the report of others: for it is evermore the cuſtom at your firſt coming for every one to careſs you, and to entreat you to repoſe your ſelf: but do not do it; examine the place where you are, and diſcover it very well. One of the greateſt Captains the Emperour ever had (which was Signior *Pefcaro*) for truſting to the report of others at his arrival in a City of *Italy*, was taken; yet he had no leſs than four thouſand men with him, which was a great diſhonor to ſo great a Captain: though he laid the fault to another, as himſelf told me. Had I done ſo, Signior *Franciſco* had made me ſuffer a great diſgrace, and perhaps to have loſt my life.

Signior *Pefcaro*.

Two nights after the ſaid Signiors gave me two Companies of *Italians* to conduct them to the Duke *de Somma* at *Baliſtra*, which ſtands by the Sea-ſide, ſix or ſeven miles behind *Marino*. I marched all night, having with me the two Companies of the Duke of *Palifano*; and when I came there, gave order that our Horſe ſhould be baited, and ready in an hour and a half to return. The Duke *de Somma* would by all means have compelled me to ſtay that night, but he could by no means perſwade me to it; for I well imagin'd, that the Duke of *Alva* was not without ſpies at *Rome*, conſidering there were ſo many *Spaniards*, and others of the King of *Spain*'s Faction in the City; and therefore having eaten a bit or two, put my ſelf upon my way, which coming and going was five or ſix and forty miles, and arrived three hours within night at *Rome*. It was well for me I did ſo; for two hours before day there came ſix hundred horſe, and five hundred Harquebuzers on horſeback to *Mariano*, where they heard news that I was return'd. This was another good fortune that beſel me, wherein there was no need that I ſhould have left my underſtanding at home. And I will now tell you of another that beſel me ſix dayes after, though it is onely to make ſuch laugh as ſhall vouchſafe to read this Book, and the ſtory of my life.

Five or ſix dayes after this rencounter, the Duke of *Alva*'s Camp lying ſtill at *Tivoly*, The Baron *de la Garde* ſent word from *Civita Vecchia* to the Mareſchal *de Strozzy*, that if he would ſend him four hundred Harquebuzers, he would embark them in his Gallies, and land them at *Neptuno*, a very ſtrong place upon the Margent of the Sea, which flows into the ditches of it, and that there they might burn the Boats the Duke of *Alva* had brought thither wherewith to make a Bridg at *Oſtia*, to paſs over to this ſide of the *Tiber*, as he afterwards did. The Mareſchal therefore leaving this affair wholly to my direction, I ſent thither my Son *Marc Anthony*, and Captain *Charry* with the four hundred Harquebuzers, who went in emulation of one another, and ſo ſoon as they came to *Civita Vecchia* the Baron took them aboard, and accordingly went to land them at the ſaid *Neptuno*: but they could not poſſibly burn the Boats, forasmuch as they had moved them into the Ditch, which was defended by the Fortreſs. Now (as the affairs of War depend upon ſuch accidents) it fell out that the ſame day they arrived at *Neptuno*, where they ſtayed two dayes. I went in the Evening to walk without the Gate that leads towards *Marino*, where I met a man that came from thence, and ask'd him what he was; to which he made anſwer that he was a Beadſman belonging to the Hoſpital of *Marino*. I diſcover'd by his tongue that he was no *Italian*, which he alſo confeſt to me, telling me that he was a *Frenchman*, but ſo poor that he was reduc'd to the Hoſpital of *Marino*. I then asked him who was at *Marino*, to which he anſwer'd, that that very morning before he came away, Signior *Marc Antonio de Colonna* arriv'd with his Company of fifty men at Arms, having nothing with him more, neither Horſe nor Foot; (for the Companies of *Gens d'Arms* of *Italy* have no Archers belonging to them, as ours have.) *Marino* belongs to this *Marc Antonio*, whom I had heard of at *Rome*, where he had been decipher'd to me for a young Lord of twenty or two and twenty years of age, full of mettel, and rich to the value of fourſcore thouſand Crowns yearly revenue. *Paliano* was alſo his, which the Pope had taken from him, and given to his Nephew, who thereupon was called the Duke of *Paliano*, though he did not long enjoy that title, the other recovering it again not long after.

Marc Anthony and Captain *Charry* at *Civita Vecchia*.

Marc Antonio de Colonna.

Being parted from my Hoſpittaller, it entred into my fancy that I might eaſily take this *Roman* Lord priſoner, and that if I could ſnap him I ſhould be made for ever, for I ſhould have at leaſt fourſcore thouſand Crowns for his Ranſome, which would not be thought unreaſonable, being no more than one years Revenue of his Eſtate. I walked then contriving with my ſelf, that *Monſieur de la Molle* ſhould go along with me with three

A pleaſant hope of the *Sieur de Montluc*.

Aurelio Fregosa.

three hundred Harquebuzers only, whom I would leave in the mid-way at a Tower where were certain Sheds for the shelter of Cattle (for I had taken notice of the way going and coming from *Balistrà*) and that I would take Captain *Ambrosio* Lieutenant to one of the Companies of the Duke de *Paliano*, with five and twenty of the best and fleetest horse of his whole Company : that I would moreover borrow of Signior *Aurelio Fregosa* his Lieutenant, and his Corner, with five and thirty Launces only of the best, and the best mounted he had. That I would leave Captain *Ambrosio* with the five and thirty Launces about a Harquebuz shot from Monsieur de la *Molle*, on that side towards *Marino*, and with those of Signior *Aurelio* would go place my self in Ambush under the Vines a little on the left hand the great high-way near unto *Marino*; which having done, I I would then send six Launces to give the Alarm a little before day to the City; upon which I made account that Signior *Marc Antonio* being young, and full of mettle, would not fail to sally out, but would precisely sally by break of day, when my six Launces would draw him into our Ambuscado, with whom we would also run away in his sight, would make him pursue me a main seeing a Colours, which he would be eager to take for the greater honor of his victory.

Captain *Alexis* is a Grecian.

Having thus contriv'd the business with my self, I accounted him as sure my prisoner as if I had already had him in my hands, and thereupon returning into the City, spoke to Signior *Aurelio*, who lent me his Lieutenant and his Corner, with the five and thirty Launces, I spoke to Monsieur de la *Molle*, and to Captain *Ambrosio*, and the Lieutenant of Signior *Aurelio* was called Captain *Alexis*. We appointed to meet in the beginning of the night at the Gate of the City : but I would discover nothing of my design either to the Mareschal, or to any of those I took along with me, till first we were got into the fields, and then I took aside Monsieur de la *Molle*, and the Captains *Ambrosio* and *Alexis*, and acquainted them with the Enterprize, which they all three approved of, wherein we were one as wise as another. So that we thought the time long till we was there, they making the business wonderful easie, all of them affirming that they knew him, and were confident he would not fail to sally. Thus then we set forwards, each Company apart, and mine alwaies the foremost, till we came to the Tower, where I left Monsieur de la *Molle*, and further behind a little Chappel Captain *Ambrosio*. Now so soon as Captain *Alexis* and I were come to the edge of the Vines near *Marino*, he would needs have his Ensigne to be one of the six that were to give the Alarm, and delivered the Colours to another : For which use I lent him a Gentleman of mine, and we clapt our selves down in a Marish (where in Winter there was alwaies water, but in Summer none at all) there being no other place where we could conceal our selves; and so the six marched up directly to the Gate of the City. Presently the day began to appear, when hearing nothing of Alarm, I began to think that either Signior *Marc Antonio* would not be tempted out of his Quarters, or else that he was gone back.

The Sieur de *Montluc* discovers the Enemy.

Now on the right hand of us there was a great valley, and I was got up to a little eminence, where was the ruines of some house or Chappel, and began to discern on the hill on the further side of the valley, three or four horsemen, who one while mov'd, and another while stood still. I shew'd them to Captain *Alexis*, who was lower then I, and who thereupon sent out two Launces all along by the Vines, upon the edge of the descent of the valley. I had not as yet cast my eye into the valley, forasmuch as the day but just began to break; but look'd always towards the mountain where these three or four horse appear'd, about fifty paces distant from us: but when I turn'd my eye that way, I there saw three great parties of horse, in the first whereof there might be a hundred or more, in the second two or three hundred, and in the third seven or eight hundred horse. Now you are to understand upon what account these came to be here, which was thus. As the Baron de la *Garde* landed our people at *Neptuno*, those of the Town dispatched away two Horsemen post to the Duke of *Alva* at *Tivoly*, who thereupon immediately sent away Signior de la *Corne* with twelve hundred Horse, and twelve Ensigns of Foot, who marched all night, and an hour before day arrived at this Valley, where they had made a halt till Signior *Antonio* could make himself ready, to whom he had sent five and twenty Launces to make him mount to horse, who coming to the Gate of the City, they there met with our six Soldieis (the day then but just beginning to break) where demanding of one another who they were for, they charged ours in such manner that they were constrained to return back towards us, and to fly towards the road that leads from *Balistrà* to *Rome*, where the Enemy pursued them over the *Roman* Plain even to *Rome* it self, and there gave the Alarm to the Mareschal and the whole City, who thereupon concluded that it was not possible but that I must be taken, and all those lost who were with me. Now so soon as Captain *Alexis* had called in his two Horsemen, we began our

The Sieur de *Montluc's* Avant Coureurs put to flight.

retreat

trear by the ſame way we came, when behold the hundred horſe in our Rear, the party of two or three hundred after thoſe, and the ſeven or eight hundred in the rear of them, who followed us at a good round trot, the Enſigns of Foot making all the haſte after they could; in which order they purſued us ſeven miles, till we came to Captain *Ambroſio*, with their Launces continually couch'd upon our horſe cruppers. I was upon the Grey Turk the Duke of *Paliano* had given me, one of the ſweeteſt horſes I ever came on the back of, and the beſt leaper of a ditch: ſo that ſometimes I leapt out of the way into the fields on the right hand, and ſometimes on the left; and when we fled along the road, Captain *Alexis* and I were evermore in the Rear, and he that carried the Corner in the Van; I ſtill all the way encouraging the Soldiers, and bidding them to fear nothing, now on the one hand, and then on the other, when the furtheſt that ever we were before the Enemy was not above three or four Launces length. Now ſo ſoon as we drew near to Captain *Ambroſio* he came out from behind the Chappel, ſeeing which I cried out to our people *volſe volte*, who thereupon immediately fac'd about, and I gave them a ſudden charge, beating them back to the other Body, who having ſeen our Ambuſcado had halted to diſcover what it might be, the two Bodies cloſing together, and making a ſhew as if they meant to charge us. I then ſaw that I had played the fool egregiouſly, in having given this charge, when as God would have it, *Monſieur de la Molle* preſented himſelf upon the road with his Harquebuzeers, which made the Enemy to ſtep ſhort, and forbear to charge me. Captain *Alexis* then ſaid to me, *Quelli primi checi ſequitano, ſono graci, per che lo ò inteſi à loro gridi. Me ne vo a vedere, ſi potero fermar li, per tratener mi con eſſi loro*, which he did, demanding to ſpeak with them upon their word, whiſt I in the mean time made *Monſieur de la Molle* march off his Foot, recovering a little deſcent; ſo that the Enemy could no more ſee what we did: when I order'd them to make towards the pillars of an Aqueduct, by which the *Romans* in former times conveyed their water to *Rome*, commanding the Horſe to keep ſtill in their Rear, at a good round trot, and all them to march as faſt as they could. I then return'd to Signior *Alexis*, having firſt could my horſes mouth in a ditch by the Tower, whom I found after as freſh as he was but new taken out of the Stable. Now ſo ſoon as the two Troops were cloſ'd up together, and had made a halt, the great party behind did the ſame, and the Foot likewiſe halted, Captain *Alexis* ſtill talking with them. I could all this while from the place where I ſtood ſee our people, when ſo ſoon as I ſaw them got near to the Aqueducts, I call'd to Captain *Alexis*, ſaying to him *Retiriamo ſi, Capitano, ritiriamo ſi*, upon which the Enemy asked him who it was that commanded in chief, whereupon naming me they began to exclaim, ſaying, that in eight or nine days time they had three times faild of taking me, which was at the retreat of *Tivoly*, at my return from *Baliſtra*, and now; which made Captain *Alexis* rearing laugh at them; when ſeeing him turn his horſe to go away, ſeveral of them call'd out to me *A dio Signior di Montluco a dio*, and I alſo cried to them *a dio a dio*, who thereupon faced about, and went directly to *Marino*, where they heard news that the Baron *de la Garde* had reimbark'd our people, and was gone to *Civita Vecchia*. Signior *Aſcanio* ſent me back three Launces I had loſt by the way, but not their horſes; for as their horſes ſtumbled they fell down, when I leaping into the way with my Turk, ſtoke them upon the buttocks with the flat of my ſword, and made them cloſe up to the Party. He ſent them back by a Trumpet of his, who made us laugh, when ſpeaking of his Maſter, he ſaid, that had he known I had been of the Party, he would have accompanied me to the Gates of *Rome* to have taken me priſoner: but never by the way asked his Priſoners who commanded them till after we were got off. And the Trumpet moreover had told me, that had I been taken, I had not needed to fear that any one would have offer'd me the leaſt injury or offence; for I ſhould have been as much made on, and uſed with as much honor and reſpect, as in our own Camp. Neither indeed can it be ſaid, that ever any Priſoner went out of my hands, or any place where I had to do, diſcontented, or diſſatisfied with my behaviour to him, and it is a great baſeneſs to flea men to the bones, when they are perſons of honor, and bear arms; eſpecially in a War betwixt Prince and Prince, which is rather out of ſport than unkindneſs to one another.

After this manner I made my retreat to *Rome*, where after I had put off my Arms, I went to ſeek out the Mareſchal, the Cardinal *de Caraffa*, and the Duke *de Paliano*, whom I found in a houſe of the Town altogether, being newly return'd from the Palace of *St. Peters*, who all of them fell upon me, ſaying, that it ſeem'd as if I had a mind to loſe my ſelf out of wantonneſs, and that had they known of my deſign, they would have ſtop't my journey. They would then needs know the occaſion of my Enterpriſe, which I recounted to them from point to point, telling them that all the way as I went, I accounted *Marc Antonio* as ſure my priſoner as I was alive, and had already ſet his ranſome at fourſcore thou-

The Retreat of
Monſieur de
Montluc.

The Error of
the Sieur de
Montluc.

land Crowns, which had not been unreasonable, being no more than one years revenue of his Estate, of which fourty thousand I intended to give to Monsieur de la *Molle*, the Captains and Soldiers, and the other fourty thousand I meant to keep to my self, to purchase me an Estate in *France* somewhere near to the King, for *Gascony* was too remote from Court, and that I already fancied I had a house near *Paris*, of which I was so confidently perswaded, that it would not out of my head of all night. At which account of my project they all burst out a laughing to that excess, that I think they never laugh'd so much at one time in their lives, to think that I had made my self so sure of my prize, the ransom, and purchasing of Lands and Castles in the Isle of *France*; whereupon the Marechal, who when he had a mind to rally alwayes spoke Italian, said to me with a very good grace, *Signior quando che vi anderemo visitar, fareti voi à noi altri tre bonn chiero nei castelli que volete comprare a presso parigi?* they were merry at my expence.

A false report spread at Court of the Sieur de Montluc's defeat.

They were at this time busie about sending a dispatch to the King, and sent Monsieur de *Porrieres* of *Provence* to his Majesty, who had his share of laughing, and all the rest that were with them. And as there are a sort of people, who are prone to do more hurt than good, some honest man sent news by the way of the Bank of *Lions*, that I had lost all the Pope Cavalry in the *Roman Plain*, and was my self run away no body knew whither, nor could any one hear what was become of me. I do believe these men are hir'd and suborn'd to disperse ill news, only to discourage those of our party. This was writ by the Post from *Lions* to the Constable, and by him told the King, who was very much troubled at the news: and Monsieur de *Porrieres* being to pass through the *Grisons* Countrey, could not arrive so soon at Court, but that the news was got thither four dayes before him, insomuch that whereas the Marechal and the rest had laughed at my folly, the King was very much offended with me, saying that it was the most ridiculous and senseless piece of folly that ever was committed by man; adding moreover that I had hitherto been fortunate, but that now I had lost my fortune, and my reputation, which he was very sorry for; especially that such a disgrace should befall me at the Gates of *Rome*. This news was not kept so secret at Court, but that it was presently carried into *Gascony*, where I leave you to judg how I was disaffected by them that did not love me: for one must be a God to have no Enemies, nor emulators, or else must take upon him to meddle with nothing but his Garden or his Orchard: But so soon as Monsieur de *Porrieres* arriv'd the King sent for him into his Cabinet, where after he had read his letters of Credence, and his other dispatches, finding therein no syllable of this affair, and Monsieur de *Porrieres* making no mention of it neither, his Majesty said to him, *And what Monsieur de Porrieres, is Montluc heard of yet? he has made a pretty piece of work on't.* To which he made answer, that he had left me at *Rome*; whereupon the King proceeded and said, that he knew that I had lost all the Popes Cavalry, and was my self run away. Monsieur de *Porrieres* was very much astonish'd at this news, and replied, that if this had hapned after his departure, it might be so, and yet he had been no more than nine dayes in coming. His Majesty then made them look how long it was since this news came, which they did, and found it to be four dayes, at which the King said he thought it was only a lye, and *Banker's* news, enquiring of Monsieur de *Porrieres* what piece of folly it was I had committed, who thereupon made answer (as he has himself told me since;) *Sir I will tell you, and I make no doubt but your Majesty will laugh at it at much as we did.* after which he related to him the whole story, and what I had said at my return to the Marechal de *Strozzy*, Cardinal *Caraffa*, and the Duke of *Paliano*, at which I do assure you I have been told his Majesty laughed very heartily, and more than he had been seen to do of a great while before, as also did the Constable, and all the rest that were present, insomuch that I was told the King above eight dayes after, seeing Monsieur de *Porrieres*, said to him, *Well Porrieres, has Montluc purchased those places about Paris?* and never call'd the story to mind but he laughed. And as to what I say in my Book, that for these hundred years never any man was more fortunate in War than I have been, I pray examine and see if you will not acknowledge me to be so in these three occasions, which in eight or nine dayes time befell me, one after another (besides several others you will meet with in this life of mine) to have escaped without loss, three such dangers, which were no little ones.

Monsieur de Porrieres gives the King an account of the Sieur de Montluc's Enterprize.

A few dayes after the Duke of *Alva* understood that Monsieur de *Guise* was coming into *Italy* to succour the Pope, which made him to retire his Camp a little nearer to the sea, and afterwards he came and fate down before *Ostia*. The Marechal then march'd out of *Rome* with some Ensigns of *Italians*, two of *Germans*, and five or six of *French*; but the Pope would by all means that he should leave him for his defence, my Son *Marc Anthony* and

and Captain *Charry*, with their Companies. The Marechal went then and encamp'd on this side the *Tyber*, over against *Ostia*, where he entrench'd himself. The Duke of *Alva* before his arrival had made his bridge, and erected a Fort above *Ostia*, on the same side where the Marechal was encamp'd. I then sent to him to know if he would have me come to him with five or six *Italian* and *French* Ensigns, but he would not permit me so to do, for fear lest the enterprize of *Montalsin* might not as yet be fully sifted to the bottom. And because the said Marechal, with those *Italian* and *French* Companies he had with him, had not been able to discover the Enemies Fort, to see if there was water in the ditch or no, he was in the greatest perplexity imaginable (for the Duke of *Alva* was departed from *Ostia*, and retir'd towards the Kingdom of *Naples*, having left only four *Italian* Ensigns in the Fort, and as many in *Ostia*) and therefore had caus'd Artillery to come from *Rome* to batter the said Fort, and had sent to intreat the Pope, that my Son and Captain *Charry* might come to him; which the Pope also granted to my great misfortune, and the ruine of my poor Son, who so soon as he and Captain *Charry* came before the Marechal, he complain'd to them, that he had not been able to discover the Fort. The next night it being my Sons turn to mount the Guard, he determin'd with himself to effect that wherein others had fail'd, and communicated his design to Captain *Charry* and the Baron de *Begnac*, who was also at that time upon the Guard. He fail'd not accordingly to execute his resolution, for the next day seeing the Enemies sally out, according to their custom, to fetch in Bavins, he follow'd them, and without fear of the Harquebuzer shot, pursued them fighting to the very ditch of the Fort; where he discovered as exactly, and with as much judgement as he had been an old Captain: but in his return, a cursed shot hit him in the Body, notwithstanding which he went upon his own feet to the said Marechal's quarters, saying, that before he dyed, he would give an account of what he had seen. The said Marechal so soon as he arriv'd at his Tent, laid him upon his own bed, where the poor Boy almost expiring, told him what he had seen, assuring him that the ditch was dry, whatever he might have been told to the contrary; presently after which he gave up the Ghost. The Marechal the next day sent his body to the Cardinal of *Armagnac*, and the Sieur de *Lansac* to *Rome*, who interr'd him as honorably as he had been the Son of a great Prince. The Pope, the Cardinals, and all the people of *Rome* exprest great sorrow for his death. Had God been pleas'd to have preserv'd him to me, I had made him a great Souldier; for besides that he was very stout, I ever observ'd in him a discretion above his age. Nature had done him a little wrong, for he was but little, but strong and well knit, and as to the rest, eloquent and desirous to learn. If the Marechal de *Cosse* be yet living *Marc Anthony* serv'd under him at *Marienburg*, and he if he pleases can testifie, should any one contradict what I write, whether I live or no; and though it does not very well become Fathers to commend their own children, yet being he is dead, and so many witnesses of the truth of what I deliver, I shall, I conceive, appear excuseable and worthy to be pardon'd.

Monsieur de Strozzy at Ostia

Marc Anthony de Montluc discovers the fort.

His hurt before Ostia.

His death.

His honor at Rome.

His praise.

Now to execute the command the King had given me in *Tuscany*, I ask'd leave of the Pope to go to *Montalsin*, who after great importunity, would permit me but for fifteen days only, making me leave my great horses, and all my baggage behind, which Monsieur de *Strozzy* was fain to send out after me, saying they were his own, and by his own servants. The Cardinal of *Armagnac* also sent me out my Sumpter Mules, cover'd with his own Sumpter-cloths, pretending to send them to the house of another Cardinal, where he us'd to stay sometimes twelve or fifteen days together; by which means I got all my things out of *Rome*. During the time of my stay in those parts, his Holiness did me the honor evidently to manifest to all the world, that he repos'd a great confidence in me, and had my person in particular esteem.

Upon my coming to *Montalsin*, Monsieur de *Soubize* departed and went to *Rome*, I found *Montalsin* in a manner besieg'd; for at *S. Cricon* there lay some *Germans*; at the great Inn two Harquebuzer shot above *Montalsin* was another quarter of the Enemy, and at a Palace three Harquebuzer shot on the left hand, likewise another, as also in another towards *Grossette*, within a mile of *Montalsin* another. All which were found seiz'd by the enemy at the time when the Truce came; so that the King was possess'd of nothing on that side, as far as the very gate of *Sienna*, which I think was the principal cause that the *Siennois* had Monsieur de *Soubize* in so little esteem. It is much ado to please all the world, and though a man does all that in him lies, yet if all things do not succeed as people would have them, he does nothing: but I for my part shall neither accuse nor excuse him at all. The Truce which had been agreed upon for ten years between the King and the Emperor, yet continued: The affairs of these two Princes being so per-

The Siennois dissatisfied with Monsieur de Soubize.

plex'd and confus'd, that it had not been possible to conclude a peace, which was the reason that all Treaties of accommodation ended in a Truce only: but I had heard that Monsieur de Guise had taken his leave of the King, and was coming for Italy, which made me think, that although the succours he brought along with him, were design'd for the Pope, yet that the Truce would nevertheless by that means be broken on the King's part, and therefore laid a design to go give a Scalado to the Germans at S. Cricon, a little Town four miles from Montalsin, intending from thence to go and surprize all the other foremention'd places. I know not whether or not the Germans had any intelligence of my design, or whether they were not commanded away from thence, but so soon as I was got out of the City two hours within night, a Gentleman of Sienna, who had his house in Cricon, and whom I had sent thither, came and brought me word that they were gone away in the beginning of the night. I sent then to enquire news of those at the Inn and the Palace, and found that all were march'd away at the same time, by which means we had liberty to go out a little more at large, as far as Altesse, a pretty strong Castle about three miles from Montalsin, and near unto the road of Sienna. I went then to Gressette, where Colonel Cheraumont, who was Governor there, Lorded it over all that Countrey, as it had been his own, not acknowledging the Siennois at all: At which they were very much incens'd, and there we agreed that the Inhabitants should acknowledge the Seignury, and not him who was not to take upon him any Authority in that Countrey, that the King would not pretend to for himself: And thus in a few days all things were chang'd to the great satisfaction of those of Sienna.

Cardinal Burgos
Lieutenant
for the King of
Spain in Sienna.

The Sieur de
Montluc disco-
vers Cardinal
Burgos his de-
sign upon Mon-
talsin.

Cardinal Burgos commanded in Sienna for the King of Spain, and had a design upon Montalsin, which he thought easily to carry, that ought to have been put in execution the same week that I came: but hearing that I was come, deferr'd it for a few days, to see if nothing was discover'd: when seeing nothing was come to light, he sent for Captain Montillon a Spaniard, and Governor of Pont-Hercule to execute the design, when I having at the same time sent out some horse to forrage, they met with him, and took him, a Secretary of Cardinal de Burgos, and four servants, and brought them to me. They would very fain have excus'd themselves, pretending to be taken contrary to the Truce, which as yet had not openly been broken; but I caus'd a servant of his secretly to be put upon the Rack, who confels'd, that he thought Cardinal Burgos had sent for his Master to put in execution a design he had upon Montalsin. We could not discover what it should be, but so soon as it was known at Sienna that Captain Montillon was taken, it began to disclose itself, and so far, that a Gentleman of Sienna sent his servant to me, to give me notice of the place by which they intended to give an assault; who came to the gate of the City, but would not come in, only he desired to speak with me. I then went out to him, taking Messer Hieronimo Espanos along with me, where he told us all, and that there were some French Soldiers of the Garrison of the plot, and that if we search'd well in the houses nearest that place, we might peradventure find the Ladders. We gave the fellow ten Crowns, and so he returned. Messer Hieronimo Espanos then and I went secretly to view the place, and as I remember we took Monsieur de Bassonpierre along with us, and observ'd that part of the wall to be very low, but that there was a Turret wherein were continually two Centinels, who being of the Conspiracy, the taking of the place was easie, and more than easie. Messer Hieronimo then, who was at that time of the Magistracy, presently appointed two men to search the houses nearest to the place, who staid not three hours before he brought us above a horse-load of Ladders of ropes, the best and the fineliest made of any I had ever seen. In the house where these were found, no body had liv'd of a great while; but we knew very well, that people commonly went in and out, and further we could not discover. I then took order with the Serjeant Major, that he should every night set four Centinels in the Turret, which also were continually to be chosen by lot. I do think, that would they have made an attempt by day, they might have done their business, and much better by day, than by night, being that from the great Palace, which was not above three Harquebuz shot from the Town, they might come all along thorough a little Valley, shaded with Copse, close up to the very wall.

Phebus Turk.

About a month after A Siennois call'd Phebus Turk, came and addrest himself to me, desiring that he might tell me something in private, whom I sent for into my Wardrobe.

I had nothing but a Dagger by my side, and when he came in, I perceiv'd him arm'd with a Coat of Mail; in my life I never saw so fierce a countenance of a man, so that I was once about to call some body in to me: When he still telling me, that no one should hear his business but my self, I took heart at last, thinking my self strong enough to grapple with him, should he attempt any thing against me. Where he told me, that the Cardinal of Burgos had often sought to him to be assisting in an Enterprize he had upon Mon-

talsin

Montalsin, which at his importunity he had at last consented unto, and that he had been himself twice to speak with him in disguise; having with him three Soldiers, who were also of the Plot, which he was to name to him a day before the said execution, which also he was to execute before *Don Arbro de Cenda* should arrive who was coming to *Sienna* to command the Souldiery, and that if I would, he would order the business so, as to put them all three into my hands. In conclusion, we agreed it should be within four days, and that he should that very night return to *Sienna* to conclude the business with the Cardinal *de Burgos*, which being concluded betwixt us, I put him out of the Town over the wall, for the Gates were already shut, and in the morning dispatch'd away a Messenger to Colonel *Charemond* at *Grossette*, that he should come the next day to *Pagamegura*, half way betwixt *Grossette* and *Montalsin*; and the same day that I sent away to the Colonel, I call'd in the Captains who were at *Chuze*, *Montizel*, and the Hospitaller by *Piance*, whom I swore upon the Crucifix to discover nothing of the Enterprize, and so sent them back to make themselves ready against I should send for them: I then sent away my light horse to *la Rocque de Baldoc* under pretence of keeping Garrison there, and the next day went to meet the Colonel at *Pagamegura*, with whom I concluded that he should have four hundred Harquebuzers in readiness. My design was, that as the enemy should give the Scalado, Colonel *Charemond* should come behind them, and the Garrisons of *Chuze* and *Montizel* should step betwixt them and the Palace, and my Company also; and so soon as they should be repulsed I was to sally out upon them with four hundred men from the City. At my return from *Pagamegura* I found the said *Phebus* return'd, but he said not a word to me of all night, which gave me a little suspicion of him. In the morning he came to tell me, that the Cardinal would not put the business in execution yet a few days, and so drove me off from day to day, till in the end I was advised to take him prisoner, and to compel him to discover the truth, he being no other than a crafty Rogue, sent purposely to betray me: which I accordingly did, and clapt him into a close Dungeon of the Castle, where by misfortune he found some piece of wood, or iron. Now because he was a *Siennois*, I was willing to try if the *Siennois* themselves could win him by fair means to tell the truth, which made me deferre putting him to the question; but in the mean time with this piece of iron he broke through the wall, and fled away to *Sienna*; by reason of which accident I could do nothing considerable in this Enterprize. He was too cunning for me. I have nevertheless this obligation to him, that he has taught me in an affair of this importance, never to spare a Prisoner again, but to squeeze out the sudden truth: for without doubt this fellow was a Traytor,

Preparation
and counter-
mine of the
Sieur de Mont-
luc-

Phebus Turk
taken prisoner.

After my arrival at *Montalsin* I procur'd Signior *Marioul de Santa Fiore* to return into his Majesties service, together with the Prior his Brother, who thorough some disobligation had withdrawn themselves from his dependance; We had been very intimate friends ever after the skirmish at *Sienna*, so that in the end I made shift to overcome him, and they went to Court, where the King receiv'd them with great demonstration of favour and esteem. His Majesty gave him a Troop of light horse, and the Prior a Pension, who both of them afterwards were continually with me. At this time *Don Arbro de Cenda* contriv'd an Enterprize to come and take *Piance*, a little Town near unto *Montizel*, which I had caused to be repair'd after the best manner I could, and there lodg'd a Company of *Italians*. I therefore gave to Signior *Marioul* my own Company, and those he had gathered together of his own, together with part of that of the Count *de Petillano*, and sent him to *Piance* to fetch off the *Italian* Company I had left there, and to carry them to *Montizel*, where was Captain *Bartolomeo de Pezera*.

*Marioul de
Santa Fiore* re-
turns into his
Majesties ser-
vice.

Some few dayes before *Don Arbro* came out of *Sienna*, Captain *Serres*, who was Lieutenant to my Company of Light-horse, and my Kinsman, had fought Captain *Carillon* Governor of *Bonconvent* in the fight of *Montalsin*, who had with him ten men at arms of the Marquis of *Piscara's* Company, and the Ensign of the Company had eight Launces of a Company of light Horse, and eight Harquebuzers on horseback, who were come to vapour before *Montalsin*, below in the Plain towards the Inn, not thinking there had been any Cavalry in *Montalsin*, for I had taken my Company along with me to *Grossette*, and had sent Captain *Serres* with eighteen Launces to scour the field on the left hand towards *Sienna*, where they met and fought about *Chuze*, so that mine had the better. At his return Captain *Serres* went to repose himself a day or two at *Montalsin*, afterwards to come and find me out at *Grossette*, and to conduct me back to *Montalsin*. Captain *Serres* then seeing himself thus brav'd by the Enemy, sallied out with his eighteen Launces, two Gentlemen of *Sienna* arm'd with Coats of Mail, and two foot Soldiers that followed him: When so soon as Captain *Carillon* saw the Launceers he would have retir'd, Captain *Serres* always following in his Rear, when as Captain *Carillon* would pass a narrow River,

Captain *Serres*

let,

let, Captain *Serres* charg'd him with might and main, and so close that he took them all, saving one Captain, who had his Company in *Bonconvent*. These Harquebuzers on horseback belong'd to him, and he receiv'd a shot from one of the two Harquebuzers that went out with Captain *Serres* quite thorough the Body; but he got over the Rivolet, and another with him, who conveyed him to *Bonconvent*, where he died at the very gate of the Town, and all the rest I kept prisoners at *Montalfin*.

Don *Arbro* de
Cenda's Enter-
prize upon
Piance.

Don *Arbro* marched directly to *Piance* with three pieces of Canon, and two Culverins, which made me suspect that he did not carry so much Artillery with him for *Piance*, it being not so strong as to require Canon; and so soon as Signior *Marioul* understood that he was within three mile of *Piance* he went out with all the horse to meet him, commanding the Captain who was there before in the mean time to draw out his Foot, and to make with all speed to *Montizel*, which was no more but two miles from thence. In the mean time to hold the Enemy in play, he skirmish'd so briskly, and engag'd so far that he could not afterwards disengage himself, but was charg'd by three Troops of their horse at once with so great fury, that twelve or fourteen light horse of my Company were there taken, of which Captain *Gurgues* who belong'd to the Marechal de *Strozzy* was one, and of those of the Count de *Petillano*, and Signior *Marioul* as many, or more. After this brush, getting off the rest, and coming to halt before *Piance*, he found that the Captain had not as yet got so much as one man out of Town, but the Enemy still press'd upon him, and there again were some more Launces broken, whilst the Captain in the Town was drawing out his men, till in the end he was again charg'd with all their horse, and constrain'd to retire to *Montizel*. Captain *Serres*, and the Baron de *Clermon* my Nephew, who carried my Corner, escap'd to the little Hospital. The foot Captain lost the third part of his Company of those who had been flow in getting out, and he with his Ensign and the remainder of his men escap'd, and made head at the pass of a little River, by that means giving Captain *Bartolomeo* time to come in to relieve him; (for it was within sight of *Montizel*) as also Signior *Marioul* who was yet retreating before the Enemies Horse. This a man gets by skirmishing at the head of an Army (as I have said before) and by retreating by day in the face of an Enemy stronger than himself.

Don *Arbro* having staid three dayes at *Piance*, he parted thence in the beginning of the night, and with torches took his way thorough a valley that leads towards *La Rocque de Baldoc*. Signior *Marioul* was gone post to *Rome* to fetch some Launceers that had been promis'd him to repair his Company, but the Prior was with me the night that Don *Arbro* departed. The Prior and I had been abroad on horseback to take the Air without the Gates of *Montalfin*, when night coming on we turn'd about to go home, discoursing by the way what Don *Arbro* intended to do with this great Artillery: upon which discourse it presently came into my head, that it was to go assault *La Rocque de Baldoc*, in which place there was a *Florentine* Captain, Monsieur de *Soubize* had placed Governor there, whom I had in some suspicion, forasmuch as the Gentlemen of *Sienna* who were with me, had told me that they had heard he had sent twice to *Florence*. So soon therefore as we came near to the Gates of *Montalfin*, I commanded two light-horse of my Company to go and scout all along upon the Hills betwixt *Piance* and *la Rocque*, and not to stir from thence till break of day, unless they should discover the Enemy upon motion.

Monsieur de
Guise in Italy.

Now some dayes before this, Monsieur de *Guise*, who was come to *Rome*, and was already march'd towards the Kingdom of *Naples*, had sent to call avay *Charemon* with his Company at the request of the *Siennois*, who could not agree with him, and had sent me Monsieur de *la Molle* Captain *Charry*, and three or four other Companies in his room, as also he had sent for some of mine; and had given the Government of *Grossette* to Monsieur de *la Molle*. I was scarce laid down in my bed, when my two light horse return'd telling me that Don *Arbro* was marching by Torch-light along the Valley I spoke of before towards *la Rocque*: whereupon I immediately acquainted the Prior with the news, and presently got to horse with all the Cavalry we could make, commanding Captain *Andre Casteaux*, Nephew to the Cardinal of *Tournon*, to march his Company without Baggage in all haste after me, and that he should march through the woods, to which end I gave him two Gentlemen of *Sienna* to be his Guides. In the mean time, and an hour before day I arriv'd at *la Rocque de Baldoc*, and by break of day came *Andre Casteaux* with his Company, who was scarcely entred in, when the Avenues were all seiz'd by the Enemy, and the Guides taken, who had led me the way, as they were upon their return, together with the Quartermaster of my Company, from whom the Enemy learn'd that I had put my self into it. I then dispatcht away two Pelants through the woods to *la Grossette*, by whom I writ to Monsieur de *la Molle*, that he should with all possible speed go, and put himself into *Montalfin*, and that he should there command as the Kings Lieutenant; for that

that I was ſhut up in *la Rocque*, and reſolv'd to defend the place. Don *Arbro* quarter'd his Camp at *Avignon* over againſt *la Rocque*; and there ſtaid three dayes debating with himſelf whether he ſhould attaque me, or no: but in the end he reſolv'd to retire, knowing with whom he had to do, and ſaying, *Juro a Dios, a quel Capitan tiene alguns Diabolos en ſu poder, o a algun tradador iras nos otros & ſi lo puedo ſaber yo tengo de cortar li los braſſos, y los piernos*: this was his care, but my mind was evermore at work, and day and night meditating what I ſhould do if I were in my Enemies place: he has the ſame underſtanding that you have, and ſtratagems as well as you; ſo that meditating of what he meditates, you ſhall often jump, and by that means counterplot to what he his plotting againſt you: whereas if you ſtay expecting what he will do, you ſhall very often be ſurpriz'd. You ought therefore to be in a perpetual jealouſie of your Enemies deſigns, and ſtill gueſſing at what he intends to do, whether to attaque this place, or that part: if I were in his ſtead I would do this thing or that, and often conſult your Captains; for it may fall out, that he of whom perhaps you have the leaſt opinion, may often give you the beſt advice. But in the end Don *Arbro* return'd, and went to quarter his Army at *Alteſſe*, which is no more than three miles from *Montalſin*, where ſeeing his deſign I return'd to my own Quarters, and ſent *Monſieur de la Molle* back to *Groſſette*. Don *Arbro* put three Companies into *Piance*, two of *Italians*, and a third half *Spaniſh*, and half *Italian*, for the Governor he had left there was a *Spaniard*, and Signior *Bartolomeo de Leſtepha*, Nephew to Signior *Chiapino Vitelli*, who had one of the beſt and the ſtrongeſt Companies in all *Italy*, kept all the priſoners, to the number of betwixt fifty and threeſcore in the Palace. After a few days he retreated with his Army to *Sienna*, all his Enterprizes vaniſhing into ſmoak. The Marquis of *Peſcara's* Enſign went too and fro, and took great pains in labouring the deliverance of their people in exchange of ours; upon which Treaty Don *Arbro* ſent me a Jear, ſaying, *No ſera dico, que yo rendra un Frances, que yo no tenga tres Eſpagnoles y per eſtas barbas yo harre l'os mios: & ellos non hauran los ſuos*. Cardinal *Burges* was by no means pleaſed with this manner of proceeding, and would have been glad that all the priſoners might have been ſet at liberty both on the one ſide and the other; for I had the Captains *Montillon* and *Carillon*, Governors of *Pont-Hercole* and *Bonconvent*, and above twenty others, twelve of which were natural *Spaniards*, beſides the two Governors. I took the huſſing anſwers Don *Arbro* ſent me in very high diſdain, and to mend the matter had almoſt every day news brought me that he almoſt ſtarv'd his Priſoners to death, whiſt I on the contrary treated his exceedingly well. In this indignation I reſolv'd upon an Enterprize, which was to go and give a Scalado to *Piance*: for I had been advertiz'd that the King of *Spain* had given *Sienna* to the Duke of *Florence*, together with the other places he held in *Tuſcany*, and that the ſaid Duke was ſending three Companies of Foot, and a Troop of Horſe to *Piance*. I very well foreſaw, that after he had once taken poſſeſſion there, we could not poſſibly recover it without breaking with the Duke of *Florence*, which I would by no means do, that the Duke of *Guiſe* might not be neceſſitated to weaken his Camp to relieve me; and moreover I had ever been upon very good terms with the Duke of *Florence*, without creating any thing of a Quarrel. In affairs of this tickle nature we muſt go warily and diſcreetly to work; for a little thing will ſerve to break the Alliance of Princes, which once broken is not ſo eaſily piec'd again, and ſeveral raſh young people have by their indiſcretion ſet their Princes together by the ears contrary to their own deſire.

Captain *Fauſtin de Peyronſe*, who had been in *Piance*, had told me that there was a hole in the wall on that ſide toward *Montalſin*, by which the filth of the Town was evacuated, and that in this place, where there were two walls, the outer wall was above the reach of a Ladder, and that within ſome fourteen or fifteen ſtaves high; and that ſo ſoon as one ſhould be paſt thorough the hole, which muſt be upon his belly, and in the dirt, he ſhould find himſelf betwixt theſe two walls. Upon this information I had cauſ'd a Ladder to be made of the height requir'd for the inner wall, but it was ſo very weak and ſlender, that it might paſs thorough this hole, that a man could very uneaſily ſupport himſelf upon it. In this part of the wall there was a Baſtion at the corner of the Town, that Don *Arbro* had cauſ'd to be perfected, which was of a ſufficient height, and betwixt the hole and the Baſtion was a gate the enemy had wall'd up with brick and clay only, not caring to make it of better matter, forasmuch as they had caſt up a Rampier of earth within.

I order'd that Captain *Blacon* with his own Company, and another of *Italians* that I had cauſ'd to come from *Groſſette*, and the Baron *de Clermont* my Nephew with my Company, and about twenty Launces of that of the Count *de Petillano*, together with thirty or forty Gentlemen of *Sienna*, ſhould go put themſelves betwixt *Piance* and *Monte-Pulſiano*

A rant of Don
Arbro, de Cenda.

The King of
Spain gives Si-
enna to the
Duke of Flo-
rence.

An Enterprize
of the Sieur de
Montluc.

The death of
Captain Luffan.

fiano to fight the Duke of *Florence* his people, who came to take possession of the Town. I had also caus'd three hundred men to come from *Chusi*, that the Duke of *Somme* had sent me, who was return'd from the Duke of *Guise* his Camp, upon some words that had past betwixt Cardinal *Caraffa* and him, and those were to storm by a corner of the Town on that side by which they came; Captain *Bartolomeo de Pesero*, was to fall on by the Gate, that on his side look'd towards *Montizel*, which the Enemy kept open for their going in and out, and to which they were to set fire, if they could, and I with the Ladders was to assault the Bastion, the ditches of which were not yet made. The top of the Gate, that was wall'd up, flank'd the Bastion, and I had with me the two Companies of *Abanfon* and *Andre Casteaux*, that is to say, the half of each, for the rest I had left at *Montalfin*, and the half of that of Captain *Luffan*, who lying at *Castelotie*, and by that means having the furthest to march, had so heated himself with his diligence, that he fell so extreemly sick by the way, as constrain'd him to stay at the little Hospital, but he sent me his Son, who was his Lieutenant, and five or six days after dyed of that sickness: he sent me also the half of Captain *Charry's* Company, whom to his great grief I had left behind me in *Montalfin*, I having no body also to leave there, Signior *Marioul* being gone to *Rome*, and the Prior his Brother upon some business of his own to their own house. To be short, I might have on my side four hundred men in all, three hundred that came from *Chusi*, and an hundred men that Captain *Bartolomeo* had, which was all the Forces I had at this assault. We had altogether concluded, that the Duke of *Somma's* Italians should be of the party, who also himself very much desir'd to be there: But I would not send for him, forasmuch as *Chusi*, of which he was Governor, was a place of very great importance, and should I chance to be kill'd, I would not that the Garrisons should be left without some good Chief to provide for their defence, till Monsieur de *Guise* could send some sufficient person to command the Countrey. We must provide for all adventures, as well in case we be beaten, as if we overcome, by which means in going to execute an Enterprize, we shall do nothing unadvisedly, and for which we may reasonably be condemn'd. We had appointed to be every one of us two hours before day at the place where he was to fall on, where those of the Duke of *Somma* and Captain *Bartolomeo* were to fall on first, to the end they might divert the Enemies Forces from that side by which I was to attack the place, that side I was to undertake, being by much the strongest, by reason of the Bastion, and the Flankers over the Gate, the wall where the hole was, making a part of the corner. I gave the charge of carrying the Ladder to the Gentlemen of my Train, who were paid by the King, entreating them to enter the hole, those were Captain *Trappe*, who is now with the Admiral, *Auflons* Nephews to my late Wife, Captain *Coffeil*, who now carries my Ensign, Captain *la Motte*, *Casset*, *Sagret*, Captain *Bidonnet*, Captain *Bourg*, who is yet living, and has a foot Company, and two or three others, and after them twenty *Italians* that Captain *Faustin de Peyrouse* (the same who had been broken at the going out of *Piance*) had brought with him, all chosen men, who were to mount the Ladder, after mine should be gotten up. The said Captain, and another of his own Company were first to pass thorough the hole, and draw in the Ladder, because they knew the place, which none of my people did.

Those of *Piance* have intelligence of the Sieur de *Montluc's* design.

I arriv'd then within a quarter of a mile of the Town, where I made a halt, whilst the Baron de *Clermont* and *Blacon* march'd forwards, and went to plant themselves about a mile from the Town, upon a road that leads towards *Monte-Pulciano*; and when I had staid about an hour, without longer expecting when the *Italians* should begin, as I had given order they should, knowing the day began to approach: I sent one of my Guides to discover after the most secret manner he could, and my *Valet de Cambre*, who is yet living, went up within twenty paces of the Bastion, and heard no noise in the Town, no more than if there had been no body within it, saving that they heard a little Dog bark. They knew of my coming over night, and so with their matches ready cock'd, in great silence expected my assault. I could not, it should seem, march out so secretly, though I had caus'd the gates to be shut up three hours before, but that some honest man or another had got out and carried them intelligence of my design. Now, so soon as the Guide and my *Valet de Cambre* were come back, and had told me that they could hear no noise at all, I would my self go with them once again, when being come within fifteen or sixteen paces of the Bastion, I perceiv'd a man within five or six paces of us, who went creeping along, and retir'd towards the Bastion, and I believe entred by the said Bastion, where we now heard them talk, and thought they spoke Dutch, but they were *Albanois*, for Signior *Bartolomeo Lestaffa* had of them in his Company, and the said Signior had taken upon him the defence of the Bastion. Seeing then that the day

day would presently break upon us, and having lost all hopes of our *Italians* (who though they were come as I understood after, yet the Duke *de Somma* had given the command of them to some one, who had no mind to dye the first, or else (as being the Kings Lieutenant) would give me the honor to begin; but this Rascal did not do it out of respect) Captain *Bartolomeo* also expecting when the one or the other should begin the Game, I was by these delays constrain'd my self first to fall on, and although I knew both by this Centinel Perdu, and the great silence in the Town, that the Enemy had me in the wind, yet having taken the pains to come so far, I was resolv'd to try my fortune.

The *Italian* and *French* Gentlemen above nam'd took the Ladder, and we took the other Ladders to storm the Bastion, which I caus'd to be carried by the Captains, Lieutenants, Serjeants, Corporals and Lance-passades, and in this manner march'd up directly to the Bastion, where, at our first approach they gave us a great Volley of Harquebuz shot; but we desisted not for all that to rear our Ladders, and I had made an Order, that all the Commissaries both of War and Provisions, Treasurers and Comptrollers, should evermore be provided of great horses and arms (for these people have always money) which I always took with me under my own Cornet to Troop up and make a shew, to deceive the Enemy. Monsieur *de Guise* had sent Monsieur *Malassise* (who is now Lord of *Rouissi*) to be chief Treasurer. I gave this man a Turkish horse, if I had now such a one, I would not take for him five hundred Crowns, a courtesie that he very scurvily repaid, and as ill return'd my friendship, for he brought me into disgrace with the Duke of *Guise*, as he does now with the Queen, as much as in him lies, as I am inform'd from Court; and I have my self also perceiv'd it, and with God would do me the favour, as to put her Majesty in mind; how much I am her Servant, and have formerly been where occasions have presented themselves, which have perhaps been greater than ever Queen was involv'd in, that her Majesty might take notice, she ought not lightly to give credit to my Enemies to my prejudice, especially such as never have done, nor never will do, so many and faithful services as I have done. But I shall have patience in God, having my conscience clean, both as to that and all other affairs concerning the service of the King and his Crown. I had at this time discover'd nothing of the practises of the said *Sieur de Malassise*, who prevail'd so far, that Monsieur *de Guise* call'd me to his own person, and gave my command to Monsieur *de la Molle*, for he had an opinion that they two together could manage affairs better, and more to their own advantage than I. I shall not here set down the Reasons, forasmuch as it might be said, I did it in revenge of the ill will he bears me, and consequently that I bear him, being a little impatient of injury as I am, and who would willingly bear in my device, if I had not one already, what one of the House of *Candale* gave for his Motto *Qui m'aimera, ie l'aimerai*. But there are many worthy persons yet living who very well know the occasion, which if they please to tell it, the story will not be much to his advantage.

But to leave this discourse (not much caring whether he wish me well or ill;) I left him with Captain *Charry*, though the Captain had been very importunate to go along: but I made account that he being in the Town, if I happened to die, would be much assisting to the Citizens in encouraging them, whilst in expectation of him the Duke of *Guise* should send, for he was a man of understanding, and very eloquent to perswade. To return then to my Treasurers and Commissaries, I made them gallop round about the Town (they being fitter to put people in fear, than to do any execution) by this means to divert the Inhabitants from one place to another.

We gave the Scalado then almost all at once, and our men were three times beaten off, and our Ladders all broken saving one or two. Now I must tell you to what use serv'd the taking of this hole. All of them entred into it one after another, and so soon as they had set the Ladder to the lower wall to enter the Town, my Gentlemen all mounted, and from the top of the wall leapt down upon a Dunghil into the Town; when so soon as Captain *Faustino* and his twenty men saw ours got in, they would follow after in all haste, in doing which they so overcharg'd the Ladder that it broke. These inconsiderate ardours oftentimes occasion the miscarriage of brave Enterpizes. The hole was within four or five paces of the gate that was walled up, and the Enemy over it minded nothing but shooting at our people, who were storming the Bastion, and having their backs towards the hole, knew nothing of our people being entred in. The *Italians* tried to piece the Ladder with girdles, but it would not be, wherefore they were constrain'd to creep out at the same hole by which they had entred, and Captain *Faustino* came to tell me the misfortune of my people, which put me to my wits end, seeing that in attempting to recover those who were already prisoners, I had been so unfortunate as to lose all the Gentle-

The *Sieur de Montluc* goes to discover *Piancè*

An order of the *Sieur de Montluc*.

The *French* repuls'd.

The Sieur de
Montluc's
Speech to his
men.

A Captain can
do much by
his example.

The Bastion
assaulted.

The Town ta-
ken.

men I had, and was resolv'd to play a desperate Game. It was already broad day, and the Sun began to rise, all our people being beaten off, and sculking behind certain walls that were there, when at the same time Captain *Bartolomeo* sent me word that they were all beaten off on his side also. I then leapt from my horse to the ground, for I was not yet alighted, and call'd all the Captains together (*Avançon* Son to Monsieur d'*Avançon*, who was Ambassador at *Rome* excepted, who was hurt in the hand with a Harquebuz shot) where I began to remonstrate to them, that I was come to no other end, but to take the Town or to lose my life, and that if they would follow me, I would lead them the way : but withal that I was resolv'd to turn back upon those who should be resty, and would kill every man that did not behave himself as he ought to do upon so brave an occasion. *Let us go on then friends*, said I, *follow your Captain, and you shall see we will acquire honour*. Which having said, with my sword in my hand, and a Page with my Halbert close by me, I went directly up to the Gate. I had twelve *Swiss* of my Guard that follow'd me, and also did all the rest, where I observ'd, as I had done at other times before, what the example of a Leader can do when he goes on in the head of his men, and leads them the way. I presently put my self under the Gate, where three or four men might stand unseen from the Flanks of the Bastion, whilst the Enemy who were over the Gate ply'd our people with a tempest of shot and stone. The *Swiss* in the mean time with their Halberts did their endeavour against this Wall of Brick. I had my sword in my left hand, and my dagger in my right, with which I broke and cut the bricks, when having made a hole wide enough to put in my arm, I gave my sword and dagger to the Captain of my *Swiss*, and thrust both my arms into it. The Wall was the thickness of one brick only, and there was but very little clay, for it was in a manner a dry Wall : when having found the inner rim of the Wall, and the thickness of it, I pull'd the Wall towards me with such force, that all the upper part fell upon me, and cover'd me all over, insomuch that the Captain of my Guard was fain to draw me out from under the bricks and the rubbish, which he did, and again set me upon my feet ; after which with our Halberts we presently beat it totally down to the ground. The Enemy had not finish'd the Terrass they had cast up behind this Gate, of which there wanted about two foot to the top of the Arch, and there I had two *Swiss* kill'd, and the Captain wounded with a Harquebuz shot in his thigh, and fourteen or fifteen Soldiers slain or wounded. I again made the Ensigns by the two Ladders renew the Assault to the Bastion, but for all that they ceased not to shoot from the Flanks of the Bastion. Now from the Bastion to the Gate where I fought, it was no more than thirty paces only : I then call'd out to the Soldiers, to go fetch me the Ladders that had been broken against the Bastion, telling them that the shortest were the best ; for the height of the Terrass was not above two yards ; I think hardly so much ; and so soon as the Ladders were brought I clapt them side to side, and put a Harquebuzer upon the one Ladder, and my self upon the other, and three one in the heels of another, after the first Soldier, and two of my *Swiss* after those three. I then spoke to him who was foremost, and went up first, that he should presently get up, and discharge his Harquebuz amongst them within, which he accordingly did, and as he fir'd I took him by the breeches, and pusht him in, making him take a leap he never intended, for our two Ladders toucht ; and then I began to cry out to those who were upon the other Ladder, and to push them forwards, saying, *leap Soldiers, and I will leap in after you* ; which said I pusht that fellow in, another after him, and the other after him ; and when they were all tumbled in, he that could first rise clapt hand to his sword, my two *Swiss* leapt in after ; seeing which I leapt down on our own side, and again began to cry *fall on Captains, fall on, the Town's our own, our men are in* ; whereupon they one after another threw themselves headlong into the place. Those Gentlemen of mine who were entred by the hole had been perceiv'd at break of day, and being charg'd by the Enemy had recover'd a house, the door of which they stoutly defended ; which did me a great deal of good, part of those who defended the Gate being run thither, not thinking it possible I should enter there ; and so soon as the Enemies who assaulted the Gentlemen heard the cry of *France, France*, behind them, they forsook the Gentlemen, and would have return'd to the Gate ; when the Gentlemen sallying out after them, and hearing the same cry of *France, France*, they knew our people were entred the Town, so that by fortune they were engag'd betwixt our two parties, and there all cut to pieces. Now immediately upon the killing of these, an Ensign of theirs who was in the place came running directly towards the Gate, but my Gentlemen being joyned with those that entred last, the said Ensign found whom to talk withal, and they handled him as they had done the rest. At the same time that our people entred, I cried out to them, that they should assault the Bastion on the inside within the Town, which they did ; but they there

there found a very great resistance, by reason that the greatest part of the Company of Gens-d'arms was there, who fought it to a miracle.

Now (as the courages of men encrease when they see themselves in hopes of victory) to forget nothing of that they ought to do in well and furiously assaulting; having encouraged my people, I left the Gate, and ran to the Ensigns who were upon the Ladders of the Bastion, crying out to them, that all our men were got in, and that therefore they should throw themselves headlong into the Bastion, which they did, without meeting the opposition they expected, forasmuch as our men held them so short, that they were not able to answer us both within and without; and so soon as I saw our Ensigns got in, I remounted to horse, and with the Commissaries and Treasurers rode all along by the walls, where all those that leapt over the walls to escape away I caused to be slain.

Now to return to our first Prisoners, our people followed their execution, till they came to the place where they found Signior *Bartolomeo de Lesteffa*, with the remainder of his Company, who made no great defence, for already our people ran all along the streets of the Town, and even along the very Walls of it. The *Italians* came to enter by the Wall, that was not too high, and helped one another up; Captain *Bartolomeo de Pezero* had also set fire to the Gate, as he had promised to do, but was there hurt with a Harquebuz shot through the buttocks, and could not possibly enter there, by reason of the furious fire that flam'd in the said Gate. They had placed eighteen or twenty *Spaniards* for the Guard of the Prisoners that were in the Palace, fifty or threescore in number, and had tied them two and two together, as they told me after, who so soon as ever they heard the Cry of *France, France*, in the great place adjoining to the Palace, they began to juggle one another, particularly Captain *Gourgues*, who was the first that got his arms at liberty, when being all freed from their bonds, they flew upon their Guard with such fury, that what with their own weapons, and what with stones, they kill'd the greatest part of them upon the place, and the remainder kept prisoners, and brought them out with them. And this was the fortunate and unexpected deliverance of our Prisoners.

The Prisoners
free themselves

It now remains to know what succeeded upon the command I had given to the Baron *de Cleremont*, and Captain *Blacon*. The Duke of *Florence* his Companies both of horse and foot had set out of *Montepulciano*, and were coming towards *Piance*, it being no more than three miles from the one to the other, when being in the midway, and hearing such Volleys of Harquebuz shot, they sent out six horse before to see what the matter was. Of these, three fell into our Ambuscado, and were taken, the other three got away, and made their people return faster than they came: so that the Baron could not possibly come to fight them. In the foremention'd action of the taking of *Piance*, Signior *Bartolomeo Lestepha* his Lieutenant and Ensign were all taken, and the Governor who was a *Spaniard* also, but his Ensign was slain. Captain *Pistoye* (so called for being a Native of *Pistoye*) his Lieutenant and Ensign were likewise taken, together with the Lieutenant and Ensign of an *Italian* Captain, call'd *Aldetto Placito*, a *Siennois*, who two dayes before was gone out to solicit for their pay before they departed the Town.

This was the success of the Scalado of *Piance*, which hapned upon St. *Peters* Eve, an action highly reputed throughout all *Italy*. All the Captains and Soldiers, as well *Italians* as *French*, said I had taken the Town my self alone, and not they, and that had I not done as I did, and had they not seen me so couragious and resolute, they would nevermore have come near the Walls, having been three times so smartly repuls'd. Had it been Gods will that those the Duke of *Florence* sent from *Montepulciano* to *Piance* had set out but an hour sooner, they had not heard our Harquebuz shot by the way, and had fallen into the Baron *de Cleremont*, and Captain *Blacon*'s Ambuscado, who lay so ready and well planted for them, that they would easily have been defeated and cut to pieces; for they no sooner heard the report of the three horse that escaped, but that they immediately all faced about, and in disorder fled away towards *Montepulciano*. I left in *Piance* to command there Captain *Faustino*, vvho had been there before, and had yet fifty or threescore of his Company left, which Captain *Bartolomeo Pezero* had ever kept for him, and moreover now lent him his Lieutenant with a hundred Soldiers of his own Company: and about noon as I vvvas about to mount to horse to return to *Montalzin*, and sending every one avvay to his ovvn Garrison, the Captains vvith their Lieutenants and Ensigns brought me a hundred or sixscore horses of service, vvwhich had been taken in this action, besides Pad-nags and Mules, entreating me to take of them vvhat I pleased for my ovvn use; and amongst others Captain *Trape* entreated me to accept of a Courser of *Naples*, the most beautiful and the best horse in all *Italy*, though I accepted none of all those they offer'd me, but that of Captain *Trape* only, vvwhich Monsieur *de Guise* aftervvards sent to entreat of me, and I gave him to him.

The Sieur de
Montluc's re-
turn to Mon-
talsin.

I came back to *Montalsin* with no more than the three half Companies I had taken thence with me, after which I order'd to march all the Captains we had taken prisoners, and some few Soldiers who were prisoners also, for there were not many sav'd: Next after the Prisoners I march'd my self, and all my Captains with their Colours flying, and behind me the Gentlemen of my Train carried the horse Corner, and the three Ensigns we had taken: and in the rear of all the foot marched the Baron *de Cleremont* with my Troop, and the Gentleman of *Sienna* all on horseback in the rear of all. I do believe there was not a man nor a woman left in the whole City, for they were all come out to see me enter, excepting the Captain of the people, the Council, and Magistracy, to whom I had sent a Gentlemen before to entreat them not to stir from the Palace, at which I went and alighted, and entered in arm'd as I was, with the foresaid Ensigns we had taken carried before me, where first in few words I gave them an account of the means I had used to bring about so hazardous an Enterprize, and after what manner the Town had been taken, not without observing by their looks, that they had so great a performance in high admiration: After which I exhorted them to continue the fidelity they had promised to the King my Master, and not to abandon the hopes of recovering their liberty and Capital City, God having manifested to them by so great and so happy a victory, that he would neither forsake them, nor any who fought in their Quarrel. And to shew them that I bore arms in order to their service only, and for the recovery of their Countrey, I presented the horse-Corner, and the three Ensigns I had taken; which having received with the greatest acknowledgements, and the highest applause that could to man be attributed, they upon the instant caused to be set up in the great Hall of the Palace display'd, a thing that did no whit lessen the reputation I had acquir'd either with them at *Rome* or elsewhere, where the report of this Enterprize and execution was divulg'd and spread abroad.

The Siege of
Chuzzy.

After this no occasion presented it self worth speaking of saving two, of which this was one. Don *Arbro* went to besiege *Chuzzy*, which Captain *Moretto Calabras*, who was at *Montepescayo*, had by practice surpriz'd from the Enemy. The said Don *Arbro* had thirty Ensigns of foot before it, three pieces of Canon, and six hundred horse. I departed then a little after noon from *Montalsin* with five Ensigns of foot, and about fore-score or a hundred horse, and by break of day came to *Montepescayo*, where I caused little sacks to be made to carry powder in, to the number of twenty, which all of them might contain about three hundred pound of powder. From *Montepescayo* to *Chuzzy* it is six miles. Their Artillery was not yet arriv'd, but it came the same morning that I came away, and about noon I departed from *Montepescayo*, and went to encamp my self just over against the Enemies Camp, at the distance of a quarter of a mile, and about as far from the Town, for they were already encamped before it, and never so much as once sent to discover me. The place was worth nothing, for we had not had time to fortifie it, and in the beginning of the night I took the Lieutenant of Captain *Avanfon*, call'd *St. Genies*, with thirty Pikes and thirty Harquebuzers, which I meant to venture to try if there might be any means to preserve it; and being that there was a little Rivolet not above three paces broad betwixt them and me, I sent the said *St. Genies* and Captain *Charry* with a hundred Harquebuzers to accompany him, whilst I with the Horse and a hundred Harquebuzers went to give them an Alarm in their Camp. *St. Genies* got in with the powder, and all the Soldiers, four or five Pikes excepted, and all night long I kept them in Alarm to make them think that I would repose my self in the morning: when having discover'd me they would come to fight me, considering I had no more Forces but five foot Ensigns only; wherein I deceiv'd them, for without taking any rest at all, and without sound of Trumpet or beat of Drum I began to retreat through the Woods, and to take my way directly for *Montalsin*, marching twelve miles without stop or stay; and then upon the banks of a small River I made a halt, where all both horse and foot baited upon some provision I had caused to be brought upon Asses; where nevertheless I did not stay above an hour and a half, but went on straight to *Montalsin*. Now the same day that I departed from *Chuzzy*, about noon they had planted their Artillery without being able nevertheless to make a breach till the next morning.

Altesse taken.

The same day that I departed from *Chuzzy* I arriv'd in the Evening at *Montalsin*, which was thirty miles, and after I came home made them to work all night to make ready a Canon, and a great Culverin we had, with which about nine of the clock the next morning I went to batter *Altesse* a strong Castle betwixt *Bonconvent* and *Montalsin*. I batter'd it by the Gate where it had been the least fortified, and in the Evening they surrender upon Quarter only, there being three-score men in it. The next morning I went to take three or four Castles thereabouts, which were not strong, but only supported themselves under

favour

favour of the Fortrels of *Alteffe*. Of all this day the Artillery never stirr'd from *Alteffe*, but however I took the Castles. After this I was advised to go and batter *Bonconvent*, whereupon I went to view it, and caused Gabions speedily to be made before it, making shew as if I intended a Siege; though it was only to divert *Don Arbro* from making any further attempts, fearing lest after he had taken *Chuzy* (which I made no question but he would do) he might go and sit down before *Montepescaillo*, where Captain *Moretto* was, and two or three other places, which only subsisted under the protection of *Montepescaillo*; and the same day that I made a shew of besieging *Bonconvent*, I sent Signior *Marionul de Santa Fiere*, Captain *Serres* my Lieutenant, and the Baron de *Clere-mont* my Ensign to scour the field as far as the walls of *Sienna*, where they had the fortune to meet with a foot Company that was going from *Sienna* to put themselves into two Castles hard by those I had taken, which they cut all in pieces, excepting the Captain, the Lieutenant, and the Ensign, who being all mounted got away. All this was perform'd in three dayes, reckoning from the day that I departed from before *Chuzy*. The Alarm of this defeat was so great at *Sienna*, that Cardinal *Burgos* sent in all haste to *Don Arbro* to leave all and return to *Sienna*, for that he greatly feared the *Siennois* would revolt and receive me into *Sienna*, considering the violent affection they had for me in the City. So that had those of *Chuzy* been able to hold out a day longer he had given them over, but the second day having made a very great Breach, for the wall was a very weak one, and there being but few men within it, they were forc'd to surrender. The Lieutenant of Captain *Moretto Calabres* was in it with part of the Company of the said *Moretto*, and about five and fifty that entred with *St. Genies* only, so that there was not above a hundred men in all. The next day after Signior *Marionul* had defeated this foot Company, all the Captains who were with me were of opinion that I should go and batter *Bonconvent*; but I said to them these words. *You know Gentlemen that since yesterday two of clock in the afternoon we have not heard the Artillery play at Chuzy, which we heard plainly from Alteffe, by which you may conclude, either that they are surrendred, or taken by force. If they be surrendred Don Arbro will not stay an hour there, to try if he can snap us in the field, for there is no question to be made, but that he has receiv'd the Alarm of the foot Company you defeated yesterday by Sienna; and that thereupon Cardinal Burgos has sent to him to come back to save the rest of the Castles which are nearest to Sienna (for as I took the other Castles I immediately dismantled and pulled them down, (as I also did by Alteffe.) Let us therefore consider things a little; if our people be surrendred the Camp will not tarry above two hours before Chuzy; if they be taken by assault, the Town is so poor that the Soldiers would need but this last night only to sack it, and will be this morning two hours before day upon their march, which though it be thirty miles off, yet will the Artillery be here before noon: for Don Arbro knows very well, that I have not a hundred horse in all I can make, nor above six hundred men in these five Ensigns, wherefore the reason of War requires you should do as I say. Let me intreat you therefore that we presently fall to drawing off our Canon, and our foot, and if things do not fall out as I have said, let me bear the blame. Captain Moretto's Lieutenant, and St. Genies had what conditions they desir'd, for the haste Don Arbro was in to return; for they march'd out with Bag and Baggage, and Ensign they had none. I then set fire to the remainder of Alteffe that could not so suddenly be pulled down, and left Captain *Serres* with twenty horse upon a little eminence by *Alteffe*, from whence they might discover as far as a Wood, which was *Don Arbro's* way to return; and when I was got within a mile of *Montalpin* Captain *Serres* sent two Troopers full speed to tell me, that he began to discover their Cavalry coming out of the Wood; whereupon I left the foot Captains with ropes, and the strength of the Soldiers to help the Oxen away with the Artillery, and Signior *Marionul* and I with the horse return'd back to Captain *Serres*. But so soon as we came to Captain *Serres*, we from another little hill discover'd the Body of their Cavalry already in the Plain, which I suppose had halted to stay for another Troop that was coming out of the Wood. I left Signior *Marionul* there to sustain Captain *Serres*, and sent to Captain *Serres* by no means to engage himself in a charge, nor suffer the Enemy to come near him, but begin by little and little to retire; and having left the same order with Signior *Marionul*, I galloped back to the Artillery, which I found within a quarter of a mile of the Ascent, and hastned it all I could; when so soon as I had got it to the foot of the Hill, I saw Signior *Marionul* coming at a good round trot, and Captain *Serres* following the same pace after. I made them still lug the Artillery up the hill, and could not get it within fifty paces of the Gate of the City, but that I was constrain'd to take out the Oxen, and hurry them into the Town, placing all our Infantry along the Vines, and upon the Wall, and draw the horse (they being of no further use) into the Town, which I had no sooner done but*

The *Siennois*
defeated.

A handsome
Retreat.

the Enemy came up to the very foot of the hill. Thus I sav'd all, and lost nothing by well computing the time they had to come from *Chazy* to be upon us, and thorough the great diligence wherewith I made my retreat.

Take notice then Captains, and remember when you shall be in place where you are to retire before an Enemy stronger than your selves, to compute the time wherein he may come to fight you, and be diligent in your retreat, whether by day or by night, by which means you shall very hardly be surpriz'd. Take all things at the worst, and imagine your Enemy to be as diligent to surprize you, as you are to prevent being surpriz'd. The reason of war requir'd that I should do as I did, and men must evermore be at watch when they are near an Enemy, so that if he be three hours march distant from you double your speed, and if it be possible do that in two hours which he may do in three : by which means having the start, without an infamous flight, you shall leave him nothing but the empty Nest. I but (a man may object and say) perhaps he will never come near me at all, and in the mean time I retreat without seeing an Enemy : but let me tell you, if you stay for that, you will be defeated and lost, especially if you have Canon to draw off with you, which you cannot abandon but with dishonor.

Tallamon relieved by the
Sieur de Mont-
Inc.

I perform'd another piece of diligence to relieve Monsieur de la Montjoye, a Kinsman of mine, whom I had put into *Tallamon*. The King of *Spain's* Gallies were departed from *Cajetta* to surprize this place, and came to an Anchor before *Mount Argentan*, whom so soon as Monsieur de la Montjoye had discover'd by break of day in the morning, he dispatch'd a man post away to me to give me notice, who made so good haste, that he came to *Montalsin* by four of clock in the afternoon, though it be no less than five and thirty miles. Without staying an hour therefore after I heard the news, I departed with four hundred Harquebuzers, and my own Troop of horse, marching all night without stop or stay, until I came to a Village within three miles of *Grossette*, which was seven and twenty miles, and I came thither by Sun rise, where I made the Soldiers eat something, and bait their horses, whilst I galloped away to *Grossette*, where I heard that the Enemy were all about *Tallamon*, which made me suddenly to cause three hundred Harquebuzers of those of the Garrison of *Grossette* to pass a River half a mile from thence, upon Asses and Horses ; so that by that time my own men whom I had left baiting were come to the River, the three hundred men were pass'd over, and upon their march, I then sent two Troopers to the said Sieur de Montjoye, to bid him stand firm, for that I was there to relieve him, though he could scarce believe the news, not thinking it possible I could be there so soon, but that some body had sent him such word only to put him in heart.

The Enemy had landed three or four hundred men, and two Gallies came and plyed him with a great number of Canon shot, the thunder of which I no sooner heard, but that I advanc'd with my Horse, and the three hundred Foot, that were already got over, and left Captain *Charry* to pass over those that I had brought from *Montalsin* ; when, so soon as the Enemy saw so long a Train of men, and that I advanc'd with the three hundred Foot and the Horse, they all cast themselves into the water ; so easily were they perswaded out of their fury. It was excessively hot, and many of them were in the water to the armpits : I had made account to have fought them, let them be what number they would, for I was very sure they had no Horse : but I found that part of the Gallies were reimbarking the Soldiers about *Tallamon*, and at the old Port, so that before I could get to them they were all aboard, and put out to sea toward *Mount-Argentan*, where the rest of the Gallies lay. I believe they thought that Monsieur de Montjoye would surrender upon the Canon shot they playd from the Gallies, but he was too brave a Gentleman to be so easily frightened as they imagin'd. He was since slain in the late troubles at *Aubeterre* under Monsieur de *Causens*, who can give testimony of his valour.

Captains (my Camrades) you ought not to think it strange that I have never been defeated, nor surpriz'd where I have commanded in chief, as you shall never be, if you carry your selves with the same vigilance and diligence that throughout my whole life I have ever done. I perhaps have made my Soldiers do that never any one made men do before ; for I ever had my tongue at command to remonstrate to them (when I have been in place where diligence was requir'd) their own honor, and the service of the King ; and also that by diligence only we were to save our own lives. 'Tis that that both adds wings to their feet, and inspires them with resolution when the one or the other is necessary. Which remonstrances of mine never fail'd of their effect ; and when a long march was to be perform'd, I caus'd bread and wine to be carried along wherewith to refresh them ; for if you will have your Soldiers make a long march, and take nothing wherewith to refresh them, humane bodies are not made of iron, you must either leave them by the way, or at least when you shall come to fight they will be so weak, that they will be able to do
you

you very little service, but taking provisions along with you to refresh them, together with remonstrances, you shall not only make them go, but run also, if you desire them; so that a man must never think to excuse himself upon the Soldier, for no man in Christendom has had more experience of it than my self, and I never saw any defect on their side, but alwayes in the Officers: for a good and prudent Captain will make good and discreet Soldiers; amongst a great many good men ten or a dozen Poltrons and Cowards will grow hardy, and become valiant; but a cowardly, imprudent and improvident Captain loses and spoils all. This in gross was all that was done whilst I stayd at *Montalfin*.

Now Monsieur de Guise having been enform'd that I was like to have been surpriz'd at *Ateffe*, he writ me a very angry letter, wherein he told me, that it seem'd I had a mind to lose my self, the Country, and all, to go out after this manner upon every occasion into the field, and that if I should chance to be defeated the whole Country would be lost, he being already so weak in men, that he should not be able upon any disaster to relieve it; that this way of proceeding was commendable enough in a private Captain, but not in a Kings Lieutenant, who ought not to expose his own person but upon very great occasion. To which I writ in answer, that I had been necessitated to do as I did, or otherwise Don *Arbro* would foot by foot deprive me of the whole Country, that on the other side he might assure himself I should rise so early, and use such diligence, that I would look well enough to my self for being at any time surpriz'd, and that therefore he should not take any thought concerning me; for although Don *Arbro* had evermore thirty Ensigns in the field, and I but five or six to answer him withall, I would nevertheless so well look to his water, that I would well enough prevent him from bringing about his designs. After this I retir'd my self to the Abby of *St. Salvadour*, fifteen or sixteen miles from *Montalfin* towards *Rome*. About a mile distant from the *Roman Way* there is a little wall'd Town, and an Abby of *Augustins*, which was founded by King *Charles* the Little at his return from *Naples*; for he made some abode at this place. All the Church is cover'd with Flower-de-Luces, and the foundation recorded in Parchment; the Religious of this place are very holy men.

Monsieur de Guise is angry with the Sieur de Montluc.

He excuses himself.

Being there I receiv'd a letter from the Cardinal of *Ferrara*, (who was at this time at *Ferrara*) wherein he writ me the sad news of the Constables being defeated at *St. Quentin*, and that it was more than necessary I should now more than ever intend his Majesties affairs, and that if God did not assist the King, all was gone in *France*, all the Forces his Majesty had being lost at this defeat. Immediately upon this Letter I return'd back to *Montalfin*, for fear lest the *Siennes* hearing the news, should be totally dismayd, where, by remonstrances and perswasions I comforted them the best I could, and afterwards tried to comfort my self. I had need so to do, for I gave the Kingdom for lost, and it was only sav'd by the good pleasure of God, and nothing else, God miraculously blinding the King of *Spain* and the Duke of *Savoy's* understandings, so as not to pursue their victory directly to *Paris*: for they had men enow to have left at the Siege of *St. Quentin* against the Admiral, and to have followed their victory too; or after they had taken *St. Quentin* they had as much time as ever, and yet knew not how to do that any simple Captain would have done. So that we must all acknowledge it to be the bounty of Almighty God, who loves our King, and would not suffer his Kingdom to be destroyed. However I did not to the *Siennes* make the matter altogether so bad as it was, but told them that the Letters I had from *France*, assur'd me the loss was but small, and that the King was setting an Army on foot, which he would command in his own person.

News of the loss of the Battle of St. Quentin.

Discourse upon this defeat.

Monsieur de Guise being at *Rome*, by reason the King had call'd him home to his succour, sent for me to come to him, which I did post; where being come, he there demanded of me what it would be necessary for him to leave me wherewith to maintain what we had in *Tuscany*; to which I made answer that I had need of that which it was not in his power to give me; for he had no money to leave me, nor many men, that would not be more serviceable in *France* than in *Tuscany*: but that nevertheless I would do as God should direct me, in whom I repos'd a confidence, that he would no more forsake me now, than hitherto he had done; and that I humbly begg'd of him to make all the haste he possibly could into *France*; for if God did not preserve the Kingdom men could do very little towards it, all the Forces of the Nation being defeated and lost. The Marechal de *Strozzy*, who was present, very much approv'd of my answer, and as highly commended me, forasmuch as others would have demanded men and money, of both which I had in truth very great need: but *France* was of greater concern to the King than *Tuscany*, where I would try to draw money from the Countrey, and with war make war. Onely I besought Monsieur de Guise humbly to entreat the King to recall me into

The Sieur de Montluc's request to the Duke of Guise, France,

France, to help to defend the Kingdom; for I had nothing to lose in *Tuscany*; whereupon he promised me to deal so effectually with the King, that his Majesty should send for me, but upon this condition, that so soon as I should be return'd into *France*, I should promise forthwith to repair to him. He had not given credit to all the false reports had been made of me, he knew me too well, and ever lov'd me so long as he liv'd. I engag'd my word to him, that I would do so; and so he went to embark himself at *Civita Vecchia*, and carried back his Forces entire into *France*, wherein he manifested himself to be a great and prudent Captain. As for me I return'd back to *Montalzin*.

The Sieur de
Montluc falls
sick.

Before my licence came to return for *France*, at the request of Captain *Carbayrac*, that Monsieur de *Guise* had sent Governor to *Grossette* (for he had taken our Monsieur de *la Molle* with seven or eight foot Companies he had, and sent him to *Ferrara*, and had sent me Monsieur de *Giury* with thirteen Ensigns of Foot in his stead, wherein I lost nothing by the change) I went in all haste to *Grossette*, to see to a disorder was fall'n out there; which was, that all the Ammunition of Corn that I had laid in there (which was sufficient for above a year) was so embezzel'd, that there was not above a hundred Sacks in all to be found. There was a Commissary, whose name was *Louberiac*, who laid the blame of this business upon Monsieur de *la Molle*; whereupon I sent post after Monsieur de *la Molle*, to acquaint him with what this fellow had deposed against him; and Monsieur de *la Molle* on the contrary charg'd the fault upon the said *Louberiac*. I lay that night in a pair of damp sheets, and it was in Winter, not having at that time brought my field-bed along with me, because I would let my Mules rest in order to my Journey into *France*, by which means I got a continued fever, that in ten dayes depriv'd me of all knowledge even of my own servants. Without which sickness I had taken an order with *Louberiac* for ever robbing the Kings Ammunitions again, as I did another at *Sienna* who had done the same.

The Sieur de
Montluc has
leave to return
into *France*.

So soon as I began a little to recover my senses, and to know people, my dismissal came, his Majesty writing to me withal, that I should go to *Ferrara* there to remain some time with the Duke to advise him in his affairs, he being at that time engag'd in a War. The great joy of this dismissal put me into so much heart, that four dayes after I departed, causing my self to be carried in a Chair by six men to *Montizel*, where Captain *Bartolomeo de Pezero* was, and where I stayd three dayes in expectation of a Litter, which Signior *Marioul de Santa Fiore* was to send me. In which I departed thence, not being able for all that to travel above five or six miles a day, and came to *Pezero*, where I found the Duke of *Urbino*, who sent out five or six Gentlemen to meet me, to conduct me to lodge in his Castle: to which returning my very humble thanks, I sent the Duke an excuse, that I begg'd his pardon, for I was of necessity to alight at Captain *Bartolomeo de Pezero's* house, who had writ to his Mother to receive me, and where I was consequently expected. I then went thither, where I found his Mother to be an extraordinary civil person, and as well esteem'd in the City as any Gentlewoman whatever. So soon as ever I alighted they immediately put me to bed, for I was so worn, that I was nothing but skin and bone, and continually dying for cold, what Furrs soever they could put upon me. The Duke did me the honor presently to come see me, and seeing me so ill, compell'd me to stay four dayes there, not suffering me to spend a penny, but caused me every day to be serv'd with two dishes from his own Table, after which I fancied my self so much better, that I sent back the Litter. The Duke at parting would needs make me accept a horse out of his Race, one of the most beautiful Coursers that I almost ever saw, and the strongest for his height, and would have a little *Friezland* horse of mine, strong for his stature, and very handsome; and so they set me upon a little pad Nagg that Monsieur de *Giury* gave me at my departure from *Montalzin* (where he commanded till the arrival of Don *Francisco d'Est*, whom the King made his Lieutenant General as I had been) and after that manner I crawl'd on to *Ferrara*, where I was as welcome, and as well receiv'd both by the Duke, Dutchess, and the Cardinals, as I had been their own Brother, the Duke lodging me in his own Palace, and causing me to be serv'd from his own Kitchen equal to his own person.

He comes to
Ferrara.

He goes to
Venice.

Four or five dayes after my arrival I had a great desire to go see the Cardinal de *Tournon*, and Monsieur de *Dax* at *Venice*, which Sieur de *Dax* was Embassador there, and there I stayed four days with them, very much troubled that I had not health to see all the City of *Venice* (for I was yet so ill, that I had much ado to go to the Arcenal) after which I return'd back to *Ferrara*. Now that all the parties are dead I shall do no harm to any one, in discovering that the Cardinal of *Mantua* manifested himself to be a great friend to the Duke of *Ferrara*, for he gave him notice, that his Brother Don *Ferrand* had a design to besiege *Versel*, that he caused six pieces of Ordnance to be taken out

of

of *Alexandria*, with which he was march'd directly to *Cremona*, with great store of Powder and Bullet, assuring him that this preparation was for *Versel*, which intelligence he dispatch'd away to him by two several Messengers; one upon the heels of another. I was also advertiz'd from *Cremona*, that Don *Ferrand* was there making ready more Cannon, and had prest fourscore great Merchants Boats that trafficked upon the *Pau*, upon which *Versel* is situate, as also *Cremony*; that part of the *Spanish* Companies, which were toward *Piedmont*, began to march directly to *Cremona*, and that he was raising new *Italian* Companies about *Millan*. The Duke of *Ferrara* having receiv'd all these advertisements, was very much troubled, the place being as yet in no very good posture of defence; for there was not so much as any one Bulwark cover'd, and the Courtines very low, as also the Spurs, being but half terrass'd, nor yet half fill'd, and all the Flanks open. The Duke sent the Prince his Son, who lay with his Army at *Reges*, word of all this, bidding him withall forthwith to send Signior *Cornelio Bentivoglio* to put himself into it: whereupon the Prince sent him word back, that if Signior *Cornelio* was taken away from him, he should not know what to do with the Army, the said Signior alwayes commanding in his absence, and he having no ease but by him, and therefore humbly entreated he would please to make choice of some other. The Duke then immediately sent away to Monsieur *de la Molle*, who was with the Prince in his Camp, entreating that he would go to defend the place: but Monsieur *de la Molle* return'd answer back, that the King had given him no order to shut himself up in any place, but only to perform his office in the field; and therefore desir'd to be excus'd. The Duke was exceedingly troubled, (as also was the Cardinal his Brother that now is) that they had not a man in so great an exigency, whom they could entrust with the defence of this place.

The Siege of
Versel design'd.

I now began to gather a little strength, and these dispatches to and again were carried so privately, that I knew nothing of all this, till in the end a Gentleman of the Dukes, (whom he had commanded to be continually about me, to see that I wanted nothing) discover'd it all to me one night very late, and told me moreover, that the Duke had almost given over the place for lost, forasmuch as he who was Governor in it was no Soldier, nor had ever born arms in any action of consequence: but that he was nevertheless a very honest man; so that the Duke did not in the least suspect his fidelity, but only his want of experience, and which was worst of all, there was no one in a time of so great need, who would make an offer of his person, to put himself into the place. Having heard this story, I all night consulted with my health about this affair; for as for inclination I had but too much, and in the morning finding my self indifferently lusty, I thereupon went immediately to wait upon the Duke, whom I found abed, for he alwayes rose very late. He had given order to his people, that at what time soever I came to his Chamber door, although he was in bed, they should let me in; wherefore I no sooner knockt, but that one of the Gentlemen of his Chamber presently open'd the door, where I found the Duke in Bed, and two Secretaries writing upon a little Table by his Bed-side. So soon as I had given him the good morrow, I gave him an account of what had been told me over night, but withal naming the Gentleman. Whereupon he repeated to me the same things I had heard before, together with the great trouble he was in, but would not mention the Cardinal of *Mantua* to me, from whom he had the most certain intelligence untill my return, when so soon as he had made an end, I spoke to him after this manner. Sir, dare you confide in me for the defence of your place, to which he made answer, in you Monsieur de Montluc? yes certainly, and sooner than any man in Italy; then Sir, said I, get up, and write presently to the Prince your Son, to give me a French Company that I shall choose, and some horse to convoy me to the Town, and write to Signior Pietro Gentilis, that he keep a good correspondence with me for the defence of the City, and that you have not sent me to deprive him of his Government, but because I have more experience in those affairs than he has, and that he shall presently execute whatever I shall direct. Upon this the Duke thrust out his arms, and clasping me fast about the neck, held my face close to his bosom, bidding one of his Gentlemen run for the Cardinal his Brother, who lay in his own Palace, a great distance from the Castle. The Gentleman made all the haste he could, telling the Cardinal what he had heard, who immediately came to us, and so soon as he came into the room, taking me in his arms, said to me these words. O Monsieur de Montluc how infinitely is our whole Family oblig'd to your generosity for this noble offer. After which they immediately fell to dispatching their letters, whilst I went to make my self ready to be gone, for the business requir'd haste, *Versel* being so situated; that an Army being ever set down before it, it is impossible to get in, provided they have two or three boats only upon the River. I went that night to lie at *Final*, the next day I din'd at *Modena*, and arriv'd in the evening at *Reges*, where the Prince with his Army lay, who gave me the Baron relief of *Versel*.

The anxiety of
the Duke of
Ferrara.

The Sieur de
Montluc offers
himself to the
Duke of *Ferrara*.

He goes to the
Baron relief of *Versel*.

d' Aurade, (the same who was after slain at Monsieur de Nemours his Chamber window at Vienna) with his Company and a Troop of Horse for my Convoy. In this equipage at one of the clock in the afternoon we arriv'd at *Versel*, where there was one Company of *Swiss*, five of *Italians*, and now that of the Baron *d' Aurade*, who was glad to go along with me, and made the seventh. The Duke of *Parma* from the time of his being reconcil'd to the King of *Spain*, had call'd back his two Companies of Light-horse, which had been with us at *Rome*, commanded by the Captain *Bartolomeo*, and *Ambrosio*, and seven or eight dayes before this Captain *Ambrosio* had been taken, and brought prisoner into the Castle of *Versel*, where I found him just going away, the Prince having exchange'd him for another. He was amaz'd to see me there, and I told him, that not long agoe we had worn the white Cross together, but that I now saw him with a red one; to which he made answer, *qua bisognava far le commandamento del suo padrone*, and ask'd me what business I had there: In answer to which I merrily told him, that I was come thither to serve them in the quality of Marechal de Camp, where I would provide them Quarters to lodge their Army in at their ease: But Captain *Pietro Gentilis* told and assur'd him, that I was come to defend the place, who thereupon said, *O questi non sono bave dunque a la fede che, io portero cative nove al mio padrone*, and so bid me farewell.

The defects of *Versel*. Now the Duke of *Parma* at this same time held another place of the Duke of *Ferrara's* besieg'd belonging to *Reges*. For five or six miles round about *Versel* I found neither Hay nor Straw, nor any other thing for the horses to eat, neither was there any meat at all, and within few utensils to work withal, nor wine, but a little they had for the *Swiss*, and very little either meal, or corn to make meal of: A defect that I believe more tempted Don *Ferrand* to besiege it, than any other thing. Methought I was once more got into *Sienna*, where I was in the greatest necessity of all things; and in the morning the Troop of Horse would needs be gone, their horses not having any one bit of any thing of all that night to eat. Now there were three great Bourgs upon the Road towards *Parma* (which as I remember they told me appertain'd to the *Sieur de St. Surin*, whom I have seen in a round Bonnet at Court) half a mile distant the one from the other, and two miles from *Versel*, where there lay some *Italian* Soldiers in Garrison, to hinder those of *Versel* from drawing any relief from thence. I therefore sallied out with the *Swiss* Company, that of the Baron *d' Aurade*, and three hundred *Italian* Harquebuzers, ordering Signior *Pietro Gentilis* to command all the men, women, and children to follow after me, together with all the horse in the Town, and a great number of Ropes and Sacks, and so marched directly to the first Village. The Enemy who were quarter'd there, upon my coming presently abandon'd the Bourg, and retir'd to the next, and I still follow'd after, till at last they forsook them all, and retir'd in all haste towards *Parma*. I had given order that upon pain of death no one should touch any thing but provisions, and left the Baron *d' Aurade* with the Troop of Horse at the furthestmost Village towards *Parma*, the *Italian* Harquebuzers at the second, and the *Swiss* at the third nearest to *Versel*, giving them all in charge to suffer nothing to pass, but victual only, whilst I rid up and down from Bourg to Bourg to hasten them in their work; for I never expected to go off without fighting. The Bourgs were none of them all enclosed, and there was great plenty of provisions, insomuch that some made five or six journeys to carry victual into *Versel*, so that in the end there was not one who did not come to seek for provision, and the wines we embark'd upon Boats, and convey'd them by a little River there was (I think an Arm of the *Po*) landing them about half a mile from *Versel*, the River coming no nearer to the Town. This work continued from Sun-rise to Sun-set, so that I dare be bold to say there was but a very little provision, of all sorts put together, left in all the Villages, the men and women whereof were very much astonisht at this proceeding, but I promised them satisfaction; and so the day past, wherein so much provision both for men and horses was convey'd into the Town, that for three months we could not possibly want, and then the Captain of the horse was content to stay with me a few days longer. The next day Signior *Pietro Gentilis* sallied out with all the men, women, and children of eight years old and upwards, and went to fall upon a Copse about half a mile from *Versel*, to cause *Bavins* to be made and brought before the Town. The Inhabitants were by no means unwilling to go, and he also took the *Swiss*, and almost all the *Italian* foot along with him, whilst I with the Baron *d' Aurade*, and the Troop of horse went along to guard him, where they plyed their work as well at the Copse, as they had done at the Villages the day before, and came to throw down their *Bavins* within a Harquebuz shot of the Town; neither till the night took us up did we ever cease, and for two dayes after did the same, insomuch that I am confident there were above threescore thousand *Bavins* made in three dayes, which afterwards we went with Colours flying to fetch

fetch home, and bestowed them in the Town, filling the Church, and several vacant places in the Walls, and then fell to fortifying, none being excepted from the work, Senior *Pietro* and I carrying Baskets to give example to the rest. I can say nothing but very well of that Gentleman, for I perceived in him no want either of courage or industry, but only of a little experience, which is not to be acquir'd without being employed, which he had never been; and how can one judge of a man until he be tried? 'Tis possible if he had been attack'd he would have acquitted himself very well: though men who have never seen a Siege are apt to be astonish'd when they hear such a rattle about their ears, and if a Governor be once daunted, all is lost. So soon as we had got our *Bavins* into the Town I resolv'd upon another Enterprize, which was to go and sweep away the provisions of two Villages near *Graßalda*, which belongs to *Don Ferrand*, in which there were two Companies of *Germans*, and one of *Italians*. To this end I sent the Captain of the Horse, and all the Gentlemen who were with me, to ride up to *Graßalda*, and with them all along by a Hedge the Baron d'*Aurade* to second them, whilst I with the *Swiss*, and four hundred *Italians* was busie loading away the victuals. They sent then twelve horse up to the very Gates of *Graßalda*, and the rest were plac'd in Ambush in a little Wood hard by. Whereupon the *German* Captains, and a great many people with them sallied out, and pursued our *Avant Coureurs*. Our Ambuscado discover'd it self too soon, otherwise all the Captains had been taken; but we pursued them up to the very gates, where forty or threescore *Germans* were slain (for the Baron d'*Aurade* was got in amongst them (the Ambuscado's both of foot and horse being planted close by one another) and a *German* Ensign with twenty or four and twenty *Germans* taken prisoners; and so we return'd home with the provisions we had loaded, and the next day I dismissed the Horse to return back to the Prince, who I was afraid would be displeased that they staid so long, though the men themselves were very willing to have staid longer with me, which if they had I should often have engag'd them with the Enemy; for I have ever taken care that my Soldiers, whether horse or foot, should not grow resty for want of employment, and stronger or weaker, have ever set them together by the ears with the Enemy, to see what they could do. 'Tis true a man ought to go discreetly to work not to lose them, but on the other side, he that stands over much upon caution, saying I will not throw away my men, or I will not do this or that to endanger the loss of my Company, shall in the end find, that he has perform'd no great matters. A man must both give and take.

The Sieur de
Montluc carries
a Basket at the
Fortifications.

The Duke of *Parma* lay still before the foremention'd place, which he batter'd, and in the mean time I did my business; Captain *Balserniere* and another *French* Company were in it, who behaved themselves so well, that they for ten or twelve dayes held the Enemy in play. *Don Ferrand* who was at *Cremona* having intelligence of the victual and *Bavins* we had put into *Versel*, and of the great diligence we used in all our affairs, began to cool in his design: for (as I have said before) I had made head against him at *Cassal*, and he knew very well what order and diligence I had observ'd in my Fortifications there: he also remembred how I had serv'd him at *Benne*, and at *St. Damian*, all which together made him imagine he should not easily carry this place, and therefore he withdrew his Ammunitions and Artillery, which were upon the banks of *Po* ready to be shipt aboard, and dismiss'd the Boats he had prest whereon to embark the Canon, and the Foot; for the Duke of *Parma's* Camp was to have joyned with him before *Versel*. And although it be in my own commendation, yet shall I not forbear to tell you, that the Duke of *Ferrara* said in publick, and gave me that glory, that my presence had diverted the Enemies designs, who would not attempt the Enterprize, knowing (as I said before) what I could do for the defence of a place. 'Tis a great deal to acquire such a reputation, as to make a man's self fear'd and esteem'd by his Enemy. The said *Don Ferrand* was an old wary Soldier, and would not attempt a place where I had broken ground; and also if he had, having wherewithal to eat I should have baffled him.

Don Ferrand
in suspence
what to do.

About this time the Duke of *Florence* procur'd the Duke of *Ferrara's* peace with the King of *Spain*, but it was with the knowledge and consent of the King, otherwise the said Duke would not have done it to have sav'd his Dukedom, he was so good a *Frenchman*; and when the peace came, which was five and twenty dayes after I entred into *Versel*, I took my leave of the Prince, and return'd to *Ferrara*, where it is not to be asked if I was welcome to the Duke, the Dutchess, and the Cardinal; for I do not think they ever caressed any man of what condition soever he was, or could be, more than they did me; and when he died I might well say, as I now do, I lost one of the best friends I had in the world: and when I departed from *Ferrara* to go to *Versel*, the Duke examin'd a Secretray of mine what store of money I had, and he telling him I had not as

The Duke of
Ferrara a good
Frenchman.

The Duke of
Ferrara pre-
sents the Sieur
de Montluc.

The Sieur de
Montluc ar-
rives at Court.

bove two hundred Crowns, he sent five hundred Crowns to my said Secretary, who had the ordering of my expence; and when three dayes after my return I took my leave of him, the Dutcheſs and the Cardinal, the said Duke ſeeing me have a great many Gentlemen of Quality in my Train, and knowing I could not have money enough to defray my Journey, he ſent me five hundred more. And thus I return'd rich from my Command in *Tuſcany*. This money carried me to *Lyons*, where I found two thouſand and four hundred Francks, which the King had cauſed to be paid for two years Salary of my place of Gentleman of the Chamber, and that *Martineau* had there depoſited for me in the hands of *Cathelin Jean* the Poſt-maſter, which brought me to *Paris*. Immediately upon my coming to *Paris* I went to kiſs his Maſteſties hand, he being then at *Creſſy*, where I was as well receiv'd by his Maſteſty as at my return from *Sienna*, and he was very well ſatiſfied with what I had done for the Duke of *Ferrara*. *Monſieur de Guiſe*, who had not ſeen me before, embrac't me three or four times in the preſence of the King himſelf, and his Maſteſty commanded the ſaid *Monſieur de Guiſe* to cauſe a thouſand Crowns to be given me, wherewith to return and to ſojourn ſome time at *Paris*, which he preſently did. And thus was my return out of *Italy* into *France*; the laſt time that I was in thoſe parts, and the ſervices I did there, wherein I cannot lie; there being ſo many yet living who can bear teſtimony of what I have deliver'd.

By this (Captains) you may ſee, and take notice what a thing reputation is, which alſo having once acquir'd, you ought rather to die than to loſe; neither muſt you do like men of the world, who ſo ſoon as they have got a little reputé are content with it, and think that what ever they ſhall do afterwards, the world will ſtill reputé them valiant. Do not fancy any ſuch thing; for by performing from time to time ſtill more and braver things, young men riſe to greatneſs, have fire in their pates, and fight like Devils; who when they ſhall ſee you do nothing worth taking notice of, will be apt to ſay that the world has beſtowed the title of valiant upon you without deſert, will ſet leſs value upon you, uſe you with leſs reſpect, and behind your back talk of you at their pleaſure, and with good reaſon; for if you will not ſtill continue to do well, and ſtill attempt new and greater things, it were much ſafer for your honor to retire home to your own houſe, with the reputation you have already got, than by ſtill following arms to loſe it again, and to be ſcouting at diſtance when others are laying about them. If you deſire to mount to the higheſt ſtep of the ſtairs of honor, do not ſtop in the mid-vvay, but ſtep by ſtep ſtrive to get up to the top vvithout imagining that your renovvn vvill continue the ſame as vvhen it vvvas obtain'd at firſt. You deceive your ſelves, ſome nevvn commer vvill carry avvay the prize, if you do not look vvell about you, and ſtrive to do ſtill better and better.

The Duke of
Guiſe created
Lieutenant
General of
France.

Andelot ar-
reſted.

The ſame day that I vvvent from *Creſſy* back to *Paris*, *Monſieur de Guiſe* departed alſo to go to *Metz* to execute the Enterprize of *Thionville*. The King from the time of his return out of *Italy* had made choice of him for his Lieutenant General throughout his vvhole Kingdom, ſo that before my coming I found that he had taken the Town of *Calice*, and ſent back the *Engliſh* to the other ſide of the Sea, together vvith *Guines*, and that he vvvas novvn upon the Siege of *Thionville*. Two dayes had not paſt before the King ſent for me to come to him to *Creſſy*, vvithout giving me notice vvhat it vvvas about, and I heard that the next morning after I departed from thence the King had cauſed *Monſieur d'Andelot* to be arreſted about ſome anſvver he had made him concerning Religion. So ſoon as I vvvas come the King ſent for me into his Chamber, vvhere he had vvith him the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and two or three others (vvhom I have forgot, but I think the King of *Navarre*, and *Monſieur de Montpenſier* vvvere there) and there the King told me that I muſt go to *Metz* to the Duke of *Guiſe*, there to command the Foot, of which *Monſieur d'Andelot* vvvas Colonel. I moſt humbly beſought his Maſteſty not to make me to intermeddle vvith another mans Command, vvwhich rather than I vvould do, I vvould go ſerve his Maſteſty under the Duke of *Guiſe* in the quality of a private Soldier, or elſe vvould command his Pioneers, rather than take upon me this employment. The King then told me, that *Monſieur de Guiſe* ſo ſoon as he had heard of *Andelots* imprifonment, had himſelf ſent to demand me to exerciſe the ſaid command. Seeing then I could get nothing by excuſes, I told his Maſteſty that I was not yet cur'd of a Dyſſentery my diſeaſe had left me, and that this was a command which requir'd health and diſpoſition of body to perform it; which were neither of them in me; whereupon his Maſteſty told me, that he ſhould think this Command better diſcharg'd by me in a Litter, than by another in perfect health, and that he did not give it me to exerciſe for another, but that he intended I ſhould have it for ever; to which I made anſwer, that I gave his Maſteſty moſt humble thanks for the honor he deſign'd me herein, and made it my moſt humble requeſt, that he

What an opi-
nion King
Henry had of
the Sieur de
Montluc.

he would not be diſpleaſed, if I could not accept it. Whereupon his Maſteſty ſaid to me theſe words, *Let me entreat you to accept it for my ſake*, and with that the Cardinal reprovd me, ſaying, *You diſpute it too long with his Maſteſty, 'tis too much conteſted with your Maſter*, to which I replyed, that I did not diſpute it out of any diſaffection to his Maſteſties ſervice, nor that I was unwilling to ſerve under the Duke of *Guiſe*, I having upon my firſt coming to *Paris* laid out money to buy me ſome Tents, and other Equipage, in order to my attendance upon him, having engag'd my ſelf before at *Rome* ſo to do; but only upon the account of my incapacity in that poſture of health wherein I then was. His Maſteſty then told me, that there was no more to be ſaid, and that I muſt go; after which I had no more to ſay. And I fancy the King of *Navarre*, and *Monſieur de Montpenſier* both fell upon me to perſwade me to accept of this Command, forasmuch as I remember the King ſaid to me, there is no more excuſe, for you ſee all the world is againſt you, and thereupon commanded the Cardinal to order me another thouſand Crowns towards my Equipage, which he preſently did. I then return'd to *Paris*, where I ſtayd but two dayes to provide my ſelf of ſuch things as I wanted, and ſo went away to the Duke of *Guiſe* to *Metz*. I found him juſt mounting to horſe to go to diſcover *Thionville*, but he would not ſuffer me to go along with him, by reaſon of my long Journey, and to ſpeak the truth I was not very well; and the ſame night he return'd, and told me, that if God would permit us to take that place, there was honor to be got. He was alwaies wont when diſpos'd to be merry to call me, his heart, and ſmiling, then ſaid to me, *Courage my heart, I hope we ſhall carry it*. And in the morning we departed, for he had all his tackle ready. I muſt needs ſay one thing with truth, and without flattery, that he was one of the moſt diligent Generals that I had ſerv'd of eighteen, under whom I had the honor to bear arms for his Maſteſties ſervice; and yet he had one fault, which was, that he would write almoſt every thing with his own hand, and would not truſt to any Secretary he had. I will not ſay this was ill done, but it rendred him a little ſlow, and affairs of war require ſo prompt a diligence, that a quarter of an hours delay ſometimes endangers the ſucceſs of the greateſt Enterprize. One day I came from the Trenches to demand of him four German Enſigns to reinforce our Guards, for we began to approach very near to the Town; and becauſe the Artillery from the walls had forced him from his firſt Quarter, he was lodg'd in a little low houſe, which had one little Chamber only, the window whereof was juſt over the door: I there met with *Monſieur de Bourdillon*, who was ſince Mareſchal of France, whom I asked where the Duke was; he told me he was writing; the Devil, ſaid I, take all theſe writings for me, it ſeems he has a mind to ſave his Secretaries a labour, 'tis pitty he was not a Clerk of the Parliament of Paris, for he would have got more money than du Tillot, and all the reſt of them put together. *Monſieur Bourdillon* was ready to die with laughing, becauſe he knew (which I dream't not on) that the Duke heard every word I ſaid, and therefore egg'd me on ſtill to deſcant more upon this Clerk: when preſently *Monſieur de Guiſe* came out laughing, and ſaid, *How now my heart, what do you think I ſhould have made a good Clerk?* but in my life I was never ſo out of countenance, and was furioſly angry with *Monſieur de Bourdillon*, for having made me talk at that rate, though the Duke laugh'd at it only, and gave me Count *Rocquendolf* with four Enſigns. But to return to what I was ſaying of his diligence, there was not any one who did not acknowledge him for one of the moſt vigilant and diligent Generals of our times, and withal a man of ſo great judgment in deliberation, that he having deliver'd his opinion and advice, a better was not to be expected. As to the reſt, a Prince ſo diſcreet, affable, and familiar, that there was not a man in his Army, who would not cheerfully run all hazards for the leaſt word of his mouth; ſo great a dexterity he had in gaining hearts. Onely his diſpatches took up a little too much of his time, I think becauſe he durſt not truſt his Secretaries, a ſort of men that do us a great deal of miſchief, and 'tis very rare to find out one that is faithful.

The Sieur de Montluc Colonel of the Infantry.

The laudable qualities of the Duke of Guiſe.

He beſieg'd the Town then on that ſide beyond the River, the River being between, which he cauſ'd to be ſounded, to try if it was not very deep, by five or ſix Soldiers that I brought with me: we were not above five or ſix with him, of which number were *Monſieur de Bourdillon*, and *Monſieur de Cire*; and we found that ſome of the Soldiers had water up to the Codpiece, and others to the Girdle. I then told him, that in caſe this was the weakeſt ſide, he ought not to deferre making his Battery; for I doubted not to make the Soldiers paſs over to the aſſault, and that I my ſelf would lead them the way. The night following we planted Gabions upon the bank of the River, and in the morning by break of day the Artillery began to thunder againſt the Tower, which was open'd on the left hand towards a Ravelin that flank'd the ſaid Tower, as alſo was a little Turret betwixt the great Tower and the Ravelin. This was all that could be done

The Siege of Thionville.

A Counter
Battery.

A furious coun-
ter-battery.

The Trenches.

Thionville dis-
cover'd.

The Duke de
Guise not sa-
tisfied with the
discovery made
by the Sieur de
Montluc.

at that place. The Enemy planted ten or twelve great pieces of Canon, just over against our Artillery, and about eleven of the clock in the morning began to make a Counter-battery, with which before two a clock in the afternoon they had beaten all our Gabions to pieces, excepting one, and the half of another, behind which ten or a dozen of us that were there were squat with our bellies close to the ground; for all the Soldiers and Pioneers were constrain'd to quit the post, and to go throw themselves behind another Trench above sixscore paces behind us; so that durst the Enemy have ventur'd over the water, they might have taken our Artillery, and at great ease have thrown them into the River: for the Soldiers that were retired to the other Trench could not have come up to relieve us, but at the mercy of their Canon, and smaller shot, forasmuch as the River was not above threescore and ten paces over, and ran within four foot of the Wall. Monsieur le Marquis d'Elbeuf, with fourteen or fifteen Gentlemen of the Dukes Train, never forsook me of all the while, and so we lay till dark night, that we planted new Gabions, and double the number, but it was all to no purpose, for we could do no good with our Battery against the Wall, forasmuch as they had cast up great Terrasses within, so broad that two or three Coaches might have gone upon them abreast both in that place, and elsewhere quite round the Town; in my life I never saw a Fortrefs better fortified than that was. Monsieur de Guise then call'd a Council, where every one was of opinion that he should draw off his Artillery from that place, and lodge all our Infantry and Germans on the other side the River, and there to begin his Trenches as near as he could to the Wall. This being resolv'd upon, the said Duke caused a Bridg in extreme diligence to be presently made, and we passed the River over it, though the plancks were not as yet nail'd, and encamp't in a Village about five or six hundred paces distant from the City, situate upon a Plain, and so open, that a bird could not stir without being seen, and there they plyed us with their Canon till they had not left a house standing in the whole Village, insomuch that we were constrain'd to secure our selves in the Cellars under ground. I had pitch'd my Pavillions very cunningly betwixt two Walls, but they beat down both Walls and Pavillions; in my life I never saw a more furious Counter-battery. The night following the Marechal de Strozzy past the River with Monsieur de Guise, and we began to cast up our Trenches along this Plain, where we lay seven or eight dayes before we could approach within two hundred paces of the City, by reason the nights were short, and by day they did so thunder the Trenches, that there was no working but by night. The Marechal never stirr'd from us, unless he went sometimes to his Tents, (which yet remain'd on the other side of the water) to shift his clothes, and that not above once in three dayes. He gave me leave to make the Trenches according to my own fancy, for we had at first begun them a little two narrow through the wisdom of an Engineer. At every twenty paces I made a back corner, or return, winding sometimes to the left hand, and sometimes to the right, which I made so large that, there was room for twelve or fifteen Soldiers with their Harquebuzes and Halberts; and this I did to the end, that should the Enemy gain the head of the Trench, and should leap into it, those in the back corner might fight them, they being much more Masters of the Trench than they who were in the straight line, an invention that both the Marechal and the Duke did very well approve of.

Monsieur de Guise then told me, that I must send to discover what effect our Artillery had wrought against the Tower, and that I must do it by valiant persons. In order whereunto I took with me Captain Sarlabous, the younger Millac, St. Estephe, Cipiere, and Captain Montluc my Son, and went. So soon as we came near unto the Tower we were to pass over certain little Bridges the Enemy had made, by which to pass over the Marish to the Tower; and being come to the Tower we found a Pallisado of posts as thick as a man's thigh, that from the Tower went seven or eight paces into the River, and we were to go all along by the Pallisado in water to the end of it, and afterwards on the other side of the Pallisado to return to the Tower. We had made two Soldiers bring two Pikes along with us; I for my part did not go into the water, but all the rest past the Pallisado after this manner, and one after another view'd the breach that had been made in the Tower, and they put a Soldier into it by a Pike, and found that within the Tower there was water up to the arm-pits, and being the River made a great noise at this place by reason of the Pallisado, their Centinels never heard us, though the Tower was no more than four paces distant from the Wall of the Town. This being done we return'd, and went to give Monsieur de Guise an account of what we had seen, who would not give credit to our discovery, but told me he was certain there was no Pallisado, and that people who came lately from thence had assur'd him to the contrary; and that therefore the night following we must discover it better. I was vext to the blood at this answer: but said no more to him but only this, that I conceiv'd the testimony of those Captains was

sufficient,

sufficient, but seeing he was not satisfied with it, let some body in the name of God discover it better, to which he made answer, that he did not mean I should go my self, neither said I, do I intend it. The Marechal knew very well that I was angry, and said to the Sieur Adrian Baillon, and to Count Theophile, I know Montluc is angry by his answer to the Duke of Guise, and you shall see if he do not go this night to discover after a terrible manner, for I know the complexion of the man.

This night Monsieur de Guiseerein'd the Marechal with him in his Quarters, and so soon as it was night I took four hundred Pikes, Corslets all, and four hundred Harquebuzers, and went to lay the Corslets upon their bellies upon the ground within a hundred paces of the Gate of the City, and I with the four hundred Harquebuzers marched directly to the Pallisado. The Captains themselves who had discover'd before, were as angry at the answer Monsieur de Guise had given them, as I, and themselves first passed the Pallisado. Now I believe the Enemy had in the morning perceiv'd that people had past by the end of the Pallisado, for we there found a Court of Guard of twenty or five and twenty men, of which the most part were kill'd, and the rest escap'd into the Rampire, where our people pursued and entred after them; but the door of the Ravelin that went into the Town was so narrow, that one man only could pass at a time, which was the reason that our men stopt short, for the Enemy defended the door. Nevertheless they made shift to dismount, and tumble a Bastard from the Ravelin on our side down to the ground, and being that by the Tower our Artillery from the other side of the water had beaten down part of the Wall, so that it was pretty low; we with some Pikes that came along with us, came to dispute it with them, where the fight continued for above a long hour. Monsieur de Guise, who saw all from the other side of the River, was stark mad at what he saw, but the Marechal who was with him laugh'd with Sieur Adrian, and the Count de Theophile saying, *did I not tell you he would make one?* I had made the Soldiers to carry five or six hatchets along with them, with which during the time of the fight, I caused all the Pallisado to be cut, and pulled up, so that we needed no more to wade the water at our return. Captain St. Estephe was there slain with the Ensign of Cipierre, and another Ensign (but they had not their Colours with them, for I had brought none) together with ten or twelve Soldiers kill'd, and wounded. Captain Sarlabous is yet living, and several others who can witness, that had we taken with us five or six Ladders seven or eight foot high only, we had entred the place, for they kept very ill guard on that side, and in that place, relying upon the Guard they had left without, so that it was a long time before they came to the defence of this Post, whilst in the mean time five or six of our Soldiers helping one another mounted upon the Wall; so that had we had Ladders to reach from the top of the breach in the Wall up to the Terrais, I think fortune would have smil'd upon us, for they say she favours the bold.

Another discovery of the Breach.

St. Estephe slain.

In the morning I sent Captain Sarlabous to give the Duke an account of what we had seen, for I would not go my self, being certain he was very angry. The Marechal was still with him, who laughing said, *would you have a Breach better discover'd than by giving an assault?* This was a Gascon trick you was not aware of. The thing that most troubled the Duke of Guise was, that word would be sent to the King, that we had given an Assault, and were repuls'd, otherwise he had not cared so much. His incredulity and my despite were the loss of a great many good men. When we had brought up our Trench within fifty paces of the Tower, one morning by break of day the Marechal would retire to his Tent to shift himself, and I also would do the same. Now as our approaches came nearer to the Town, I still made my back returns a little longer, to the end that two of them might receive a whole Company. I had evermore an opinion that the Enemy would make a Sally upon us, but it would never sink into the Marechal's head, for he would always say, *Would you have them such mad men as to make a Sally to lose their Soldiers, never any men of sense did such a ridiculous thing;* to which I made answer, *why should they not sally?* for in the first place they are able from the walls to secure their mens retreat, on the other side they are in the Town twelve Ensigns of Foot, four hundred Spaniards choice men pick'd out of all the Spanish Companies, and a good Chief to head them, which is Joanne Gayetano, a man they esteem above all the Captains they have, and a hundred Horse besides, and the Town would be sufficiently defended with half the forces they are within. I could not for all this make him understand it. I know not why, for the reason of war I am sure was on my side.

This very morning I had plac'd Captain Lago the elder, and his Company in two of the long back returns on the right hand, whom I caus'd to enter before day, that the Enemy might not perceive them, so that it was, as a man may say, a kind of Ambuscado. The Captains who mounted the Guard, had in charge, that in case the Enemy should make a sally,

A Sally of the
besieged.

They are re-
pulsed.

sally, and attaque the head of the Trenches, they should put themselves into the Field and run to charge them in the Flank; and those at the head of the Trench had likewise order, that in case they should attaque the returns, they should likewise leap out of the Trench to assault them in their flank also. We had every night four German Ensigns quarter'd there where we began our Trench; to assist us in time of need, but what Regiment it was that was that night upon the Guard, I cannot remember, and before the Marschal and I were got to the end of the Trenches, it began to be fair broad day. The Marschal trifled the time a little talking with a German Captain, and also to stay for a horse, which I had sent for to lend him to pass over the bridge to his Tents, being at a stone Crossclose by the village, the horse I had lent him came, when, as my footman was alighting, on a sudden we heard a mighty noise, and saw the Enemy fighting with our men at the head of the Trench, and leaping headlong into the Trenches, and had it not been for those back returns, had doubtless gain'd them from us. With them there sallied out also fifty or threescore horse. Captain *Lago* did there approve himself to be a valiant and a prudent man, for he cried to his Lieutenant in the return behind him, to run with his Pikes charg'd full drive upon the horse, whilst he himself ran upon the Enemies Flank, who were disputing the head of the Trenches. Seeing this, I mounted upon the horse, whilst the Marschal remain'd at the Cross, spectator of the whole action, nor ever staid till I came up to our own men who were at it pell-mell with the Enemy; who so soon as *Lago* came up to them would have retir'd, when our people leapt out of the Trenches, and flew upon them, and so we pursued them wounding and killing up to the very Tower on the right hand. I then presently sent back the horse to the Marschal, who found Monsieur *de Guise*, and all the Gentlemen that were quartered near him on horseback coming to relieve us: but he told them there was no need, for that he had seen all the fight, and the victory was ours. As we retir'd from the pursuit, all the remainder of their Harquebuzers were upon the Walls, and fir'd so round upon our retreat, that it seem'd as if it had been only a Volley in complement to us. I was alone on horseback in the middle of our men, and therefore let any one judge whether God did not by miracle preserve me in such a showre of Harquebuz shot, considering what a fair mark they had of me. The Captains cried out to me to gallop off, though I would never leave them, but came along with them to the edge of the Trenches, where I alighted, and presently deliverd the horse to my Lacquey to carry him to the Marschal as I said before, and with the rest threw my self into the Trenches, where I found a Captain and a Lieutenant of ours left dead upon the place: I do not remember their names (for they were *French*, and I was but lately come to command in the Army) with twelve or fourteen, what of theirs and ours dead in the Trenches. And yet notwithstanding the brave Volley they gave us from the Walls, we had not above ten men hurt; and thus their sally did not so much endamage us by a great deal, as it did themselves.

You may here Captains take a good example concerning Trenches, and the order I took for the sally the Enemy might make, with the advantage we had by it. For never dispute it, the Defendants have need of men, and therefore will be loath to attempt to force your Trenches: 'tis true if you sleep in them you will be surpriz'd. Take notice also when you make your Trenches, to make them high and sloping, and that they have back returns, or corners capable of lodging men; for they are as Forts to repel an Enemy. There was now no more talk of Monsieur *de Guise* his being angry with me, the Marschal and he holding no other discourse all dinner time, but of the fight, and principally of the providence and circumspection wherewith I had proceeded, saying, that it would be a hard thing ever to surprize me. And also in truth I walk'd whilst others slept, without fearing either heat or cold. I was inur'd to hardship, which all young Gentlemen who will advance themselves by arms, ought to study betimes, and learn to suffer, that when they shall wax old, it may not be altogether intollerable; but old age being once wholly come,
Goodnight Godson.

Within two or three nights after we brought up our Trench to the foot of the great Tower, whereupon Monsieur *de Guise* brought his Miners to try if the Tower was to be min'd, and therefore fell to piercing the Wall within two or three foot of the ground, when so soon as the Enemy heard what we were about, they began to make Casemats within the Tower, so that their Casemats answer'd to our Hole. We were three nights about piercing the Wall; and at the same time that our Miners were picking without the Enemy were picking within at their loop-holes. Every night Monsieur *de Guise* sent us four Gentlemen to help us to watch, and I remember that one night Monsieur *de Montpezat*, and Monsieur *de Randan* came to lie there. So soon as the hole was almost thorough, Monsieur *de Guise* caused a Canon to be brought me to help to pierce the Wall, for he knew

knew very well that the picking we heard was about Casemats, and that so soon as ever the wall should be pierc'd through, they would shoot at us from them. The day before the Canon was brought, the Marechal de Strozzy was gone to his Tents on the other side the water to refresh himself, and to shift both his shirt and his clothes, for we were all dirt.

Monsieur de Guise from the time that the Miners began to work at the Wall, caus'd a great many Pioneers to come, and to begin a Traverse of Earth and Bavins close adjoyn- ing to the Tower, making them to leave a little path, at which they wrought so hard, that as the hole was pierced, the Traverse was also brought to perfection. The Enemy had laid a great number of planks upon the Tower in manner of a Trench, and the night be- fore we gave the assault, going up by the little path of the Traverse, and with the help of some Ladder, we took away the planks of their Trench from the top of the Tower, which did us more harm than good; for when the planks were taken away, the great Platform which was close by the Tower, there being only five or six paces betwixt them, so soon as any of us popt up a head, discover'd us.

Now as I have already said the Marechal was only gone to shift himself, but Mon- sieur de Guise made him stay supper with him, and with great importunity kept him all that night, to his great misfortune: for Monsieur de Guise detain'd him the next morn- ing, to see where they should plant four Culverines on that side where they were to play into the Enemies defences, when we should the next day give the assault. The Marechal several times begg'd of him to give him leave to return, telling him, that should any bu- siness befall me that night, he should be extreemly troubled if he should not be there. At last the said Marechal, to his great grief, was constrained to stay, and so much contrary to his mind, that so soon as he was retir'd into his Tent, he ask'd the Sieur Adrian Bailon and Count Theophile, if they had the word to pass thorough the Germans: for as for our people he did not care, and could pass well enough without. They told him they had none, whereupon he said to them these words, *It runs in my head, that Monsieur de Montluc will this night have something to do, and that the Enemy will come to attaque him over the Counterscarp of the Ditch of the Town, which should it so fall out, it would trouble me the longest day I have to live, that I was not there.*

Monsieur de Guise unfortun- ately detains the Marshal de Strozzy all night in his Quarters.

To which they made answer, that he ought not to fancy any such thing, for that I had plac'd a Court of Guard of four hundred men within twenty paces of the Gate of the City, which they must of necessity fight withal, before they could come to me. To which he reply'd, *I know not what it is, but I am strangely possess'd with an opinion, that some misfortune will happen this night.* They endeavour'd all they could to put this conceit out of his head; for the Sieur Adrian had no mind to repass the River, and go to lie all night at the Tower, he having been lately very sick, and not yet perfectly recover'd; for had they told him, as they afterwards told me, that he might have pass'd thorough the German Guards well enough without the word, being as well known to all the German Officers, as to those of our own Nation, he would have gone, what promise soever he had made to the Duke of Guise to the contrary; but when the hour is come, I think God will have it so, that death shall follow, and 'tis to no purpose for a man to fly, or to hide himself. He moreover said to them these words, *Monsieur de Montluc is not yet well known to the King and Queen, although the King loves him very well; but if I escape from this siege, I will make both the King and the Queen understand his worth, and the next day when he was dead, the Sieur Adrian and Count Theophile told me, that I had lost the best Friend I had in the world, which I easily believ'd, and do still believe it, and might well say, that having lost the Duke of Ferrara and him, I had lost the two best friends I had in Italy and in France.* He was kill'd the next day, as he was looking and consulting with Monsieur de Guise where to place the four Culverines. Before din- ner he had been looking long, but Monsieur de Guise would needs return again in the af- ternoon to consider of it better, having Monsieur de Salcede with them. He was slain by a Musquet shot from a little Bulwark, that was at a Corner of the Town, pointing along by the River towards Metz. Thus when a mans hour is once come, he cannot avoid it. This poor Lord had pass'd thorough above six thousand Canon, and above fifty thou- sand Harquebuz shot, which could not all kill him, and yet this accursed Musquet shot could do it, at the distance of above five hundred paces, Monsieur de Guise being close by him. The King there lost a good servant, and as valiant a man dyed, as any was in France. Two hours after, Monsieur de Guise came to the Tower, but gave expresse charge that no one should speak a word of his death, when seeing the Sieur Adrian and Count Theophile, I ask'd them where he was, to which they made answer, that the last night he had not been very well, but that to night he would come to me; but perceiving

The Marechal de Strozzy slain,

Engin of
planks to de-
fend the Ca-
noncers.

The resolution
of the Sieur de
Montluc.

Monfieur de Guife to be sad, and all thofe who were with him very grave, my heart mis- gave me, that fomething was amifs, when Monfieur de Guife being return'd, and having left Monfieur de Bourdillon with me in the Marefchal's ftead, I earneftly entreated him to tell me what was become of Monfieur de Strozzy; who made answer, *Why, I will tell you, and alfo if you know it not to day, you will know it to morrow*, and thereupon gave me the relation of his death, and how Monfieur de Guife had forbid them to tell me, fear- ing my grief would hinder me the next day from performing my duty in the fight. To which I reply'd, *That it was true, no man under Heaven was more afflicted for his death than I was, yet that I would endeavour to forget him for that night, and the day following; but it fhould be to lament him ever after whilst I had an hour to breath*: Count Theophile and the Sieur Adrian ftay'd with me all this night, during which we paff together our lamenta- tions, and by break of day began to play our Canon at the Hole. Monfieur de Guife had caus'd an Engine of planks above a foot thick to be made, to put before the Canon fo foon as it had fir'd, to the end that the Enemy from their Loop-holes might not kill our Canoncers. At the foot of this Engine there were two little wheels for it to move upon, and it was drawn with a little cord, which fo cover'd the miffel of the Canon, that no Harquebuz shot could pierce it. After this manner we made twenty shot at this Hole, which we broke thorough, and made fo wide, that a man might eafily pafs thorough; but the Canon could do no hurt to their Cafemats, forasmuch as they were a little on the right hand, and no man could approach the Hole, without being kill'd or wounded. Monfieur de Guife then fent me order, that I fhould try to lodge three or four hundred men betwixt the Tower and the Ravelin, and that he would to that purpofe fend me Ga- bions and Pioneers. He had caus'd Mantelets to be made, to place from the great Tower to the River, which might be fome feven or eight paces, and from thence our Harque- buzeers shot at thofe who appear'd upon the Courtine; our Ensigns planting themfelves all along by the wall, from the Tower to the Raveline. Thofe upon the Platform faw all along by the Courtine, and ours who were by this Raveline on that fide by the Hole, fir'd at them, whilst I made them shoot from behind the Mantelets. Monfieur de Nevers the Father of thefe three daughters now living, was come thither, and flood by our Tra- verfe that was at the foot of the Great Tower, and Monfieur de Guife was on the other fide of the River, by the Artillery. Poton Senefchal of Agenois commanded one of the four Culverines, who made very brave shots, and did us great fervice, for he play'd con- tinually upon the top of the Courtine and the Platform, at thofe who shew'd themfelves to shoot at our people below, and this continued four or five hours at leaft. Monfieur de Guife then fent to me by Monfieur de Cipierre to try if we could by any means place the Gabions he had fent me, betwixt the wall and the Hole, but all thofe who prefented themfelves to plant the Gabions, were either kill'd or hurt. I then bethought my felf to put a hundred or fixfcore Pioneers into the water, under the bank of the River, to caft up a Trench all along by the water fide towards the Raveline. Monfieur de Cipierre faw the great difficulty and impossibility there was in executing the Dukes command, and found Caprain Bordezierre dead, and his Ensign wounded who dyed after. You could have feen nothing but wounded men carrying off to be drest, and the Mantelets shat- ter'd all to pieces with ftones, fo that we lay all open shooting at one another as one shoots at a mark. I had order'd our affairs pertty well; for I had plac'd moft of the Harquebuzers by hundreds, fo that as one hundred had fpent all their powder, another hundred came to fupply their rooms, and ftill all the danger and mischief fell where I was; for as well the Culverines that plaid from the other fide of the River, as thofe men of ours that shot openly, and without fhelter, kept the Enemy in fuch aw, that not one durft pop up his head to shoot at our people who were under the wall below, but plaid continually upon us, who were almoft in a level right over againft them. Mon- fieur de Bourdillon then at the bidding of Monfieur de Nevers, came and caught me by the arms behind, and hal'd me above fix paces backwards, faying, *What will you do man, in the name of God, what do you intend to do, do you not fee, that if you be kill'd, all this labour's loft, and that the Souldiers will be discouraged?* to which, difengaging my felf from him, I reply'd, *and do you not alfo fee, that if I be not with the Souldiers, they will abandon this poft, and the Enemy will kill all thofe that are under the wall? for then they will ftand up at their eafe, and shoot plum down upon them*. Monfieur de Nevers then call'd to me alfo from the other fide of the hole, to make me retire, which neverthelefs I would not do, but faid to Monfieur de Bourdillon thefe words, *What God will do with me this day is already determin'd, I cannot avoid it, and if this place be appointed for my grave, it is in vain to fhun my deftiny*, and fo, without faying any more to him, return'd back to the place from whence he had drawn me, when on a fudden I bethought my felf

self of an Enterprize, bidding Captain *Volumat* to take six Harquebuzers, and two Halberts, and go place himself behind a Canton of the Wall, that remain'd of the Tower when it was beaten down, and there trie if suddenly leaping out from behind this Wall, he could not throw himself headlong upon the Casemats, a design grounded upon my belief that they could not be cover'd with any thing but plancks, for they made them after the same manner that we made the Hole, or else that they were totally open. But be it how it would, I intreated him without dispute to throw himself upon them, assuring him, that I would go make another Captain fall on by the path of the Traverse, which lead up to the top of the Tower, and that both of them at the same time should throw themselves headlong upon the Casemats. I then call'd to me a *French Captain* (I do not remember his name) and said to him in the presence of Monsieur de *Nevers* and Monsieur de *Bourdillon*, the same things I had said to Captain *Volumat*, and that so soon as ever he should be up, without pawing upon the matter, he should throw himself upon the Casemats, desiring Monsieur de *Nevers*, and Monsieur de *Bourdillon* to encourage the Soldiers to follow this Captain, whilst I went to Captain *Volumat* to do the same. But so soon as ever this poor Captain thrust up his head, he was kill'd by those of the great Platform, and another after him, so that they fell dead betwixt the legs of Monsieur de *Nevers*, and Monsieur de *Bourdillon*. I then cried out to Captain *Volumat*, being some fifteen paces from one another, that the Captain who fell on by the Traverse was already upon the top of the Tower (to beget in him an emulation, which ordinarily sharpens the noblest courages) whereupon the said Captain *Volumat* start up, for before he was kneel'd down behind the Canton, and ran up to the brink of the Wall. Now there was another Wall betwixt the Casemats and the Corner of the Tower; so that although he should leap into the first only, he was never the nearer; yet so it was, that this very thing was cause of the winning of the place, for the Casemat was all open and very low; so that so soon as ever they saw Captain *Volumat* upon the top, making shew as if he would leap in betwixt the two Walls, they acquitted the Casemats, and fled away along by the Curtain of the Wall and the Terrass, betwixt which and the Wall five or six men might march abreast, and then a Soldier of Captain *Volumats* at two leaps was with me, telling me in great haste that the Enemy had abandon'd the Casemat. Whereupon I immediately ran up to the side of the hole, and taking the Soldier by the arm cried to him, *leap in, Soldier, leap in*, and I will give thee twenty Crowns: but he told me flatly he would not do it, for that he should certainly be kill'd, and thereupon struggled with all the force he had to get away from me. My Son Captain *Montluc*, and those Captains I nam'd before, who alwayes us'd to bear me company, were behind me, at Whom I began to swear and curse, that they did not help me to truss this Gallant, when immediately we thrust him in with his head forwards, and made him bold in spite of his teeth, and seeing they shot no more from the Casemats we put in two Harquebuzers more, partly with their consent, and partly by force, first taking from them their Flasks and their Matches, for there was water within up to the armpits, and immediately after Captain *Montluc* leapt in, then the Captains *Cossil*, *la Motte*, *Casset*, *Segrat*, and the *Asillions*, having all Targets, took the leap to save my Son, and three or four Harquebuzers after them, when so soon as I saw they were nine or ten, I cried out to them, *Courage Camrades, now show yourselves true Gascon Soldiers, and fall upon the Casemats*, which they did, whilst the Enemy upon the Terrass threw stones at their own people, to make them return to the Casemats, and as Captain *Montluc* came to the door of the said Casemats he met with the Enemy, who would have re-entred into it, but a Harquebuzer of ours kill'd the Chief of them, who was arm'd with a Mail cover'd over with green velvet, a gilt Morion upon his head, and a damaskt Halbert in his hand. Two others were also kill'd by hand, and then our people leapt into the Casemat, and call'd out to me thorough the hole, *Succours, succours, we are in the Casemat*: Monsieur de *Nevers* then and Monsieur de *Bourdillon* help'd me in all haste to put more Soldiers in: we took their flasks and their fire, and so soon as they were in the water, they took them again in their hands, and past over throwing themselves into the Casemats, and ever after that time Monsieur de *Nevers* call'd me his Captain so long as he liv'd, saying he had there serv'd under me in the quality of a private Soldier.

The Enemy
quit the Casemat.

Gascon Captains.

Honor done by
Monsieur de
Nevers to the
Sieur de Mont-
luc.

We had there two Captains of the Garrison of *Metz* called *le Baron d'Anglure*, and *Valon-Ville*, who at my request had obtain'd leave of Monsieur de *Guise* to be at the Assault, with five and twenty Harquebuzers each, whom I had all this while kept under the Traverse, so that as yet they had not spent one shot. I call'd them, and they were with me at a leap, and threw themselves into the hole, and their Soldiers followed after, when as fast as they entred I made them run to the door of the Casemat, and to

Division amongst the Defendants.

Severity of the Spaniards.

The great Tower taken.

enter into it. The door was little and very low, and the Enemy durst not deliver their shot plum down, because our men who were all along by the Wall would see them as soon as they put up their heads, as also would those who were there where I had been: but they tumbled down a great quantity of stones, for all which our people desisted not from going in and out of the Casemat as occasion requir'd; and as the Soldiers of the Baron d'Anglure and Valon-Ville entred the Casemat, I made those come out who had gain'd it before, the place not being capable to contain above forty or fifty persons. Now as God would have it, and to our great good fortune, the Defendants could not agree amongst themselves about the defence of the Casemats; for the Spaniards who were in the Town would keep them, but the Flemings would not suffer it, and the Governor would that some of his own Company should defend them; for which he lay a long time in prison, and the King of Spain would have put him to death, the Spaniards accusing him that he had put in corrupted people purposely to lose the place. The Governor defended himself, saying, that he had seen Joanne Gayetano and his Spaniards behave themselves so ill, that he durst not trust them with the defence of the Casemat, and so they accused one another; all which we knew from the Constable, and the Marechal de St. Andre at their return out of prison, who left this Governor still a prisoner. I have in my time observ'd the Spaniards to be severe punishers of those vvho by cowardise or treachery have lost or surrendred places, and it vvere vvell and prudently done, if all Princes vvould punish such as commit so important offences, at least by degradation from arms, vvvhich is vvorse than death: but then they ought to be censur'd vvithout prejudice or passion; for I have knowvn a man accused by another vvho could not himself have done better.

But to return to our Siege, Monsieur de Guise being vvith the Culverins, and making them continually to shoot at the Enemies defences, perceiv'd that the Soldiers of the Trenches run straight up to the Tower (which were the two Captains, Anglure and Valon-Ville that I had call'd up to me) and Lunebourg (Colonel of a Regiment of Germans, who was at the farthest end of the Trench, to whom I had sent to send me a hundred of his Harquebuzers in all haste, for ours had spent all their powder) came also running himself with the hundred Harquebuzers, and a hundred Pikes to me to the Tower; whom Monsieur de Guise seeing to run after this manner, and seeing the others that were by the Tower run to the hole, he cried out (as they told me afterwards) *O good God the Tower is taken, do you not see how every one runs to the place?* which having said he immediately mounted a bay Curtal he had ready by him, and ran full speed to pass the Bridg, galloping all the way till he came to the Trenches. So soon as I saw that Anglure and Valon-Ville were in the Tower, I spoke to a Gentleman that stood by, and said *run to Monsieur de Guise, and carry him news that the Tower is taken, and that now I think he will take Thionville, which till now I did never believe.* The Gentleman ran as fast as he could, and met him just as he was entring the Trenches, where he said to him, *Sir, Monsieur de Montluc sends you word that the Tower is taken, who still galloping on made answer, I have seen all my friend, I have seen all, and some fifty or threescore paces from the Tower alighted, and leaving his horse came running to us on foot; when so soon as he came, I began to smile upon him, and said, O Sir I now think you will take Thionville. Mas bons hazets trop bon marcat de nostre pet, & de bost monseigne;* whereupon he threw his arms about my neck, and said, *I now see, my heart, that the old Proverb is true, That a good horse will never tire.* Now Lunebourg was already got in, and fifteen or sixteen Germans, and the rest were entring in file, when Monsieur de Guise also put himself into it, and by the little door entred the Casemat, and so soon as he was in call'd to me through a loop-hole, that I should put him some Pioneers into the Tower to beat down the Casemats, and that I should see that no more Soldiers entred, they being already so many, that they began to be crowded. I then put Pioneers into the Tower, who presently fell to breaking the Wall of the Casemat, when the Germans seeing the rascals lazy at their work, themselves took the picks, and fell to cutting the Wall, Monsieur de Guise then sent out Lunebourg to look that no more entred into the Tower, telling him, that he would see that they should ply their work in the Casemats, as they also did, and so well, that in less than half an hour all the Casemats was overturned into the water that was in the Tower, the ruines whereof drank it all up, and then we had room enough, and every one entred that would, and then Monsieur de Guise came out, as he also made the Germans to do, and to return to their Post; and then I drew off Captain Sarlabous and all his Companions, who was along by the Courtin, and under the Ravelin, and put them into the Trenches.

Now so soon as the Enemy saw the Tower lost, they shot no more so smartly as before, and

and we very well perceiv'd them to be down in the mouth. The *English* Miners the Duke of *Guise* had, had never stirr'd from me of all this while, and Monsieur de *Guise* before he came out of the Tower had consulted with them whereabouts to begin the Mines, and found that it was under the great Platform, marking the places where they were to be made, and so went back with Monsieur de *Guise*, who said to me, *My heart, I will gallop home to my Quarters to send the King word of the taking of the Tower, and assure your self Monsieur de Montluc, I will not conceal from him the brave service you have perform'd at this Siege; I will send the Miners back to you at night, and I pray appoint some Gentlemen to be continually with them, that by them they may send you word what they want;* and so he went away to dispatch a Courier to the King; for these great ones think the time long if news do not fly. His Majesty had the day before made them read the Prophecies of *Noſtredamus*, and found for the next day *Good news for the King*; people may say that these are fopperies, and idle things, but I have seen many of his predictions come to pass. The Tower was taken betwixt four and five a clock in the afternoon, and we had disputed it from ten of the clock in the morning, so that we made account the Fight lasted betwixt six and seven hours. This fight, and that of the Fort *Camoglia* at *Sienna* were the longest, and the most dangerous wherein Battail or no Battail I have ever been; for upon my word it was very hot, and many were left dead upon the place. In the beginning of the night the Miners came, and I my self went with them to see them begin; of all night long I never slept, because seeing them ply their work so well, I would not that any thing should be wanting, but immediately be brought them, that they might not lose a quarter of an hour for want of materials; so that by break of day they had perfected two Mines, and charg'd them with powder ready to be sprung, and the third they made account would be perfected by ten of the clock; wherein my presence serv'd not a little to the advancement of the work, neither indeed had I any more mind to sleep than to dance. Monsieur de *Nevers*, and Monsieur de *Bourdillon* were gone back over night with Monsieur de *Guise*, and return'd the next day by Sun-rise, and at eight of the clock the said Sieur de *Nevers* caused his dinner to be brought, when as we were eating upon three Drum-heads, upon which his people had laid the Cloth, sitting upon three others, we had scarce drank each of us a draught of wine when the Centinels came to tell me, that a Trumpet from a Canton of the Town sounded a Parley; whereupon I start up, and delivering the Drum I sat upon to his Master, bad him go answer the Parley. The Drum presently return'd, and brought me word, that the Trumpet entreated me, knowing I commanded there to send word to Monsieur de *Guise*, that they desir'd to parley, which so soon as Monsieur de *Nevers* and Monsieur de *Bourdillon* heard, they gave over eating, and mounting to horse galloped away to the Dukes Quarters, to carry him the news. The Duke then sent away a Trumpet of his own, by whom they sent word, that if Monsieur de *Guise* would please to send four Gentlemen to parley, they would deliver him four others in hostage. Whereupon the Duke sent thither Monsieur de *la Brosse*, Monsieur de *Bourdillon*, or else Monsieur de *Tavannes*, *Esclabolle*, and another, but whom I have forgot. They capitulated to march out with what money they could carry about them, and not to lie, I remember nothing of the other Articles; as indeed I never used much to trouble my self with these scribble scrawls, having enough to do to provide that no body might be unseasonably slain during the time of the Treaty, as it oft falls out. But the next day they marched out, and I dare boldly say, that of four parts three were wounded, and almost all in the head, which was done when they stood up to shoot at us there, where I had planted my Harquebuzers; for they could not shoot at those who were under the Wall, but they must discover themselves from the girdle upwards, and all their harm came from those of ours who were under the Ravelin, and those that I commanded where we shot point-blank. The same night that the Capitulation was sign'd, Monsieur de *Guise* dispatched away Monsieur de *la Fresne*, who before he went came to take his leave of me on horseback, asking me if I would command him any service to the King, to which I made answer, *that he himself had seen how all things had past, and that I had so much confidence in Monsieur de Guise, that he would not conceal my service from the King,* who thereupon told me, *that he had express charge to give his Majesty a particular relation of the fight, and that amongst other things, the Duke had commanded him to tell the King, that three men had been the cause of the taking of Thionville, of which I was one, and that his Majesty ought to acknowledg my service.* And I perceiv'd afterwards that he had done me right to the King, for he brought me back letters from his Majesty full of very obliging expressions, of which one among the rest was, *that he would never forget the service I had done him.* I shall not I hope deprive other men of their due honor, relating what I did my self, I believe the Historians who write of none but Princes and

The Prophecies of *Noſtredamus*.

The Defendants ask to Parley.

The Surrender of *Thionville*.

Honor done to the Sieur de *Montluc* by the Duke of *Guise*.

great

great persons will speak enough, and pass over in silence those of a more moderate stature.

The Duke of
Guise envy'd.

Behold then the City of *Thionville* taken. Notwithstanding that, some who had no very great kindness for the Duke of *Guise*, had pasted a Libell at the Gates of the Palace, and upon the Corners of the streets of *Paris*, that he should not find that at *Thionville* he had done at *Calice*, where there were none but rascally people to oppose him, it went in Rhyme, though I remember nothing of it; but it must be contriv'd by the envy some unworthy people bare to this brave and valiant Prince, for the honorable command the King had conferr'd upon him, which I have nothing to do to treat of, neither do I intend to trouble my self with such trumpery. Envy has ever reign'd upon the earth, before we were born, and will do after we are dead and gone, unless God would please to mold us anew. There were some who were ready to burst for spite that Monsieur de *Guise* had so good success; for there are some, and too many of such a vertuous disposition, that they had rather see the ruine of their King and Countrey, than behold the Triumph not only of their Enemy, but of their Friend and Companion, and if any disgrace befall him (for men are not Gods) they laugh, rejoyce, and make an Elephant of a Gnat. Let us leave such to swell with their own poysonous envy till they burst. In the mean time *Thionville* was ours with a great deal of honor. The night before the Enemy march'd away, Monsieur de *Guise* put Monsieur de *Vielle-Ville* into the City, who refus'd to enter, unless I went along with him, because he should not, he said, be master of the Souldiers, but they would enter by force over the walls: I therefore took two or three hundred Souldiers, and three Captains, and went in with him, he having his own Company of *Gens d'armes*, where we were fain to play the Centinels all night, to watch that the Souldiers did not climb over the walls, and never slept one wink. I wonder at what we read in the Roman Histories, of those who before the day of a pitch Battel, slept as profoundly, as it had been the day of their wedding. I have never, I confess been so indifferent and inapprehensive: but on the contrary, have past three days and nights without sleeping, or so much as having any great inclination to it. The next day I advis'd Monsieur de *Guise* to remove his Camp from thence, for otherwise it had been impossible to govern the Souldiers, and to speak the truth, they very well deserv'd to have had the sack of the Town given them, for it is to discourage Souldiers, not to give them some reward, and the least thing they gain from the Enemy gives them better content than four pays. But Monsieur de *Guise* would by no means permit it, saying, that the Town must be preserv'd for his Majesties Service, being that thorough the Vicinity of this City to *Germany*, he might at all times draw what forces he pleas'd from thence; and that moreover, *John William* Duke of *Saxony*, being to pass that way, the provisions must be preserv'd, and so sent away the Army to encamp about half a mile from thence, and Monsieur de *Veille-Ville*, with three or four Ensigns of Foot, and his own Company of *Gens d'armes* was left Governor there.

The honor of
this Victory
due to the
Duke of *Guise*.

Here (Captains my Companions) you have an example, if you please to take notice of it, by which you may see of what use promptitude is; this place being won by the great haste I made, immediately upon Captain *Volumat's* Souldiers telling me, that the Enemy had quitted the Casemats; I had not patience to put in above nine or ten men, but immediately I put in my Son the first, and after him the Gentlemen that had follow'd me at the siege of *Sienna*, and at *Montalzin*, and it stood me upon to make haste, and to make them go speedily to the fight; for had I stay'd till there had been as many in the Tower, as in appearance were necessary for such a service, the Enemy had re-entred into it, and been suddenly re-inforc'd, so that it had been impossible ever to have taken it. I have been at many Sieges, but never without some hopes of taking the place, excepting at this; for having discover'd and consider'd all that was to be done for the taking of it, I found my self as far off, as Heaven is from Earth, and in plain truth the glory of it is due to Monsieur de *Guise* alone, who was so obstinately bent upon it, that the fight lasted six or seven hours, and I do verily believe, that without the continual solicitation I had almost every moment from him, we had all retir'd, knowing that we might to as much purpose have invaded Heaven; and we ought to believe, that through his good fortune, and the assistance of God who would have it so, this siege was brought to a good issue, and not by the power of men; being certain, that there was more Canon shot fir'd from within, than we spent from without.

When (Camrades) then you see an opportunity, hasten the execution, and never give your Enemy leisure to recollect himself, take that advice from me. I have three qualities that are not common to all, one whereof is, to be good at numbring of men, wherein I never met with any Serjeant Major or other that surpass'd me, and provided the Enemy

was

was not divided part sloping, and part in plain, let the Body be never so great, I could number them to fifty men, at the distance of almost half a mile. The second is, to know by an Enemies behaviour, whether or no they be in fear, either by their motion, their order, or their manner of firing, a thing from which you may derive very great advantages: So soon as ever I perceiv'd my Enemy never so little in doubt, I concluded him presently for lost. And the third, a readiness I always had to fight them in their apprehension, whether stronger or weaker; for if you know not how to make an advantage of your enemies fear, you can never hope to derive any from your own, and I have ever had *Alexanders* device in my head, though I never wore it any where else, which is, *Defer not till to morrow what thou canst do to day*; and am of opinion, that next to the Divine assistance, all the successes I have had, have proceeded from these three things. If you have not the judgement, seeing your opportunity, to press and sollicit your men, and without further deliberation, to fall roundly to your work, you will never perform any thing of moment, either for your selves, or for him you serve: Fear not in a perilous leap to hazard the life of a Souldier. (There is no remedy, some must be sacrific'd to the Publick, the world would otherwise be over peopled) provided it be in a place from whence he cannot retire, as I did to the Souldiers I thrust into the Casemats, for then they take courage, seeing themselves lost, and make a virtue of necessity. Had I retir'd then when Monsieur de Bourdillon pull'd me back by the arms, I think our enterprize had been deferr'd till another time. I have seen such as are glad when they are compell'd after that manner to retire, especially in a place of danger, and yet will keep a great clutter at other times. I know those men by their looks, Camrades, Friends, after having said your *in manus*, never think of any thing more, but of doing well; if your hour be come, 'tis to much purpose to hide your heads, since you must once dye, 'tis best to dye like men of honor, and to leave a good name behind you.

I lost, by the relation of the Captains, above five hundred Souldiers, kill'd and hurt, and caus'd all the wounded men to be carried to *Metz*, to which place Monsieur de *Vielle-Ville* (who at this time is *Mareschal of France*) sent to recommend them, for he was the Kings Lieutenant there, causing money to be distributed amongst them out of the Revenue of the Hospital the Admiral founded there, which has been the preservation of a great many wounded Souldiers, and also an encouragement to others to venture more boldly in fight, hoping that in case they should be hurt, they are sure to have a relief of money out of the Hospital for their cure. And truly Sir, both you and the other great Princes of the world, ought to make it one of your chiefest concerns to establish a Revenue for your poor maim'd and wounded Souldiers, as well for their present cure, as their future support, and that some pensions may be set apart for them. Can you do less for them, who expose and offer up their lives for you; this hope makes them more willing to hazard their persons. And doubtless your own souls will one day answer for all, for they will be no more pivilig'd than ours; nay, you will have a great deal more to answer for than we, for you make us do all the ills we commit, to satisfy and execute your passions, and if God be not merciful both to you, and to us, we are in a sad condition. For the honor of God then, Sir, provide for your poor Souldiers, that lose their arms and legs in your service; it is not you that gave them their limbs, but God, and can you then do less than maintain them, when they are lam'd in your service. Do you think that God will not hear the Maledictions they curse us withal, who have made them miserable all their lives? I have heard the Grand Signior has a very good order, as to that particular, and accordingly he is the best serv'd of any Prince in the world.

Monsieur de
Vielle-Ville
Mareschal of
France.

Advice to the
King.

Three days after the taking of *Thionville*, the Army march'd directly to *Arlon*, a little Town, but a very neat one for its circuit. 'Tis a great fault in a General to lie still after the taking of a place, as I have known them often do. This both encourages your Enemy, and gives your own men opportunity to steal away; whereas their honor will oblige them to stay, when they see themselves employ'd: I mean, if the Army be not totally broken or ruin'd, for then necessity compels you so to do: but otherwise to repose after a Conquest, and to lose never so little time, is very prejudicial to his Majesties service. I with our foot quarter'd round about the Town, Monsieur de *Gnise* lay a quarter of a League behind, and told me he was almost moap'd for want of sleep; for that since the beginning of the siege of *Thionville* till now, he had not had so much sleep in all, as he was wont to have in one night at other times (and I had had less than he) entreating me to make the approaches that night, that he would send me the Commissaries of the Artillery with four pieces of Canon, to consult where they should be planted, and that he would give the sack of this Town to the Souldiers, in recompence of that of

Thionville

Tbionville: Which having said, he retir'd himself into a little thatch'd house, where he was to lie.

The Forces in
Arlon.

Arlon disco-
ver'd.

Arlon surpri-
zed.

There was in the Town a hundred and fifty *Germans*, and four hundred Walloons, the *Germans* kept one Gate, and the Walloons another; when (so soon as I had placed the Centinels, and the Courts of Guard very near to one another (because it was said that some succours would enter in that night) they within set a very good face on the matter, which made us think that they lookt for some relief) I began to make the Esplanade by the Gardens of the Town, to bring up the Artillery, resolving to make my Battery a little on the left hand the Gate, to assist my self at the assault with the Ladders of a little Breach they had made themselves, thorough which to carry up earth to the Terrass they were making in that place; which to do they had made steps in the very earth it self, both at the descent into the Graffe, and likewise in the ascent on the other side up to the Terrass. I came up close to the Ditch of the Town, and to another little Ditch there was near unto the way, which I caused to be discover'd by a Soldier; and I had three or four Captains with me in this little Ditch. The Soldier found the steps, by which he went down, and afterwards mounted three or four of those that went up to the Terrass, and there stayd without being perceiv'd: when having stayd a while he return'd to me, and told me, that there was no Centinel upon the Terrass; so that he thought if we should throw our selves desperately upon the Terrass we should carry the Town. Hearing this, I caused a Court of Guard (that was much stronger than the rest, it being design'd to guard the Artillery) to come up to me, making the Soldiers to creep on their hands and knees, and to put themselves into the Ditch. I then made the Soldier return to the Ditch, with three or four Harquebuzers, and two Captains with Targets, of which Monsieur *de Goas* was one. The night was so very dark, that a man could not see a step from him, and this Soldier was a Fleming. He goes down into the Ditch, the Captains after him, and the three or four Harquebuzers after them; and so soon as they were in the Ditch they plant-ed themselves on that side of it towards the Town, and as near as they could to the steps. The Enemy hearing the noise began to cry *who goes there?* and the Soldier answer'd them in their own language, *a friend, a friend*; they then demanded of him what he was, to which he made answer, that he was a Fleming, and that being their Countryman, he very much lamented their ruine, for that all the Artillery Monsieur *de Guise* had would be planted in battery by morning, and that they were not to trust to the *Germans* who were with them in the Town, for they were assur'd to have no harm, nor the least offence from our people, they having already made them that promise by a *German* Soldier, who stole out in the close of the evening to speak with us; so that all the slaughter would fall upon them if they did not surrender, which also would be too late after the Canon had once playd. Upon this they sent immediately to the *Germans* Quarters, and found that a Soldier of ours who spake Dutch was talking to them; so that so soon as their Messenger return'd, this Souldier heard them all in a hurly-burly within, and began to ask them, if they would make him drink, to which they answered they would, and bad him come up boldly upon their word and faith. I heard every word, for I was not above six paces from the brink of the Graffe, and made the other two Captains go one after another into it, and three or four Serjeants with Halberts after them. The Soldier then mounted the steps till he came to the edge of the Terrass, where he again spoke to them, saying that Monsieur *de Guise* had made fair War with those of *Tbionville*, and would do the same by them, still amu-sing them with fair speeches, and they fetcht him some drink. Monsieur *de Goas* was just behind the Soldier, and three Harquebuzers one after another (for they could mount but one by one) in heels of him whom this first Soldier so shaded with his body, that they could not see down the steps. The other Captain followed in the rear of the three Harquebuzers, and the Serjeants after him, insomuch that all the steps were full from the top to the bottom; which when Monsieur *de Goas* saw, he pusht the Soldier that was before him upon the Terrass, and the other Captain the other three Harquebuzers, and then the Soldier began to cry *goot Krich*, which is to say, *good Quarter, good Quarter*, the Harquebuzers gave fire, and the Captains threw themselves upon the Counterscarp, and every body after them, and these poor people fled to their Quarters, the Soldiers chasing them thorough the streets. I then leapt into the Ditch with the rest of my men, mounting the Souldiers as fast as I could one after another. The *Germans* who saw themselves surpriz'd behind, at the request of the Soldier that spoke Dutch very courteously open'd a Postern, and gave themselves up to the discretion of the Soldiers, wherein our men did an act worthy the highest commendation, and by which they shewed themselves to be old Soldiers, for there was not four men kill'd in the whole Town: but on the contrary they themselves led our people to the houses where the best booty was to be had: And thus the Town was taken.

Mon-

Monſieur de Guife who had given order that no one ſhould diſturb him, but let him that night ſleep his fill, knew nothing of all this till break of day, that asking if the Artillery had begun to play, they told him the Town was already taken, from about midnight, and the Artillery return'd back to its place, which made him make the Sign of the Croſs, ſaying *this is quick work*, when preſently making himſelf ready, and mounting to horſe he came up to us. Now by miſfortune the fire had taken in two or three houſes by reaſon of ſome powder that was found in them, which in removing thence accidentally took fire, and burnt four or five Soldiers, ſo that the Town being almoſt full of flax ready dreſt for ſpinning, and the wind being very high, no ſo good means could be uſ'd, but that above half the Town was reduc'd to aſhes, by reaſon whereof the Soldiers did not get ſo much as otherwiſe they had done.

The next day Monſieur de Guife march'd away with all his Army, and never ſtaid till he came to *Pierre pont*, where himſelf and all the Gentlemen of his Train lodg'd in the Town, which was very large, whiſt we encamp'd without on both ſides the River; and there it was that the *Swiſs* came to us, and *John William* Duke of *Saxony*, who brought a great and very brave Troop of *Reiters* along with him, and, if I miſtake not, a Regiment of *Germans* alſo. The King himſelf likewiſe came, and lay at *Marches*, a houſe belonging to the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, which al together made up the greateſt and the braveſt Army that I think ever King of *France* had; for when the King would ſee them all drawn into Battalia, they took up above a league and a half in length, and when the Van began to march to go back to the Rear, and to return back to the Front took up three hours time.

Two hours before day Meſſieurs de *Bourdillon* and de *Tavannes*, Mareſchaux de Camp, came to the place aſſign'd for the Rendezvous, where as we came they ſtill drew us up, and before all the Army was in Battalia it was above eight hours, and was exceſſively hot; Monſieur de Guife came himſelf by break of day, and helped to put the Army into Battalia. I with my *French Foot* was placed betwixt the *Swiſs* and a Battalion of *Germans*, where as Monſieur de Guife paſt by the head of our Battalion, he ſaid, *Would to God we had ſome good fellow here with a bottle of wine, and a cruſt of bread, that I might drink a glaſs or two, for I ſhall not have time to go dine at Pierre-pont, and be back again before the King comes*; whereupon I ſaid to him, *Sir will you pleaſe to dine with me at my Tents*? (which was not above a Harquebuſz ſhot off) *I will give you very good French and Gaſcon wine, and a whole Covy of Partridges; yes my heart, ſaid he, but they will be Garlick and Onions*; to which I made answer, *that they ſhould neither be the one, nor the other, but that I would give him as good a dinner as if he was in his own Quarters, and wine as cool as he could deſire, and moreover Gaſcon wine, and admirable good water. Are you in earneſt my heart, ſaid he? yes upon my faith am I, ſaid I, why then, ſaid he, I would willingly come, but I cannot leave the Duke of Saxony; why Sir, ſaid I, in the name of God bring the Duke of Saxony, and who you pleaſe: I but, ſaid he, the Duke will not come without his Captains; why, ſaid I, bring his Captains too, I have lelly-timber for you all.* Now I had over-night promiſed Meſſieurs de *Bourdillon* and de *Tabannes* to treat them at dinner, after they had drawn the Army up in Battalia; but they could not come, by reaſon that part of the Cavalry, who were quarter'd a great way off, were not yet come up; and on the other ſide, I had one of the beſt Providores in the Army. Monſieur de Guife then went to find out the Duke of *Saxony* and his Captains, and I ſent in all haſte to my Steward to get all things ready. My people had made a Cellar in the earth, where the wine and the water was as cool as ice; and by good fortune I had got a great many Partridges, Quirles, Turkies, Leverets, and all that could be deſir'd, wherewith to make a noble Feaſt, with bak'd-meats and Tarts: for I knew that Meſſieurs de *Bourdillon* and de *Tavannes* would not come alone, and I had a mind to entertain them very well, they being both of them very good friends of mine. They were ſo well treated that Monſieur de Guife asking the Duke of *Saxony* by his Interpreter, what he thought of the French Colonel, and whether or no he had not treated them well, and given them good wine? the Duke made answer, *that if the King himſelf had treated them, he could not have done it better, nor have given them better, nor cooler wine.* The Duke of *Saxony's* Captains ſpared it not, but drank freely to our *French* Captains, that I had brought along with me, neither though Meſſieurs de *Bourdillon* and de *Tavannes* had alſo come had I been ſurpriz'd, for next to the Duke of Guife his own Table, there was not one in the whole Army longer, or better furniſht than mine. A way that I have alwayes uſed in what command ſoever I had been, being willing thereby to honor the Employments I have had from my Maſters, to encrease my expence; and have alwayes obſerv'd ſuch as have liv'd after this manner to be in greater reputation, and better followed than others; for ſuch a Gentleman may be,

and of a good family, that sometimes knows not where to dine, and knowing where a good Table is kept, will be glad to be there, who if he follow you at your Table, will follow you any where else, if he have never so little good blood or breeding in him. But to return to my Guests, so soon as they rose from Table Monsieur de Guise asked me, what Laundress I had that kept my Table-linnen so white, to which I made answer, that they were two men I had that did it; *believe me*, said he, *you are serv'd like a Prince*; and thereupon entertain'd the Duke of Saxony upon that subject, speaking better things of me than I deserv'd; whereupon I took occasion to tell him, *that he would do well to persuade the King to give me money to buy silver Vessel, that another time, when he and the Duke of Saxony would do me the honor to come eat in my Pavillions, I might serve them according to their quality*. Monsieur de Guise told the Duke of Saxony what I said, who made answer, *that he would tell the King*; when being about to mount to horse to return to the Camp, word was brought that the King was upon his way from Marches, and coming to the Camp; whereupon they two went out to meet him, and we return'd every one to his place, all of us I assure you very well drunk, and our pates full. About a quarter of a league from the Battalions they met the King, where his Majesty asked them, if they had din'd, to which Monsieur de Guise made answer, that they had, and as well as they had done of a year before: *why*, said his Majesty (seeing them come fromwards the Battalions) *you did not dine at Pierre-pont, no Sir*, said Monsieur de Guise, *neither can your Majesty guess where we din'd, nor by whom so well entertain'd; I pray by whom* said the King; *Marry Sir*, replied Monsieur de Guise, *by Montluc*; *I believe then*, said the King, *he feasted you with his own Countrey diet, Garlick and Onions, and Wine as warm as milk*: whereupon Monsieur de Guise up and told him how I had entertain'd them, when the King asking the Duke of Saxony by his Interpreter if it were true, the Duke made answer, *that if his Majesty himself had treated them, they could not have had better meat, nor cooler wine; and that since I was so good a fellow, his Majesty might do well to give me money to buy Plate, nothing having been wanting but that, and that Monsieur de Guise and he had both promised me to make that request to his Majesty in my behalf*; which the King promised them to do, and that since I was so honorable in my expence, he would give me means to do it, more than hitherto he had ever done.

The Duke of Saxony entreats silver vessel of the King for the Sieur de Montluc.

Every one avoids an avaricious Captain,

Though this passage be not much to the purpose, yet I thought fit to insert it here, to the end every one may know, that Avarice had never so great a dominion over me, as to hinder me from honoring the Employments I have had from my Kings and Masters; and I would advise you, fellow Captains, who command over a great many men, to do the same, and never to suffer avarice to be predominant over you; the little you spend will procure you several and considerable advantages. A Captains handsome Table invites worthy men, especially that of a Lieutenant of the King, to which the Nobility and Gentry repair, either for want of commodious Quarter, or sometimes perhaps upon the account of other inconveniences, where if the said Lieutenant be miserable and narrow soul'd, they will look upon him as a man unworthy to be follow'd. I never did so, but on the contrary alwayes spent more than I had, and have found that it has done me more good than harm: yet was not this my only way of spending, but I had a trick of giving Horses and Arms also, and oftentimes to men that were better able than my self. If the King or the Prince you serve under know you to be of this humour, he ought also to be open-handed to you, knowing you to be of a liberal nature, and that you reserve nothing to your self.

The Sieur de Montluc puts the first arms into the hands of the Prince of Joinville, and the Son of the Duke of Aumale. His speech to them.

Now, as I was standing at the head of our Battalion, and every one of our Captains in his place, the Prince of Joinville, who is now Duke of Guise, came up to me, together with the Son of Monsieur d'Aumale, both little boyes, and delicately handsome, having their Governors and three or four Gentlemen attending on them. They were mounted upon two little Pad Nags, to whom I said, *Go to, little Princes, alight from your horses; for I have been bred up in the family from whence you are descended, which is the house of Lorraine, where I was a Page, and I will be the first who shall lay a Pike upon your shoulders*. Upon which their Governors presently alighting, caused them also to alight: they had little Taffata Ribbons over their shoulders, which I took off, laying each of them a Pike upon his neck, and saying to them, *I hope God will give you the grace to resemble your Ancestors, and that I shall bring you good fortune, for being the first that has laid arms upon your shoulders*. They have hitherto been favourable to me, and God make you as valiant as you are handsome, and the Sons of brave and generous Fathers: And so I made them march side by side at the head of, and before the Battalions, and return again to the same place. Their Governors and all the Captains were so ravish'd to see these pretty Children march so gracefully as they did, that there was not one who did not look upon that action

action as a happy presage : But I fail'd in one, which was that of Monsieur d' *Aumale*, for he dy'd presently after : and yet as I have been told, this little Prince was as sound within as any child could possibly be : but I think Physicians kill Princes, with keeping too much clutter about them in their sickness ; they are men as we are, and yet they will have them to have something particular from others. Monsieur de *Guise* is yet living, and I hope will accomplish the good fortune we that day wish'd him. The beginning is good and hopeful, I hope the end will crown it ; that so since God has been pleas'd to take one he may remain sole Heir to that happiness, that at that time we joyntly wish'd to his Cousin and to him. I have ever conceiv'd great hopes, from the little knowledge I have had of this young Prince, neither was there ever Poltron of that brave Race, which is rarely seen in a numerous Family. In brief, our Army was a very brave one, and the King was very much pleas'd with the sight of it.

A few days after, his Majesty was advertis'd, that the King of *Spain* had taken the Field, and was marching his Army in all diligence towards the borders, which made his Majesty doubt, that he was going to surprize either *Corbie* or *Dourlans*, or else *Amiens*, never a one of which having above two Foot Companies in Garison. The night that this news was brought, they did nothing but dispute upon the means to relieve these places, but concluded it impossible in the end, considering that the King of *Spain* was so far advanc'd. Monsieur de *Guise* upon this occasion, staid that night at *Marches*, and sent back Messieurs de *Bourdillon* and de *Tavannes* to *Pierre-pont*. It was my constant custom to go every day to give Monsieur de *Guise* the good morrow, and thence to return back to my Tent, not stirring of all day after from my command, neither did I use to spend much time in Courtship. That has never been my Trade, for which both the King, the Duke of *Guise*, and all the Princes of the Army, lik'd me the better, and were pleas'd to say, that no disorder could happen on our side. The next morning I went to give the good morrow to Monsieur de *Guise*, believing that he had return'd overnight to *Pierre-pont*, but at my entring into the Town, I met Messieurs de *Bourdillon*, and de *Tavannes*, and d' *Estree* on horseback going out, and ask'd them whither they were going ; to which they made answer, that they were returning to the Council at *Marches*, being that over night they had not been able to resolve upon the means to relieve *Corbie*, for the King of *Spain* was marching in all diligence that way, and that Monsieur de *Guise* had staid all night at *Marches*. I then ask'd him how far it might be from thence to *Corbie*, and I think they told me thirty Leagues or more : Whereupon I said to them, *I pray gallop away full speed, and tell the King, that it is not now a time to insist upon Councils and Consultations, and that perhaps whilst he is in debate what to do, the Enemy is upon his march : but that he must suddenly resolve, and that if he please, I will take seven Ensigns, and march night and day to put my self into it : and tell him that no grass shall grow under my feet, but that I will make such haste, that I will be there before the King of Spain, or any part of his Army. And tell Monsieur de Guise, that I will only ask him five and twenty Mules laden with bread, for I will carry along four Wagons of wine of the Merchants Volunteers of our Regiments, to make our Souldiers eat and drink upon their march, without entring into either Town or Village, and that therefore he give present order to Monsieur de Serres, speedily to send me the Mules laden with bread. In the mean time I will run to the Regiment, to choose out the seven Ensigns, so that at your return you shall find me ready to depart ; but you must make very great haste, and the King must suddenly resolve, for if they do not immediately conclude, without further delay, I will not undertake it.* Monsieur de *Bourdillon* then began to say that the King would think it a matter of great difficulty, that the relief could be there so soon as the King of *Spain* ; at which I flew out into a rage, and said swearing, *I see very well, that when you come there, you will spend all the day in disputes : but in despite of disputes and consultations, let the King but leave it to me, and I will relieve it, or break my heart for haste.* Monsieur d' *Estree* then said, *Let us go, let us go, the King cannot but like of it*, and so they spur'd away directly to *Marches*, and I streight to my own Regiment. So soon as I came thither, I suddenly made choice of my seven Ensigns, bidding them presently to take some repast, and telling them, that without baggage they must immediately depart to perform a good piece of Service. I gave them not half an hour to eat in, but drew them out presently into the Field, one part of the Harquebuzers before, and another in the rear of the Pikes. I then took four Wagons laden with wine, of those that had the best Horses, which I plac'd in the head of the Captains, commanding the Waggoners to take two or three sacks of Oats, and to throw them upon the Punchions, and a little hay : Which being done, I ran to my own Tents, which were behind the Regiment, and fell to eat, taking the Captains of the seven Ensigns to dinner with me.

Captain Brueil
leads the suc-
cours to Corbie.

Messieurs de Tavannes, de Bourdillon and d'Estree made so good haste, that they found the King but newly risen out of his Bed, where they presently propos'd the business to him: Whereupon the King would have call'd all the Council, at which Monsieur d'Estree began to curse and swear, as he told me afterwards (and he is as good at it as I) saying, *Sir, Montluc told us true, when he said you would still delay time in debates and consultations, whether it be to be done or no, whereas if your Majesty had resolv'd last night, the relief had by this time been ten Leagues upon their way; and he says moreover, that if he have not what he demands immediately sent him, he will not stand to his word, for the Spaniards shall not triumph over him.* Monsieur de Guise then prosecuted the affair with great vehemency and vigour, and Messieurs de Bourdillon and de Tavannes did the same, when upon the instant, without further deliberation, it was concluded, and Monsieur de Guise sent to Monsieur de Serres immediately to send the five and twenty Mules loaden with bread. The King then sent me word by Monsieur de Broilly (a Gentleman belonging to the Duke of Guise) *that he had approv'd of my opinion, saving that he could not consent I should go, because he had no other person to command the Regiments, in case he should be put to the necessity of a Battel* (for no body knew whether or no the King of Spain was not coming with a resolution to present it, he making a shew of attempting great matters) *but that he was going to make choice of one to lead the succours, and that I should make all things ready in the meantime.* The said Broilly return'd in all haste to the King, to tell his Majesty that he had seen the seven Ensigns drawn out into the Field ready to march, and that I staid for nothing but the Bread; and at the same time that Broilly was return'd towards the King, the Mules arriv'd, and by the way he met with Captain Brueil Governor of Rne, and Brother in Law to Salcede, who told him that the King had made choice of him to conduct the relief to Corbie. Captain Brueil staid to eat four or five bits only, whilst waiting for two servants he had sent for, who presently came, and so they began to march. I accompanied them above a long League on their way, still talking to him and the rest of the Captains, representing to them, that God had given them a fair opportunity, which also they ought to have purchas'd at the price of half their estates, wherein to manifest to the King the affection they bore to his service, and also to give a testimony of their own valour, in the sight, as it were, of the King himself, who would be ready to relieve them, and to fight a Battel rather than suffer them to be lost. I found by their answers that they went with great chearfulness, which made me leave them, to go through the files of the Souldiers, and to remonstrate to them, that it was their own faults, if they did not signalize themselves for ever, that the King so long as he liv'd would acknowledge their service, and that I had done them a great honor in choosing out them from the rest of the Regiment, entreating them not deceive the good opinion I had of them, and that I would deliver to the King the names of those who should best acquit themselves of their duty, in obeying what should be impos'd upon them, after which I made them all lift up their hands and swear, that they would march day and night: which being done, I return'd to the van to embrace Captain Brueil, and the rest of the Captains and Lieutenants, promising them immediately to go to the King, and to acquaint his Majesty with the election I had made of their persons above all others of the Regiment, for this service, and so left both Officers and Souldiers chearful, and very well resolv'd upon this long march, saying to them at parting, *Remember Fellow Souldiers, the diligences you have formerly seen me make in both Piedmont, and in Italy* (for many of them had serv'd under me in those expeditions) *and believe that upon your diligence now depend both your lives and honors.* Now being I am not of that Countrey, nor was ever there, but at this time, I am not able to make any judgement of their diligence: but the King and all those who were acquainted with the Countrey, said, that never Foot before perform'd such a prodigious march; neither did they ever enter into either Town or Village, but when by day they met with a little River, they made a halt, and refresh'd themselves two hours at most, taking a little nap and away again, but march'd continually all night. They were out but two nights, and arriv'd by Sun-rise within a quarter of a League of Corbie, where they met a Gentleman who was riding post to the King, to give him notice that the King of Spain's Camp was just coming before the Town; and who moreover told them, they must run full speed if they intended to get in, for that the Cavalry already began to arrive. They then began to mend their pace, the Gentleman returning back with them almost to the Town, that he might be able to give the King an account that they were entred; when so soon as they came within two or three hundred paces of the walls, the Enemies Cavalry began to appear, and our men run full career to throw themselves before the gate, and upon the edges of the Graff where they made head. The Enemy kill'd seven or eight Souldiers in the rear, who were not able

to keep pace with the rest, and so all our people got safe into the City, without losing any of their Mules or Waggon, for they had made an end of all their bread and wine four Leagues from thence, and had sent them back. I had also given them one of my six Chests, that I had contriv'd to carry powder in, which was drawn by three horses, and that arriv'd at the Gates as soon as the Souldiers. There are yet living several Princes and Lords, who were then of the Kings Council, that can bear witness whether I speak the truth or no, especially *Messieurs de Tavannes* and *d'Estree*, who carried my deliberation to the King.

When ever (Camrades) the King or his Lieutenant shall put you upon a design, that requires extraordinary diligence for the relieving of a place, you ought not to lose so much as a quarter of an hour, and you had much better work your body and your legs to the utmost of what you are able to perform, and enter into the place with safety, than walking at your ease to be kill'd, and not to enter into it; wherein your selves will be the cause of your own death, and the loss of the place; and where you might by your diligence gain a brave reputation, you will by loytering at your ease, finish your life and your renown together: and never excuse your selves upon the Souldiers, nor make the Enterprize seem difficult unto them, but always easie; and above all things be sure to carry provision along with you, especially bread and wine, wherewith to refresh them by the way (for as I have said before, humane bodies are not made of iron) always speaking chearful'y to them by the way, and encouraging them to go on, representing to them the great honor they will acquire to themselves, and the signal service they shall perform for the King, and doubt not, but (proceeding after that manner) men will go as far and farther than horses. I advise you to nothing that I have not often done my self, and caus'd to be done, as you will find in the reading my Book; for after horses are once tir'd, you shall not make them budge a step with all the spurs you have; but men are supported by their courage, and require not so much time for refreshing, they eat as they go, and cheer one another upon their march. It will therefore (Fellow Captains) stick only at you; do then as I have often done; forsake your horses, and fairly on foot at the head of your men, shew them that you will undergo the same labour they do, by which means you will make them do any thing you will, and your example will enflame the courages, and redouble the Forces of the most tir'd and overspent of all the Company.

Foot will make a longer march than horse.

Two or three days after the King mov'd with all his Army directly towards *Amiens*, and in his first or second days march, arriv'd the Gentleman from the Governor of *Corbie*, who found his Majesty marching his Army in the field, where he brought him news, that Captain *Brueil* was entred safe into *Corbie*, which was a great satisfaction both to his said Majesty, and the whole Army, to know that this place was secured; whereupon his Majesty merrily said to Monsieur de Guise, *Who shall be the first to tell Montluc this news?* for I for my part will not be he; Nor I neither, said Monsieur de Guise, for so soon as he shall hear it, he will so crow, there will be no dealing with him: which they said, because they had all of them been of opinion, that it was impossible for foot to perform so long a journey. The next day his Majesty was advertised, that the King of Spain had made a halt a little League from *Corbie*, and made no shew of having any intention to besiege that place; which made the King think, that by reason of the succours it had receiv'd, he would make no attempt against it, and thereupon it presently came into his head, that he would march directly to *Amiens*, which having no more than one or two foot Companies in Garrison, he immediately sent away the Marquis de Villars, who is yet living, with three hundred men at arms, to go in extreme diligence, and put himself into it, commanding me to send away other seven Ensigns to follow after him, with all the haste they possibly could make; which I accordingly did, and gave the charge of conducting them to Captain *Forces*, who is yet living, and being the Captains and Souldiers had all heard what commendations both the King and all the Army had given Captain *Brueil* for the haste he had made in going to relieve *Corbie*, they would do the same, and arriv'd as soon as the said Marquis at *Amiens*; for nothing so much excites men of our Trade, as glory, and the desire to do as well, or better, than another. Two or three days before this his Majesty had sent three Companies also into *Dourlans*, and so with all great ease provided for the safety of these three important places.

News brought to the King of the relief of *Corbie*.

The Marquis de Villars.

So soon as the King was come to *Amiens*, the King of Spain's Army also arriv'd and encamp'd within a League, the River betwixt them, and there the Treaty of peace was set on foot, of which the Constable and the Mareschal de *S. Andre* had made the first overtures, during the time of their imprisonment in Spain; in order to which I think there was a truce from the beginning, because nothing of action past on either side, at least that I remember: for I fell very sick of a double Tertian Ague, which I got not by excels

Treaty of peace betwixt France and Spain concluded.

The mischiefs
that ensu'd up-
on this peace.

The praises of
King Henry the
second.

excess of revelling and dancing, but by passing the nights without sleep, sometimes in the cold, sometimes in the heat, always in action, and never at rest. It was well for me that God gave me an able body, and a strong constitution; for I have put this carcass of mine as much to the proof as any Souldier whatsoever of my time. After all the going to and again, that lasted for above two months, the peace was in the end concluded, to the great misfortune principally of the King, and generally of the whole Kingdom. This peace being cause of the surrender of all the Countreys conquer'd, and the Conquests made both by King *Francis* and *Henry*, which were not so inconsiderable, but that they were computed to be as much as a third part of the Kingdom of *France*; and I have read in a Book writ in Spanish, that upon this accomodation, the King deliver'd up an hundred fourscore and eighteen Fortresses wherein he kept Garison, by which I leave any one to judge how many more were in dependance, and under the obedience of these. All we who bear Arms may affirm with truth, that God had given us the best King for Souldiers that ever Reign'd in this Kingdom; and as for his people, they were so affectionate to him, that not one of them ever repin'd to lay out his substance to assist him in the carrying on of so many Wars, as he had continually upon his hands. I shall not condemn those who were the Authors of this peace, for every one must needs believe they did it to good intent, and that had they foreseen the mischiefs that ensu'd upon it, they would never have put a hand to the work: for they were so good servants of the Kings, and lov'd him so well, as they had good and just reason to do, that they would rather have dy'd in Captivity than have done it: which I say, because the Constable and the Marechal de *S. Andre* were the first movers and promoters of it, who themselves have seen the death of the King, and themselves shar'd in the mishaps that have since befallen this miserable Kingdom, wherein they both dyed with their swords in their hands, who otherwise might yet perhaps have been alive, by which any one may conclude, that they did not make this peace, foreseeing the mischiefs it has since produc'd, which rightly to comprehend, let us consider the happines wherewith God was pleas'd to bless this Kingdom, in giving it so brave and magnanimous a King, his Kingdom rich, and his people so affectionately obedient, that they would deny him nothing to assist him in his Conquests, together with so many great and brave Captains, most of which had been yet alive, had they not devour'd one another in these late civil Wars. Oh had this good King but liv'd or this unlucky peace never been made, he would have sent the *Lutherans* packing into *Germany* with a vengeance. As to the rest, our good Master had four Sons, all Princes of great hope and singular expectation, and such, as from whom his Majesty in his declining years, might expect the repose, and comfort of his old Age, and consider them as proper instruments for the execution of his high and generous designs. The other Kings his neighbours could not boast of this, for the King of *Spain* had one Son only, of which never any one conceiv'd any great hopes, and he prov'd accordingly; the Kingdom of *England* was in the Government of a Woman, the Kingdom of *Scotland* neighbour to it, stood for us, and was ours, *France* having a Dolphin King; by all which any one may judge, that had not this unlucky peace been concluded, the Father or his Sons had sway'd all *Europe*. *Piedmont*, the Nursery of brave men had been ours, by which we had a door into *Italy*, and perhaps a good step into it, and we had seen all things turn'd topsie turvy: Then those who have so brav'd and harassed this Kingdom, durst not have shew'd their heads, have stir'd, nor so much as projected or thought of what they have executed since. But 'tis done and past, without any possible remedy, and nothing remains to us but sorrow and affliction, for the loss of so good, and so valiant a King, and to me of so gracious and liberal a Master, with the mishaps that have since befallen this miserable Kingdom, well may we call it so, in comparison of what it was before, when we stil'd it the most great and opulent Kingdom in Arms, good Captains, the obedience of the people, and in riches, that was in the whole world.

Monsieur de
Montluc not
much belov'd
by the House
of Montmorency.

After this unhappy and unfortunate peace the King retir'd himself to *Beauvais*, but Monsieur de *Guise* still remain'd in the Camp to dismiss the Army. Before his Majesties departure, I surrendred up the Commission he had made me to accept by force: Neither ought it to appear strange, that I disputed it so long, before I would take that employment upon me; for I doubted well that would befall me, which afterwards did, which was to incur the perpetual disgrace of the House of *Montmorency* more than that of *Chastillon*, which was more nearly concern'd in the affair than the other. But there is no remedy, a man cannot live in this world, without contracting some Enemies, unless he were a God. I accompanied Monsieur de *Guise* as far as *Beauvais*, and from thence retir'd to *Paris*, he having first promis'd to obtain me leave to go into *Gascony*, and moreover to cause money to be given me to defray my journey thither; for he knew very well

I had not one peny. Both which I am confident he would have perform'd: but ſo ſoon as he came to *Beauvais*, he found a new face of affairs, others having ſtept in betwixt him and home, and undermined him in his credit with the King. Thus goes the world, but it was a very ſudden change, and much wondred at by thoſe who had follow'd him in the Conqueſts he had made, he having repair'd all the diſaſters of others, and manifeſted to the King of *Spain*, that neither the loſs of the Battel of *S. Quintine*, nor that of *Graveline*, had reduc'd the King to ſuch a condition, but that he had yet one or two Armies ſtronger than thoſe, having aſto the reſt, taken almoſt impregnable places. But let them deal it out. Theſe are things that very often fall out in the Courts of Princes, and I wonder not that I have had my ſhare, ſince far greater than I, have run the ſame fortune, and will do for the time to come.

The Duke of
Guiſe decli-
ning in the
Kings favour.

Now the King of *Navarre* had been driving on ſome enterprize or another in *Biſcay*, which in the end prov'd double, and entreated the King to give me leave to go along with him, for that he was reſolv'd to execute it in his own perſon, having an opinion that *Monſieur de Bury* had fail'd through his own default; and ſo I went along with him without any other advantages from Court, than bare promiſes only, and the good will of the King my Maſter: but he was diverted from his liberalities both to me and to others, who deſerv'd it as well, and perhaps better than I. We went then to *Bayonne*, where we found that he who was entrusted to carry on this affair, and whoſe name was *Gamure*, plaid double, and intended to have cauſed the King of *Navarre* himſelf to be taken; whereupon he ſent back *Monſieur de Duras* with the *Legionnaires*, and alſo the *Bearnois* he had cauſ'd to advance thither in order to his deſign. I had brought with me threeſcore and five Gentlemen all arm'd, and bravely mounted, who were come thither for the love they bore to me, and being return'd home to my own houſe, within a very few days after came the gift the King had been pleas'd to give me of the Company of *Gens d'armes*, become vacant by the death of *Monſieur de la Guiche*, wherein his Maſteſty had no little to do, to be as good as his word, and to diſengage himſelf from the ſeveral Traverſes and obſtacles my Enemies ſtrew'd in his way, to hinder me from having that command; nevertheless the King carried it againſt them all, more by anger than otherwiſe, he being in the end conſtrained to tell them, *that he had made me a promiſe of the firſt vacancy, and would be as good as his word; and that therefore no man was to ſpeak a word more to the contrary.* I made my firſt muſter at *Beaumont de Loumagne*, one *la Peyrie* being Muſter-Maſter.

The King of
Navarre car-
ries the *Sieur*
de Montluc
into *Guienne*.

At this time thoſe unhappy * Marriages were ſolemniz'd, and thoſe unfortunate Tri-
umphs and Tiltings held at Court. The joy whereof was very ſhort, and laſted but a
very little ſpace, the death of the King enſuing upon it, running againſt that accuſed
Montgomery, who I would to God had never been born, for his whole life was nothing
but miſchief, and he made as miſerable an end. Being one day at *Nerac*, the King of
Navarre ſhew'd me a Letter that *Monſieur de Guiſe* had writ him, wherein he gave
him notice of the days of Tilting, in which the King himſelf was to be in perſon, his
Maſteſty with the Dukes *de Guiſe*, *de Ferrara*, and *de Nemours*, being Challengers. I
ſhall never forget a word I ſaid to the King of *Navarre*, which alſo I had often heard
ſpoken before, *That when a man thinks himſelf to be out of his affairs, and dreams of no-
thing, but how to paſs his time well, 'tis then that the greateſt miſfortunes befall him, and
that I fear'd the iſſue of this Tilting.* It was now but juſt three days, reckoning by the
date of the Letter to the Tilting, and the next day I return'd home to my own houſe, and
the very night before the day of the Tilting, as I was in my firſt ſleep, I dream'd, "that
"I ſaw the King ſitting in a chair, with his face cover'd all over with drops of blood, and
"methought it was juſt as they paint Jeſus Chriſt, when the Jews put the Crown of
"Thorns upon his head, and that he held his hands joyn'd together, I look'd methought
"earn'eſtly upon him, and could diſcover no hurt he had, but only drops of blood trick-
"ling down his face. I heard methought ſome ſay, he is dead, and others, he is not
"dead yet, and ſaw the Phyſicians and Chirurgeons go in and out of the Chamber; and I
"do believe my dream continued a great while, for when I awak'd, I found a thing I
"could have never believ'd, which is, that a man can cry in his ſleep; for I found my face
"all blubber'd with tears, and my eyes ſtill ſpringing new, and was fain to let them take
"their courſe, for I could not give over weeping of a long time after. My wife, who
was then living, ſaid all ſhe could to comfort me, but all in vain, for I could never per-
ſwade my ſelf any other but that he was dead. Many who are yet living are able to ce-
ſtiſie, that this is no fain'd ſtory, for I told it them ſo ſoon as ever I awak'd. Four days af-
ter a Courier came to *Nerac*, who brought Letters to the King of *Navarre* from the
Conſtable, wherein he writ him word of the King's being wounded, and of the little hopes
there

* Of the Siſter
and Daughter
of Henry the
ſecond.

The *Sieur* *de*
Montluc's
dream.

Henry the second kill'd by Montgomery.

The Sieur de Montluc unfortunate after the death of King Henry.

The King of Navarre and his Brother discontented.

Jealousies of the Sieur de Montluc.

The Seneschal of Quercy accuses the Sieur de Montluc.

Slanderers in the Courts of Princes.

there was of his life, whereupon the King of *Navarre* sent a servant of his to me, to acquaint me with the disaster, and to desire me to come presently away to him. The Messenger came away in the close of the evening, and was presently with me, it being no more than four leagues from *Nrac* to my house, where he found me just going to Bed. I immediately took horse, and went to take a Neighbour of mine in my way, call'd Monsieur *de Berand* along with me, and so we went together at a good round rate to *Nerac*. The Gentleman is yet living, and can witness that I told, and foretold him all the miseries, or very near, that we have since seen happen in *France*, and said as much to the King of *Navarre*, with whom I staid but two hours at *Nerac*, and return'd to entertain my sorrows in my own house. Eight days had not past before the King of *Navarre* sent me word of the Kings death; by which I got nothing, having never since met with any thing but crosses and misfortunes, as I had been the causer of it, and that God would punish me for the offence; I am sure I had little reason to be so, for since his death, I have a hundred times wish'd my own, and it evermore ran in my head, that I should never after meet with any thing but misfortune, as indeed I have never had any thing else. For I have since been suspected to have intelligence with the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde*, whereas God Almighty knows, I was never of their Council, nor privy to any of their designs, as I have sufficiently manifested in the pinch of affairs. 'Tis very true, that I have often heard these two Princes complain of the ill usage they receiv'd, but when ever they fell upon that discourse, I ever way'd it all I could. God by his good grace has assisted me to demonstrate to all the world, that I never had intelligence but with the King and the Queen, and with those who have faithfully and loyally serv'd them, and have found that those who had receiv'd the deepest impressions of this ill opinion of me, have been, and at this day are, the best Patrons and Friends I ever had, or yet have. There are, who know very well what I said to the Prince of *Conde*, at the fine Conference held at *Poissy*, when he attempted to draw me over to his party. After the first troubles the Queen of *Navarre* went to *Ronsillon*, where she carried to their Majesties a whole sack full of informations against me, that spoke of nothing but Treasons, and Intelligences that I had with the King of *Spain*, to deliver up *Guienne* into his hands, Rapes of Wives and Virgins, Depredations, Impositions, and Thefts from the Kings Treasure: Nevertheless, their Majesties being come to *Tholouse*, and into *Guienne*, they found neither man nor woman of one Religion or the other, that ever open'd their mouths against me, and found *Guienne* so abounding in all sorts of provisions, that the whole Court wonder'd at it, considering that at the same time in *Languedoc*, the whole Countrey was ready to dye of famine; and the Chancellor himself said, that having for three days sojourn'd in that Province, in all those three days time his Clerk of his Kitchen could furnish him with no more than one Pullet only, which he spoke openly at Table, at an entertainment he made for some Presidents and Councillors; upon which the first President took occasion to say, that notwithstanding he would find *Guienne* to abound with all sorts of provisions. Yes answer'd the Chancellor, *but how comes it to be so, for some have possess'd the King and Queen, that they would find nothing to eat in Guienne, and that Monsieur de Montluc had ruin'd the whole Countrey*: whereupon all those who were at the Table attested the contrary, and that he should find the Countrey very well govern'd, as he did, by his own confession; the Queen also who fear'd she should want provision at *Bayonne*, saw there with her own eyes, that they were fain to throw the flesh into the streets, and yet before their coming, *la Graviere* Seneschal of *Quercy*, returning from Court, call'd at my house at *Stillac*, where he made himself so drunk with the good wine I gave him, that he dream'd in the night I had told him, that I would deliver up *Guienne* to the King of *Spain*, that the Cardinal of *Armagnac*, Messieurs *de Terride*, *de Negrepelice* and several others were of the plot, and that if he would be one, I would make him the greatest man of his Race, and so went with his night-cap to tell this fine story to Monsieur *de Marchastel*, who immediately dispatch'd away *Rappin* to Court, to carry this news to the King, where it was believ'd for some days; for the Queen sent *du Plessis* to me post, to bid me fear nothing, for that nothing was believ'd: but I had had notice of it before, though I made no great matter of it, having so great a confidence in the Queen, that she would not lightly be induc'd to believe any such thing. *Du Plessis* (who was of the Bed-Chamber to the King) found me at *Agen* dancing (for we must make merry sometimes) in the Company of fifteen or twenty Gentlewomen, who were come to see Madam *de Caupenne* my Daughter in Law, who had never been in this Countrey before. And thus my Treason was found to be true. We demanded satisfaction of their Majesties, but could never obtain any, and that's it, that nourishes so many Tale-Carriers and Slanderers in the Kingdom, for they are never punish'd, no more than false witnesses in the Courts of Parliament. But I hope God will one day make them all known to the King,

King, and make him cut off so many heads, that he will cleanse the Kingdom of this Vermin.

Though all things that have been forg'd against me have been prov'd utterly false, and without any colour of truth, my actions as well of the past as present time, having clearly manifested the contrary, yet could I not nevertheless so purge my self, but that the Queen believ'd something, or at least retain'd some jealousy of me, and I have sufficiently felt it, though I believe however it was only to hinder the King from giving me any recompence for the services I have perform'd for his Majesty and his Crown, which what they have been she very well knows; and knows very well also, that I am no *Spaniard*, nor have any practices either out of the Kingdom, or within it, but what point at his Majesties service. She had no such opinion of me, when sitting upon a chest betwixt the Cardinals of *Bourbon* and of *Guise*, she entertain'd me at *Tboloufe* with tears in her eyes. Her Majesty may call it to mind if she please, for though she have a great many matters to trouble her head withal, she has a very good memory. It was she her self who told me, that having received news of the loss of the Battail of *Dreux* (for some brave Cavalier had run away at the beginning, and carried this lying report) she entred into consultation with her self, what she was best to do, and in the end took a resolution, if certain news should be brought of this defeat, to steal away with a small Train, with the King and the Monsieur, and try to recover *Guienne* by the way of *Auvergne*, both out of the confidence she repos'd me (and indeed *Guienne* was clear and entire) as also because the King and she might there at great ease, have call'd in succours from other places. God be prais'd there Majesties came not thither, but this will appear better hereafter. In the meantime, her Majesty may please to take notice, that hitherto I have not much importun'd her with demands, neither have they much troubled themselves with finding out something to give me, having refus'd me the County of *Gaure* (which is not worth above twelve hundred Livers a year) after the first troubles. Every one knows what services I did the King, and particularly in the conservation of *Guienne*, not that I complain of his Majesty, for both his Father and he have confer'd more honor and advantages upon me than I deserve, neither did I ever hope for any recompence for the services I had done, or could do, after I was answer'd by a person who is yet living, when some friends spoke in my behalf, *that I was already too great in Guienne.* Which I do confess I was, not in Riches, but in the friendship of all the three Estates of the Province, both for the loyalty and fidelity they knew I had ever born to the service of the King and his Crown, as also for having evermore endeavour'd to ease the Country of Garisons, and all other Subsidies, when I had the power to do it. And I hope at the return of the Commissioners who are now come into these parts, the truth will appear. I have not corrupted them, for I would not so much as see them, let them do their worst; and as to my estate, it is now fifty years that I have serv'd in command, having been three times the Kings Lieutenant, thrice Camp-Master, Governor of places, and Captain both of Horse and Foot, and yet with all these employments, I could never do more than purchase three Farms, and redeem a Mill that anciently belong'd to my house, all which amount to no more than betwixt fourteen and fifteen thousand Francks, which is all the wealth and purchases that I have ever made; and all the Estate that I now possess could not be farm'd out to above four thousand, five hundred Francks a year. I should have been glad that any one could have reproach'd me, that I was too great, for the great riches the King had given me, and not for having had nothing, but remaining poor as I am. God be praised for all, in that he has made me an honest man, and ever maintain'd me in an integrity fit to walk with my face erect amongst men. I fear no man upon earth, I have done nothing unworthy a man of honor, and a loyal Subject; neither have I ever serv'd my Prince in a Vizor, or with dissimulation, for my words and my actions have evermore gone hand in hand; neither had I ever any intelligence or friendship with the Enemies of my King and Master, and whoever is mangy, let him scratch a Gods name, for I neither itch within nor without, having always kept my nails so short, that I had never any use of them: for which I praise God, and most humbly thank him, who has hitherto guided my life so as to preserve it from any manner of reproach, and hope he will do me the grace, that as hitherto he has gone along with my fortune in arms, he will also accompany my renown to my grave, so that after my death, my Relations and Friends shall not be ashamed to have been my Kinsmen or my Companions, and I doubt not but with this fair Robe of Fidelity and Loyalty to signalize my self, in despite of those who have ever been envious of my success, and emulous of my honor. So it is, that had King *Henry* my good Master liv'd, these misfortunes had never befall me, nor which is worse, the Kingdom: But I shall leave this discourse, growing perhaps into too much passion for the death and loss of the best King that *France* ever had, or shall ever have.

The Sieur de
Montluc well
belov'd in *Gui-*
enne.

Why the Sieur
de Montluc has
written.

I shall not meddle with the Factions and Rebellions that have discovered themselves since the death of *Francis* the second, though I could say something of them, as having liv'd in that time, and been an eye witness of many things: for I pretend not to be an Historian, nor to write in the method of a History, but only to give the world an account, that I did not bear arms for nothing; as also that my Companions and Friends may take example by my actions, of which there are many that may be useful to them, when they shall be engaged upon the like occasions; and moreover, that by reason of my writing, my memory may not so soon perish: Which is all that men who live in the world, bearing arms like men of Honor, and without reproach, ought to desire; for all the rest is nothing. I do believe, that so long as the world shall endure, men will talk of those brave and valiant Captains, Messieurs de *Lautrec*, de *Bayard*, de *Folx*, de *Brisac*, de *Strozzy*, de *Guise*, and several others, who have flourish'd since King *Francis* the first came to the Crown, amongst whose better names that of *Montluc* may perhaps have some place: And since God has depriv'd me of my Sons, who all dyed in the service of the Kings my Masters, the young *Montluc's* who are descended from them, shall endeavour to exceed their Grandfire. I will therefore write nothing of the Reign of *Francis* the second, nor of the Factions at Court; neither were they other than Seditions and Rebellions, of which I know several particulars, as having been very intimate with the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*: but as I have already said, I leave those affairs to the Historians, to finish the rest of my own life; wherein I shall proceed to give an account of the fights in which I have been engag'd during these Civil Wars, and wherein I have been constrained, contrary to my own nature, to use not only severity, but even sometimes to be cruel.

The End of the Fourth Book.

THE

THE
COMMENTARIES
OF
Messire Blaize de Montluc,
MARESCHAL OF
FRANCE.

The Fifth Book.



King Francis being dead at Orleans, where I then was, I went to wait upon the Queen Mother, who although she was very ill, nevertheless did me the honor to command, that they should permit me to enter into her Chamber. I had taken notice of the practices were set on foot, which did by no means please me, and especially those of the Estates then sitting, by which I saw we should not long continue in peace, and that was it, which made me resolve to retire from Court, that I might not be hook'd in, either by one Faction or another; especially considering that I had been made guilty that way before (contrary to all truth, as God be my help) which was the reason, that taking leave of her Majesty, and not thinking it fit to trouble her with much discourse in her indisposition, I said to her these words, *Madam, I am going into Gascony, with a determination to do you most humble and faithful service all the days of my life, which I most humbly beseech your Majesty to believe, and if any thing fall out considerable enough to engage you to call your servants about you, I promise you, and give you my faith, I will never take other side than that of your Majesties, and my Lords your Children; but for that will be on horseback so soon as ever your Majesty shall please to command me.* The very night of the same day on which King Francis dy'd, I had given her the same assurance, for which she now did me the honor to return me thanks, when Madam de Cursol, who stood at her bedshead, said to her, *Madam, you ought not to let him go, your Majesty having no servants more faithful than those of the Family of Montluc.* To which I made answer, *Madam, you shall never be without Montluc's, for you have three yet remaining, which are my two Brothers and my Son, who with my self will dye at your feet, for your Majesties service.* For which her Majesty return'd me many thanks. She who had a great deal of understanding, and who has given very ample testimony of it to the world, saw very well, that having so many affairs upon her hands, during the minority of her children, she should have use for all the servants she had, and may her self remember what she said to me, wherein if I have fail'd to execute her commands, it was because I did not understand them. And so I took my leave of her Majesty; Madam de Cursol follow'd me to the middle of the room, where she took her leave of me, and Madam de Courton did the same, and thus I return'd to my own house.

Some months after my return home, I had news brought me from all sides, of the strange language, and most audacious speeches the Ministers of the new faith impudently utter'd, even against the Royal Authority. I was moreover told, that they impos'd taxes upon the people, made Captains, and list'd Souldiers, keeping their Assemblies in the Houses of several Lords of the Country, who were of this new Religion; which was the first beginning and cause of all those Mischiefs and Massacres they have since exercis'd upon one another.

The death of Francis the second.

The Sieur de Montluc's words to the Queen Mother.

Audacious speeches of the Hugonot Ministers.

The miserable
estate of Gui-
enne.

other. I saw the evil daily to encrease, but saw no one who appear'd on the King's behalf to oppose it. I heard also that the greatest part of the Officers of the Treasury were of this Religion (the nature of man being greedy of Novelty) and the worst of all, and from whence proceeded all the mischief, was, that those of the long Robe, the men of Justice in the Parliaments and Senechalseys, and other Judges, abandoned the ancient Religion, and that of the King, to embrace the new one. I met also with strange names of Surveillans, Deacons, Consistories, Sinods and Colloquies, having never before breakfasted of such viands. I heard that the Surveillans had Bulls pizzles by them called *Iohanots*, with which they misus'd, and very cruelly beat the poor Peasants, if they went not to their Conventicles; the people being so totally abandoned by Justice, that if any one went to complain, they receiv'd nothing but injury instead of redress, and not a Serjeant that durst attempt to execute any thing in the behalf of the Catholicks, but for the Hugonots only (for so they were call'd, though I know not why) the rest of the Judges and Officers who were Catholicks being so over-aw'd, that they durst not have commanded so much as an Information to be made for fear of their lives. All these things together were presages to me of what I have since seen come to pass, and returning from another house of mine to that of *Stillac*, I found the Town of *La Plume* besieg'd by three or four hundred men. I had my Son Captain *Montluc* with me, whom I sent with all sorts of fair language (for I had no more than ten or twelve horse in my company) to try to perswade them to desist. Wherein he prevail'd so far, that he overcame the *Brimonts*, the principal heads of this Enterprize (which was undertaken to rescue two prisoners of their Religion, that the Magistrates of *La Plume* had for some disorders committed.) My Son having promised them, that if they would retire, I would cause them to be deliver'd; they took his word, and drew off from before the Town. The next day accordingly I went to speak with the Officers of the said City, to whom having remonstrated, that for these two Prisoners they ought not to suffer a sedition to be set on foot, they brought them out to me, and let them go.

The Sieut de
Burie the Kings
Lieutenant in
Guienne.

Monseigneur de *Burie*, who at this time in the absence of the King of *Navarre* commanded in *Guienne*, was at *Bordeaux*, where he had as much work cutting out for him, as in any other part of the Province; but I did not hear that he made any great stir, and I believe he was very much astonish'd: for my part I had command of nothing but my own Company, nevertheless I would once take upon me to meddle at the request of the Court Presidial, and the Consuls of *Agen*, about the concern of a Minister the Magistrates had committed to prison, which set the whole City in commotion one against another; whereupon the Consuls came to entreat me to come to *Agen*, for that otherwise the Inhabitants would cut one anothers throats. Which I accordingly did, where, upon my coming, the Hugonots were of themselves possess'd with so great a terror, that some of them hid themselves in Cellars, and others leapt over the walls; not that I gave them any occasion so to do, for I had as yet done them no harm; neither did I do any more now, but only take the Minister out of a House to deliver him into the hands of Justice; but these people have ever fear'd my name in *Guienne*, as they have that of Monsieur de *Guise* in *France*. But how little soever the thing I did was, the King of *Navarre* took it so highly ill at my hands, that he mortally hated me for it, and writ to the King that I had dispossess'd him of his Lieutenantcy, entreating to know if his Majesty had given me authority so to do, whilst in the mean time he meditated his revenge at what price soever. This hapned in the time when King *Francis* was yet living: for in those times these new people began their innovations. Monsieur de *Guise* sent me word by my Son Captain *Montluc*, that I should use all the means I could to restore my self to his favour, for although the King was satisfied with what I had done, he could not nevertheless make any shew of it, it being requisite for him to proceed after this manner. This letter might very well have been the cause of my ruine, for without this private advice from Monsieur de *Guise*, I had never reconciled my self to the King of *Navarre*, as having much rather have chosen to have stood upon my Guard, and in my own defence, than to have any tampering with the King of *Navarre* in any thing but what should be by his Majesties command; but I conceiv'd I could not erre in following the advice of Monsieur de *Guise*; for he absolutely govern'd all things at Court.

The Hugonots
dread the
name of
Montluc.

But to return to my first subject, having heard and seen all these affairs and novelties which still much more disclosed themselves after my return, and after the death of the King (for they now explain'd themselves in down-right Terms) than before; I deliberated to return to Court, no more to stir from the Queen and her Children, but to die at their feet in opposition to all such as should present themselves against them, according to the promise I had made to the Queen, and put my self upon my way in order to this resolution.

resolution. The Court was then at *St. German en l'Aye*. I staid but two dayes at *Paris*, and at my coming to *St. Germain*, found not one person of the House of *Guise*, nor any other, but the Queen, the King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Condé*, and the Cardinal of *Ferrara*, where I was very well receiv'd by her Majesty, and by them all. The Queen and the King of *Navarre* drawing me apart, enquir'd of me how affairs stood in *Guienne*; to which I made answer, that they were not yet very ill, but that I fear'd they would every day grow worse and worse, telling them withall the reasons why I conceiv'd that it would not be long before they would break into open arms. I staid there but five dayes, in which time news came that the Hugonots were risen at *Marmanda*, and had kill'd all the Religious of the Order of *St. Francis*, and burnt their Monastery: immediately came other news of the Massacre the Catholics had made of the Hugonots at *Cahors*, with that of *Grenade* near unto *Tholouze*. After that came news of the death of Monsieur de *Fumel*, barbarously massacred by his own Tenants who were Hugonots; which troubled the Queen more than all the rest, and then it was that her Majesty saw, that what I had prophesied to her, that they would not long abstain from arms, was very true. They were six dayes before they could resolve at which end to begin to extinguish this fire. The King of *Navarre* would that the Queen should write to Monsieur de *Burie* to take order in those affairs; but the Queen said, that if none but he put their hands to the work, there would be no great matters done, by which she implied some jealousy of him; and I know what he said to me, *A little thing will serve to render us suspected*. I perceiv'd also that the King of *Navarre* was not so kind to me as formerly; which I believe proceeded from my own behaviour, I being not so observant to him as at other times, and never stirring from the Queen. In the end they resolved to send me into *Guienne* with a Commission to raise Horse and Foot, and to fall upon all such as should appear in arms. I defended my self the best I could from this Employment, knowing very well that it was not a work done, but a work that was only about to begin, and such as requir'd a great Master to execute it as it ought to be; and therefore remain'd at this bout constant not to take it upon me. The next morning the Queen and the King of *Navarre* sent for me, and the Queen had in the interval commanded Monsieur de *Valence* my brother to perswade me to accept of this Commission; so that when I came before them, after several Remonstrances they made me, I was constrain'd to accept of it, provided that Monsieur de *Burie* might be joyn'd in the Commission, for I would have him have his part of the Cake. But the Queen would by no means hear of it, alledging but too many reasons (Princes may say what they please) till in the end I was forc'd to tell her Majesty plainly, that in case he was not comprehended in the Commission, he being the Kings Lieutenant as he was, would underhand strew so many Traverses and difficulties in my way, that I should never effect any thing to purpose; which at last they allow'd to be a sufficient reason, and let it pass according to my own desire. The same Commission they gave me for *Guienne*, they also gave Monsieur de *Cursol* for the Province of *Languedoc*, giving us both in charge, that which of us soever should first have dispatch'd our own business, should go help his fellow, if he should stand in need. Monsieur de *Cursol* was no more of this new Religion than I, and without all doubt afterward turn'd to it more out of some discontent, than for any devotion, for he was no great Divine, no more than I was: but I have known many turn to this Religion out of spite, who have afterwards very much repented. We both of us together took our leaves of the Queen and the King of *Navarre*, and went to *Paris*, and Monsieur de *Valence* with us. I demanded two Counsellors of that part of *France* to sit upon life and death (fearing that those of the Country would do no good, being that some of them would encline to the Catholics, and others to the Hugonots) and had given me two of the damndest Rogues in the whole Kingdom, one whereof was *Compain* a Counsellor of the great Council, and the other *Gerard* Lieutenant to the Prevost d'*Hofel*, who have since gain'd no better a reputation, than they had before. I repented me that I had demanded them; but I thought I did well in it, and so I came into *Gascony* in all diligence.

I found Monsieur de *Burie* at *Bordeaux*, where I deliver'd him the Patent, and where all the City was divided against one another, and the Parliament also, because the Hugonots would that they might preach openly in the City, alledging that by the Conference at *Poisy* it was permitted them so to do; and the Catholics affirm'd the contrary; so that Monsieur de *Burie* and I had for a whole day together enough to do to keep them from falling together by the ears; and thereupon agreed to raise some men, and that so soon as our Commissioners should be come, we would march directly to *Fumel*, our Patent expressing that we should begin there. Now the power of raising Forces, and of commanding them was in me, wherefore we concluded together to raise two hundred Harquebuzers,

The Hugonots
rise in *Guienne*.

Monsieur de
Fumel but-
cher'd by his
own Tenants.

The Sieur de
Montluc large
Commission.

Monsieur de
Cursol in *Lan-*
guedoc.

* Light-horse. Harquebuzers, and a hundred * Argoulets, the command of which I gave to the younger Tilladet, the same who is now Lord of *Saint-Elorens*.

Barrelle a Minister attempts to corrupt the Sieur de Mont-luc.

I had scarce been four or five days in my house *Estillac*, when a Minister call'd *la Barrelle* came to me in the behalf of their Churches, telling me, that the Churches were exceeding glad of my coming, and the Authority the Queen had given me, being now assur'd to obtain Justice against those that had Massacred their Brethren. To which I made answer, that he might be confident all such as should appear in fault, should be certainly punish'd. He then told me, that he had in Commission from the Churches to make me a handsome present, and such a one as therewith I should have reason to be well satisfied. I told him, that there was no need of any presents to me, forasmuch as my integrity would oblige me to do my duty, and that for all the presents in the world, I was never to be made to do any thing contrary to it. He then told me, that the Catholicks had declar'd, they would never endure to have Justice executed upon them, and that therefore he had in Commission from all the Churches, to present me with four thousand foot in good equipage, and paid. This word began to put me into fury, and made me angrily demand of him, what men, and of what Nation must those Four thousand Foot be? to which he made answer, of this very Country, and of the Churches; whereupon I ask'd him, if he had power to present the Kings Subjects, and to put men into the Field, without the command of the King, or the Queen, who was at this time Regent of the Kingdom, and so declar'd by the Estates held at *Orleans*. O you confounded Rogues, said I, I see very well what you aim at, it is to set divisions in the Kingdom, and 'tis you Ministers that are the Authors of this godly work, under colour of the Gospel; and thereupon fell to swearing, and seizing him by the collar, said these words, I know not Rascal, what should hinder me, that I do not my self hang thee at this window, for I have with my own hands, strangled twenty honest men than thou. Who then trembling, said to me, Sir I beseech you let me go to Monsieur de Burie, for I have order from the Churches to go speak with him, and be not offended with me, who only come to deliver a message, neither do we do it for any other end, but only to defend our selves. Whereupon I bade him go and be hang'd to all the Devils in Hell, both he, and all the rest of his fellow Ministers, and so he departed from me, as sufficiently frightened as ever he was in his life. This action got me a very ill repute amongst the Ministers, for it was no less than high Treason to touch one of them.

The offers of the Churches.

* A farthing English, or the fourth part of a penny, a Liard containing three Deniers, whereof twelve go to a penny.

The Churches make Captains.

The Sedition of Agen.

Nevertheless a few days after came another Minister call'd *Boenormant*, alias *la Pierre*, sent in the behalf of their Churches (as he said) to entreat me to accept the present and offer that *Barrelle* had made me, saying, that it was not for the intention I imagin'd, and that without costing the King so much as a * Liard, I might render equal Justice both to the one party and the other. At this I was almost ready to lose all manner of patience, and with great vehemency reproach'd him with the levying of money, and the lifting of men, but he deny'd it all. Whereupon I said to him, But what if I prove to you, that no longer since than yesterday, you listed men at *la Plume*, what will you say? To which he made answer, That if it was so, it was more than he knew. Now he had a Souldier with him, that had formerly been in my Company in *Piedmont*, call'd *Antragues*, which made me turn to him, saying, Will you Captain *Antragues* deny, that you yesterday listed men at *la Plume*? To which, seeing himself caught, he made answer, That indeed the Church of *Nerac* had made him their Captain. Whereupon I began to say, What the Devil Churches are those that make Captains? and fell to reproach him with the good usage and respect I had shew'd him when he was in my Company; forbidding them ever again to come to me with the like Errand, which if they did, I should not have the patience to forbear laying hands upon them; and so they departed.

They afterwards began to rise at *Agen*, and to make themselves Masters of the Town, in which were the Seigneurs de *Memi* and *Castet-Segrat*, and the Seneschal of *Aginois*; *Poton* was also there, who did all that in him lay to pacifie affairs, and came to me, entreating me to go to *Agen*, and that all obedience should be paid me there; there came a Minister also along with him, who would engage his honor to me in the business, but I did not take that for good Security. The Seneschal proceeded with integrity, and I believe it would have cost him his life as well as mine, had I gone thither, for he would have defended me the best he could; and it came so near it, that at their importunity, I promis'd to be there the next morning. But the Sieurs de *la Lande* and *de Nort* in the mean time dispatch'd away a Messenger in private to me, to give me warning not to come, if I had any care of my life, for if I did, I was a dead man; which made me send them word, that I would not pass over the River, but if they would come to a House at the Ferry, I was content to give them the meeting there. When they saw they could not inveigle me into their power, they consented to come to the place appointed, whither I accordingly went to meet

A plot upon the Sieur de Mont-luc's life.

meet them with five and twenty Souldiers, whom I order'd not to stir from the water side, and there we din'd together. After dinner we fell to debate what was best to be done; where I told them, "that in the first place, and before we proceeded to any further particulars, they were to content themselves with the Church, that Monsieur de Burie had allow'd them for their meetings, which was a Parish Church, and that they must quit the Jacobins, and permit the Religious to re-enter, to perform their offices there; that they must lay down their arms, and receive the one half of the King of Navarres Company into their City for a Garison, and the other half should remain at Condom. I could never perswade them to condescend to this; wherefore taking the Seneschal of Agen aside, I said to him, *Do you not evidently see, that they aim at a subversion, and to make themselves Masters of Cities? I would not advise you to stay with these people; for you will be necessitated, either to let them do what they will, or resolve to have your throat cut, we have a fair example in Monsieur de Fumel: consider with your self what is best for to you do, and so farewell:* and so without any more words, I abruptly left them, and return'd to Stil-lac, where at my coming home I found a Farmer of mine of Puch de Gontaut call'd Labat, who came to tell me in the behalf of their Churches, *that I was too Cholerick, and had not patience rightly to understand what the Ministers Barrelle and Boenormont had to say to me, and to present me withal, which was, that the Churches made me a tender of Thirty thousand Crowns, provided I would not take arms against them, but let them alone, without desiring nevertheless that I should alter my Religion, and that within fifteen days at the furthest, they would bring me the money to my own house.* In answer to which I told him, *That were it not for the love I bore him, and also that he was my Tenant, I would handle him after another manner, than I had done Barrelle and Boenormont, and clap a dagger in his bosom, that he knew very well I had the knack on't, and therefore henceforward let neither he, nor any other be so impudent as to make any such Proposals to me, for I would infallibly be the death of them if they did.* Whereupon very sufficiently frightened, he immediately left me to return to Nerac, to carry back my answer to his Church.

Practices to
debauch the
Sieur de Mont-
luc.

Eight days had not past after this, before Captain Sendat came again to tempt me with much greater offers than before; for he made me an offer of forty thousand Crowns, he himself having made them a promise to be of their party, provided I did not take arms against them; for which they also gave him Two thousand Crowns. We talk'd a pretty while of the business, and when he saw he could no other way prevail with me to take their money, he prest and advis'd me, to take it, and lend the money to the King, wherewith to make war against them. To which I made answer, *That I very well perceiv'd he did not understand what it was to bring the reputation of an honest man in dispute:* For in the first place, said I, *they will not give me this money, without first making me take an Oath not to bear arms against them, which engagement they will have in writing to shew to their Churches, to make them part with their money; and besides, it is impossible but that this must come to light, for fire can never be so cover'd and conceal'd, but that some smোক will issue out. The Queen will wonder that I sit still in my own house and do nothing, she will sollicite me to take arms, which if I then refuse to do, will you not, that both she and all the world believe I have taken money, and am a brib'd corrupted fellow?* On the other side, should I give this money to the King, his Council must needs take notice, that I have taken an Oath not to bear arms, and yet they know, that upon my receiving the Order, I have sworn to do it, and to defend his Person and his Crown against all the world. How then can you imagine, that either the Queen now, or the King when he grows up, can look upon me as an honest man, when I have taken two Oaths expressly contrary to one another? Some will say, that I took the money at first upon the account of infidelity; but that afterwards repenting, I would palliate my Knavery, by giving it to the King. Others will say, that the Queen ought no more to repose any trust in me, having taken two Oaths positively contrary to one another, and that since I made no conscience of cheating the Hugonots with an Oath, I would make as little to deceive the King. Thus shall my honor be brought in question, and, I with just reason, sentenc'd for ever incapable of any place amongst honest men, and such as are good and loyal Subjects to their Prince. What will then become of me, and what a Monster of men shall I be, when I have lost the honor I have fought for all my life, and parted with my blood to obtain? I will not only say, that the Gentlemen of France will avoid my conversation, but even the basest of the people also will be asham'd of my company. See then Captain Sendat what a fine condition I should be in, should I follow your advice: In return of which, I will give you better; I pray frequent these people no more, you have ever been brought up and born arms with the Montluc's, let me entreat you to take them up now for the service of the King, and do not go over to that ridiculous Religion. Our Forefathers were honest men than they, and I cannot believe that the Holy Ghost is amongst a people who rise in rebellion against their

Captain Sendat treats with the Sieur de Montluc.

Considerations of the Sieur de Montluc upon the Proposals of Captain Sendat.

The Sieur de Montluc withdraws Captain Sendat from the Hugonots.

their King : Here is a hopeful beginning. He promis'd to follow my counsel, and so departed.

By my behaviour in this affair, I sufficiently manifested to all the world, that Avarice could never make me abandon my honor, nor my conscience to falsifie the Oath I have in the presence of God made to the King loyally, and faithfully to serve him, and to defend his Person and his Crown, and yet some have not been asham'd to accuse me of polling from the Kings Treasury, and of imposing taxes upon the Country to enrich my self. God and the truth are on my side, and the testimony of the Estates of *Guienne*, who will make it known to all those, who have made all these false reports of me to their Majesties, that I have never done any such thing. But letting this alone, I will return to the Justice Monsieur *de Burie* and I did with our vertuous Commissioners *Compain* and *Gerard*, who remain'd a long time without appearing in any place, or it being so much as known where they were. Which made me sollicite Monsieur *de Burie* to let us speedily fall to our business, and that since our Commissioners did not come, we would make use of the Counsellors of *Agen*. Yet still we linger'd away the time in delays, whilst I had intelligence daily brought me, that the Hugonots continued their damnable Conspiracies. There was at this time a Lieutenant of the Tribunal of *Condom*, call'd *du Franc*, a very honest man, and a good servant of the Kings, who was once half in mind to have gone over to this new Religion (for he was not the Son of a good Mother, that was not one of them) this man was one day call'd to a Council, in which there were some persons of very great quality, and where he heard an accursed and execrable Proposition, which being once propos'd, he durst not when it came to his turn to deliver his opinion, say otherwise than the rest had done, fearing should he contradict it, they would put him to death, lest he should discover their Council, and was therefore constrain'd to go thorough with it as the rest had done. I shall not say where this Council was kept, much less name the persons who were present at it, for the Council and the Proposition signifie nothing now, and there were some in the Company, who are since become very honest men. He sent to me to entreat that he might have some private conference with me, betwixt *Sampoy* and *Condom*, and appointed an hour. I took no more company with me, but one Footman only, and he another, for so we had agreed, and we met in a meadow that lay under the House of Monsieur *de Saintorens*, where he told me all that had been said in the Council, and what had there been concluded, which was such a Conspiracy, as (so God shall help me) made my hair stand an end, to hear it. After he had ended his story, he made me the Remonstrance of an honest man, telling me that now an occasion presented it self, wherein I might acquire honor to my self, and those who should descend from me for ever, which was with a couragious and magnanimous heart to take arms, and to expose my life to all dangers, for the safeguard of those poor children who were the sons of so good a King, and as yet in no better an age to defend themselves, than if they were in their cradles, and that God would assist me, seeing me take arms to protect the innocent, and those who were no way able to defend themselves. To this, this good man added so many, and so powerful Remonstrances, that (as I shall be sav'd) the tears came into my eyes, entreating me withal, not to discover him, for if I should, he was a dead man. He told me further, that as to what concern'd my self, they had consulted about me, and determin'd to surprize me in one place or another, and that if they could get me into their hands, they would deal worse by me, than they had done by Monsieur *de Fumel*. Nothing of all their Conspiracies was conceal'd from the said Lieutenant, because they thought him sure of their side, so dexterously did he behave himself amongst them ; but he afterwards shew'd them the contrary, several times exposing his life in the City of *Condom*, with his Sword in his hand, in defence of the Kings Authority : But however it came to pass, he was afterward either by poyson, or some other violent means, dispatch'd out of the world for this very business. I thought he had never discover'd himself but to me only, but I found that he had told the same thing to Monsieur *de Gondrin*, who was a very intimate friend of his, and to Monsieur *de Maillac*, Receiver of *Guienne*, for they were both as it were Brothers. For my part, I never open'd my lips concerning it to any one living, but to the Queen at *Tholouze*, by the chimney of her Chamber, at which her Majesty was very much astonish'd, as she had very good reason to be, for more horrid and Diabolical designs were never heard of, and yet very great persons were of the Conspiracy.

Du Franc discovers the Hugonots Conspiracy.

A design of the Hugonots to kill Monsieur *de Montluc*.

The Sieur *de Montluc's* design.

Having heard all these abominable designs, I retir'd to my own house at *Sampoy* ; where I concluded with my self to lay aside all manner of fear, resolving to sell my skin as dear as I could, as knowing very well, that if I once fell into their hands, and was left to their mercy, the greatest piece of my body would be no bigger than my little finger. Moreover, determining to execute all the cruelty I could, and especially against those who spoke against

against the Royal Majesty; for I saw very well, that gentle ways would never reclaim those canker'd and inveterate Rascals. Monsieur de Burle departed from Bourdeaux, sending me word of the day he intended to be at Clairac, that we might there together resolve where we ought to begin our Circuit. He sent me also Letters the Commissioners had writ to him, wherein they appointed us to come to Cahors, there to begin against the Catholicks; in answer to which I writ to him back again, that he should well consider the Patent, and that there he would find the Queen had commanded us to go and begin at Fumel. The Letters of these two honorable Gentlemen, were of so audacious and impudent a stile, as that by them they gave us to understand, that they were the principal Commissioners, and that we had no authority, saving to justify their proceedings, and to be assisting in the execution of their Decrees.

Now there was a Village two Leagues from Estillac, call'd S. Mazard, the greatest part whereof belong'd to the Sieur de Rouillac a Gentleman of eight or ten thousand Livers a year. Four or five days before I came thither, the Hugonots his Tenants were risen up against him, because he offer'd to hinder them from breaking open the Church, and taking away the Chalice, and kept him four and twenty hours besieg'd in his own house; so that had it not been for a Brother of his call'd Monsieur de S. Aignan, and some other Gentlemen his neighbours, who came in to his relief, they had certainly cut his throat, as also those of Offfort would have done to the Sieurs de Cug, and de la Montjoye, so that already there began to be open War against the Gentry. I privately got two Hangmen (which they have since call'd my Lacquais, because they were very often at my heels) and sent to Monsieur de Fontenilles, my Son in Law (who carried my Cornet, and was at Beaumont de Lomange, where he lay in Garison) that he should come away upon Thursday in the beginning of the night, and by break of day be at the said S. Mazard, there to seize of those persons whose names I had sent him in writing, and whereof the principal was Nephew to the Advocate of the King and Queen of Navarre at Lectoure, call'd Verdery. Now the said Advocate was he that fomented all the Sedition, and I had private word sent me, that he would come that very Thursday to S. Mazard, for he had some estate there. I was resolv'd to begin with this fellows head, forasmuch as having advertiz'd the King of Navarre at Court, that the said Verdery, and other of his Officers at Lectoure, were the principal Incendiaries of Rebellion, and having writ as much to the Queen, of the Kings Officers, she had writ back that I should begin with those people first, and the King of Navarre had writ in his Letter, that if I hang'd the Kings Officers on the lower branches of a Tree, I should hang his on the uppermost of all. But Verdery came not, which was well for him, for if he had I had branch'd him. Monsieur de Fontenilles perform'd a very long march, and came by break of day to S. Mazard, where at his first coming he took the Nephew of Verdery, and two others, and a Deacon, the rest escap'd away, there being not any one who knew the Houses, for there was not so much as any one man at arms, or Archer who had any knowledge of the place. A Gentleman, call'd Monsieur de Corde, who liv'd at the said place, had sent me word, that when in the presence of the Consuls he had remonstrated to them that they did ill, and that the King would be highly displeas'd with their doings, they made answer, *What King? We are the Kings,* he that you speak of is a little turdy Roylet, we'll whip his breech, and set him to a trade, to teach him to get his living as others do. Neither was it only there that they talk'd at this precious rate, but it was common discourse in every place. I was ready to burst with indignation at it, and saw very well, that all this Language tended to what had been told me by Lieutenant du Franc, which in sum, was to make another King. I had agreed with Monsieur de Saintetrens, that he should also take me five or six of Asteport, and especially one Captain Morallet the chief Ringleader of them all, and that if he could take him, and those I nam'd to him, he should with good words bring them to me to S. Mazard, the same day that I perform'd the execution, which was upon a Friday, which nevertheless that day he could not do, but he snap'd them the Sunday following, and brought them Prisoners to Villeneuve. So soon as I came to S. Mazard, Monsieur de Fontenilles presented the three Prisoners and the Deacon, all bound, in the Church-yard, in which there was yet remaining the foot of a Cross of stone they had broken, that might be about some two foot high. I presently call'd Monsieur de Corde and the Consuls, bidding them upon pain of death to deliver truly, what words they heard these fellows speak against the King. The Consuls were afraid, and durst say nothing; whereupon I told the said Sieur de Corde, that it belong'd to him to speak first, and therefore bid him speak; upon which he maintain'd to their faces, that they had spoke the forementioned words, and then the Consuls told the truth, and justified the same the Sieur de Corde had done. I had my two Hangmen behind me very well equip'd with their tackle, and especially with a very sharp

The Sieur de Montluc's Lacquais.

Insolence of the Hugonots.

Hh

Ax,

A suddain execution of Monsieur de Mont-luc's.

Ax, when flying in great fury upon this *Verdere*, I took him by the collar, saying to him, *O thou confounded Rogue! durst thou defile thy wicked tongue against the Majesty of thy King and Sovereign?* To which he reply'd, *Ah Sir, have mercy upon a poor sinner.* At which more enrag'd than before, I said to him, *Thou ungracious Rascal, wouldst thou have me to have mercy upon thee, who hadst no reverence nor respect for thy King,* and with that push'd him rudely to the ground, so that his neck fell exactly upon the piece of the Cross, crying to the Hangman, *Strike Villain*, which he did, and so nimbly, that my word and the blow were the one as soon as the other, which fetch'd off his head, and moreover above another half foot of the Cross. The other two I caus'd to be hang'd upon an Elm that was close by, and being the Deacon was but eighteen years old, I would not put him to death, as also that he might carry the news to his Brethren; but caus'd him nevertheless to be so well whip'd by the Hangman, that, as I was told, he dyed within ten or twelve days after. This was the first execution I did at my coming from my own house without sentence or writing; for in such matters, I have heard, men must begin with execution, and if every one that had the charge of Provinces had done the same, they had put out the fire, that has since consum'd all. However, this serv'd to stop the mouths of several seditious persons, who durst no more speak of the King, but with respect, but in great privacy, and with greater circumspection carried on their practices and designs.

The next day I parted from *Estillac*, and went to find out Monsieur de *Burie* at *Clairac*, and there we fell to debate of the place where we should begin our business, whether at *Fumel*, or at *Cahors*; I found him won to go to the Commissioners to *Cahors*, who were come thither, and had begun to try the Catholicks, without vouchsafing to lend an ear to any thing whatever to the contrary. I then call'd for the Patent, where I shew'd him, that it was the Queens intention we should begin at *Fumel*, which he knew not how to contradict, shewing him moreover, that by virtue of that Patent, we were the true Commissioners, and that *Gerard* and *Campaign* were oblig'd to come to us, and not we to go to them; telling him, that on the other side, I had been advertiz'd since my departure from Court, that they were two of the greatest Hugonots in all the Kingdom of *France*, and that we ought to have an eye to them, and to our own reputations, that the world might not cast a blur upon us, declaring us Hugonots; for as for my own part, I would not be branded with that mark: And to speak the truth, when I came to *Bordeaux*, I thought I discover'd both by his carriage, and also by other advertisements had been given me, that Monsieur de *Burie* inclin'd a little to that Religion.

Justice corrupted.

Upon Monday we went to *Villeneuve*, where Monsieur de *Sanctorens* with his Troop of Light Horse, and two hundred Harquebuzers came to meet us, bringing me along with him Captain *Moralet*, and other four, with two others that some Gentleman had taken at *S. Lirade*, all which upon Tuesday, without holding them longer in suspence, I caus'd to be hang'd, which strook a great fear into the whole party, saying, *What! he puts us to death without tryal!* Now their opinion was, that in case they should be apprehended, they must be proceeded against by witnesses, and that then there would not be one who durst give evidence against them, for fear of their throats, and also that there was no Judicature great nor small, but would have some of their own Religion amongst them, who would set nothing down in writing, but what should be to their advantage, and in order to their justification, Thus was Justice slubber'd over, without any punishment inflicted upon them; and when they had murder'd any one, or broke Churches, these wicked Officers (for so they may justly be called) would immediately present themselves to take cognizance of the fact, when the Informations being perfected, the Catholicks were evermore found to be the beginners of the brawl (*the beaten must bear the blame*) and that they themselves had broken the Churches by night, that it might be said the Hugonots had done it. I do not think it is to be found in History, that ever such Rogueries, Cheats and Machinations were invented or practiced in any Kingdom of the world; and had the Queen delay'd sending me with this Commission but three months only, all the people had been constrain'd to turn to this Religion, or have lost their lives, for every one was so terrified with the severity that by the Judges was exercis'd upon the Catholicks, that there was no other way left them, but either to abandon their habitations, to lose their lives, or to turn to that party. The Ministers publicly preach'd, that if they would come over to their Religion, they should neither pay duty to the Gentry, nor taxes to the King, but what should be appointed by them; others preach'd, that Kings could have no power, but what stood with the liking and consent of the people; and others, that the Gentry were no better men than they, and in effect, when the Gentlemens Bailiffs went to demand rent of the Tenants, they made answer, that they must shew them in the Bible, whether

ther they ought to pay or no, and that if their Predecessors had been Slaves and Coxcombs they would be none.

This insolence grew so high, that some of the Gentry began so far to give way to its fury, as to enter into Composition with their Tenants, entreating them to let them live in safety in their houses, and to enjoy their own Demeasns, and as to Rents and Chiefs they would not ask them for any. No one was so bold as to dare to go out a hunting, for they came and kill'd their Hounds and Greyhounds in the field before their faces, and no one durst say wrong they did, for fear of their lives; but if any one meddled with any of them, all their Churches were presently made acquainted with it, and within four or five hours, you had been dispatch'd out of the world, or enforc'd to hide your self in some of the Confederates houses, or in *Tholouze*, there being no safety in any other place; and this was the miserable condition to which *Guienne* was reduc'd. The particularities whereof I am necessitated to insist upon, to let you see, whether or no the King had not reason to honoure with that Glorious Title of *Conservator of Guienne*, and whether it was not necessary to fall to work in good earnest; for had I proceeded with Mildness and Moderation, as Monsieur de *Burie* did, we had been lost. He promis'd them great matters, but I perform'd nothing, knowing very well, that it was only to deceive us, and by degrees to get places into their hands: To be short, these Upstart Christians would give us the Law, and there was not a little Minister amongst them, who did not Lord it as if he had been a Bishop; and these were the hopeful beginnings of this fine Religion, and the manner after which she instructed men to live.

The miserable
Estate of *Guyenne*.

At our departure from the said *Villeneuve*, we went to *Fumel*, where we found that Madam de *Fumel*, with Monsieur de *Cançon* her Brother, and some other Gentlemen of the Family, had put themselves into the field, upon the news of our being come thither, and had taken five and twenty or thirty of those who had massacred the Sieur de *Fumel*. Monsieur de *Burie* then sent to the Commissioners to come, and to fall in hand with their Commission, who sent him word flatly they would not, but that we must come to them; and I had intelligence sent me by a friend, that they had said, that since I proceeded to execution without Form or Indictment, they would make bold to bring me my self to my tryal, after they had done with the rest, by which I saw that I was to try with them a better or a worse; for otherwise we should fall into the greatest misfortune that we could possibly fall into, and if we did not uphold our Authority, and keep the people in aw of us, without suffering them to be in fear of these Commissioners, all would go on the side of the new Religion. Neither did I fail to represent this danger to Monsieur de *Burie*; but I found by his answers, that he was either in fear of doing amiss or (as I said before) that he a little inclin'd to that side; but his end has clear'd that point to us. Seeing therefore that we could not have our own Commissioners, we sent for Counsellors from the Tribunal of *Agen*, who presently fell to trying these people, whom they found so guilty, that they confest themselves to have been Actors in the Massacre of their Lord; for they were all his own Tenants, who had begun the business, and sent to call in their neighbouring Churches to assist them in the performance of this Religious exploit, butchering this poor Gentleman with an infinite number of wounds, and being but half dead, laid him against a cushion upon his bed, and shot at Butts against his heart, pillaging and sacking his house, and all that he had; these good people crying out when they had done, Let the Gospel live: For which to be short, in one day, what upon Gibbet, and what upon the wheel, thirty or forty of them were sent out of this world, I cannot tell whither.

The Assassinares of Monsieur de *Fumel* executed.

From thence we went to *Cahors*, where we found these venerable Lords, who had begun, and were already a good way advanc't in their process against the Catholicks, and kept in prison Monsieur de *Viole* Canon and Arch-deacon of *Cahors*, and Chancellor of the University, a Gentleman of a Family of seven or eight thousand Livres a year belonging to Messieurs de *Terride*, de *Negrepelice*, and other Gentlemen of the Country. The Sieur de *Caumont des Mirandes* had married his Sister into this Family, and was there soliciting for the said de *Viole*, his Brother-in-law with his Children, and Nephews of the said de *Viole*, and Madam de *Bagua*, Sister to the said de *Viole*. Monsieur d'*Aussun* was come thither also, as being Kinsman to his Wife, and the whole City was full of Gentry to solicit in the behalf of the said Sieur de *Viole*. Our reverend Commissioners had order'd their business so well, that they had call'd in to their assistance nine Judges, six whereof were Hugonots, and the other three they had so terrified with their power and authority, that they pretended to have it in their Commission, that none of them was to dare to contradict what the others said, and especially Judge *Mage*, being a timorous person durst not pronounce a syllable but what the rest would have him say. They there condemn'd

The *Viole* Canon of *Cahors* prisoner.

Justice done at
Cabors.

A dispute be-
twixt the Sieur
de Montluc and
the Sieur de
Caumont.

An offer made
to the Sieur
de Montluc.

Monsieur de
Viole and
others con-
demn'd to dye.

fourteen or fifteen men, of which not above three had any hand in the Maslacre; but in revenge of the execution we had done at *Fumel*, they would put to death as many as they could justly or unjustly, and caus'd them to be executed in the Market-place of the City; at which both the Magistrates and the Clergy entred into so violent an apprehension, that they gave themselves all for lost, seeing them to put Monsieur de *Viole*, and several others upon their Tryal, who were none of them present at the Maslacre. All the Ladies were continually following after me, seeing they could obtain no satisfactory answer from Monsieur de *Burie*, and Monsieur de *Caumont* that now is, came to speak to Monsieur de *Burie*, I think rather to take an occasion to quarrel me than for any thing else, because I had said that he suffer'd a Minister in the open Pulpit to speak against the person of the King and his Royal authority at *Clairac*, of which he was Abbot, and he question'd me about it in the open Hall before Monsieur de *Burie*; whereupon I told him, *that I had said so, and that he stood so much obliged to the King for the benefits he had receiv'd, that he ought not to have endured it*, to which he replied, *that the said Minister had not preach'd before him, and that although he had, it was not to me to whom he was to give an account*; at which I had thought to have flown upon him with my dagger in my hand, and he clapt hand to his sword, when in an instant fifteen or twenty Gentlemen of mine leapt upon him, and there was enough to do to save him from being kill'd. Monsieur de *Burie* took my part in a very high manner, and rattled him to some purpose, insomuch that some friends of his thrust him out of the Hall to save him, for every one had his sword drawn, and he had not a party sufficient to make it an equal match against the friends I had present there; and this was the occasion of the hatred they say he bears me, for before we were very good friends; but 'tis the least of my care.

But to return to our Justice, the Countess of *Arein* who was at *Affier*, sent me a Letter by one of her Gentlemen call'd *la Brun*, wherein she entreated me to see Justice duly perform'd; to which I writ her answer back, that I would by no means obstruct it, where I saw there was reasonable and just cause, and that Monsieur de *Burie*, and I were there for no other end. The next day he return'd to me again, and in private entreated me, that I would further the execution of the Commissioners Sentence, and that in return of so good an office, I should not fail of Ten thousand Francs. He made me this offer in the presence of a Merchant that sold pistolets, which he himself chose out for me, telling me, that he was privy to the affair, and would immediately disburse the sum. I told him, *He did me a very great pleasure, but that I would leave them in his hands, being to go to Monsieur de Burie to supper, whose lodging was hard by*. By the way as I went, I began to consider with my self from whence these Ten thousand Francs should come; but could not possibly imagine, though I was satisfied there must be malice and knavery in the case. After supper, when it grew late, I retir'd to my Lodging at the Archdeacon *Redouls* house, where by the way I met Madam de *Longua*, and Madam de *Viole* hard by the house, who passionately weeping, said to me these words, *O Sir, Monsieur de Viole is going to be put to death, if you do not stand his friend, for sentence is past upon him, and this night there is order given to strangle him in prison, and in the morning to present him dead upon the Scaffold*. All the forementioned Lords and Gentlemen had sent away post to the King about this business, but the Messenger had return'd too late, if I had not been. I dismiss them with the best comfort I could, telling them that I would take care to prevent execution; to which end I appointed certain *Gens-d'armes* of my own Company to ride the Parrouille before the prison, and before the Commissioners Lodgings, and never put off my cloths my self of all that night. It was very late before the Archdeacon *Redoul* came home, when so soon as I heard he was come into his chamber, I sent for him, to talk with him about the business. He had been privately enquiring after the affairs of Monsieur de *Viole*, and the other Prisoners, who were all people of good quality, and brought this account, that they were all condemn'd to dye, and that for fear of scandal, and that no commotion might arise, they were to be dispatch'd secretly in prison by torch-light, and that by their Process and Judgement, they had divided the City into three distinct Corporations, to wit, the Church into one, the Magistracy into another, and the third Estate into the last; all which three distinct bodies, were sentenc'd to a fine of Sixscore thousand Francks: whereupon it presently came into my head, that the Ten thousand Francs of which *la Brun* had made me a tender, was certainly to come from hence; and the said Archdeacon wept, saying, that the City of *Cabors* was ruin'd for ever, and that though all the goods of the City moveable and immoveable should be sold, they could not make up that sum: Whereupon I advis'd him not to afflict himself, but leave it to me, for that out of the love I bore to Monsieur de *Viole* and the rest, I would keep so good watch, that I would trap them before

before they could do their execution, and as to the fines you speak of, said I, it is not the Kings intention that your City should be destroy'd, for it is his, and assure your self he will remit them. *Alas Sir*, said he, *if the fines went into the Kings purse, we should have some hope that his Majesty would not see us destroy'd; but he is not to have one peny of them. Why who then*, said I? *'Tis the Count Rhinegrave*, said he, *who lent the King Fifty thousand Francs upon the County, and we have had a tryal with the said Count about the fines of Tholouze, where he has cast us, it being prov'd, that he had as good title to the fines and amerciements, as to any other part of the Revenue, and that is the reason why we have no other remedy, but to abandon the City, to go live in some other place, and leave him all we have.* Hearing which, I was ready to run mad, to think that these two Rogues should ruine one of the Kings Cities, for one particular man. I past over the whole night in great anger and impatience, and in the morning Monsieur de Burie sent for me to hear the judgement of the Process; but by the way, I thought to prevent them from pronouncing sentence, which being once pronounc'd, there was no possible way to save the City, but that the Count Rhinegrave would have had the Fines, who though he was a stranger, yet he was one the King had very often occasion to use. In this heat I came to Monsieur de Burie's chamber, where I found them all already set, and the bags upon the Table. They perceiv'd very well by my countenance, what I had in my stomach, but I said nothing, but took a little stool, and plac'd my self at the end of the Table, for they had taken up all the room round about it, and there the said Campain in a Learned Oration, began to lay open the offence that had been committed in this City, enlarging himself upon the hainousness of the Fact, and remonstrating to us, how many women and children had lost their husbands and their fathers in this bloody Massacre, and that the King and Queen had sent us thither to do this Justice, which was equitable and right (his Harangue lasted for half an hour at least) and that those offenders they had already put to death, would signifie nothing, if they did not also execute the principal Authors of this Sedition, which would serve for an example to the whole Kingdom of France, concluding that therefore they would read the sentence before us, to have it afterwards executed in prison, entreating us to lend our assistance in the seeing it accordingly perform'd, and thereupon began to draw the Sentence out of the Bag. I look'd upon Monsieur de Burie, to see if he would speak, for it was for him to speak before me, but seeing he suffered him to proceed without interruption, and the other beginning to open the Sentence to read it, I said to him, *Hold Monsieur de Campain, proceed no further, till you have first answer'd what I have to demand of you.* To which he made answer, *That after he had read the Sentence, he would answer my questions, but that he would first read that, before he did any thing else.* Whereupon I said to Monsieur de Bury (rapping out a great Oath) *Sir, at the first word that comes out of his mouth, I will kill him, if he do not first satisfie me in such things as I shall in your presense demand of him.* At which Monsieur de Burie said to him, *Monsieur de Campain, you must hear what he has to say to you, for perhaps he may have heard something, that I know not of,* and then I perceiv'd my Gentleman to turn pale, and upon my word he had good reason. I then ask'd him, *Whose is the City of Cahors?* To which he answered, *It is the Kings.* And *whose is the Judicature?* said I. *The Kings*, said he. And *whose is the Church?* said I. To which he made answer, *That he could not tell.* Whereupon I said to him, *Do you deny that the Church is not the Kings as well as the rest?* To which he made answer, *That he did not concern himself about it.* I then said to him, *Have you divided the City into three Corporations, that is to say, the Church, the Judicature, and the City separate by it self, and impos'd fines severally upon them all?* To which he made answer, *That I should give ear to the Sentence, and that would inform me, whether he had or no.* Whereupon I began to thou him, saying, *Thou shalt here declare before Monsieur de Bury and me, what I demand of thee, or I will hang thee with my own hands, for I have hang'd twenty honest men than thy self, or those who have assisted at thy Sentence;* and thereupon start up from my stool, at which Monsieur de Burie said, *Speak Monsieur de Campain, and say if you have done it or no.* Yes Sir, answered he, *I have:* Whereupon I said, *O thou damned confounded Villain, Traytor to thy King, thou wilt ruine a City belonging to the King, for the profit of one particular man; were it not for the respect I bear to Monsieur de Burie, who is here the Kings Lieutenant, I would hang both thee and thy Companions at the windows of this chamber;* saying to Monsieur de Burie, *Sir, for Gods sake let me kill these accursed Rogues, that are Traytors to their King for anothers profit and their own;* and thereupon drew my sword half way, and had they let me alone, I had order'd them for ever making more Sentences or Arrests; but Monsieur de Bury leap'd to me, and caught hold of my arm, entreating me not to do it, whilst in the mean time they recovered the door, and fled away in so great a fright, that they

they leap'd the stairs, without staying to count the steps. I would fain have followed after to have kill'd them, but Monsieur de *Burie*, and Monsieur de *Courre* his Nephew held me so fast, that I could not break from them, the rage wherein I was not permitting me to be master of my self: It ought not then to appear strange, if I call them so often Rogues in my Relation. This being done, Monsieur de *Burie*, Monsieur de *Courre* and I went into a Garden, where the said *Sieur de Bury* told me, *That besides that I had preserv'd this City from total ruine, I had sav'd his honor also, for the King and the Queen, and all the world, would infallibly have concluded, that he had taken money, whereas he protested that he knew not one syllable of all this,* and then it was that I told him which way I came to discover it, and do really believe there was no intelligence on Monsieur de *Burie*'s side. I din'd with him, and do think he did not eat four bits, and all that day observ'd him to be melancholy and displeas'd, sending word to all the Commissioners not to proceed any further in any thing whatsoever, till the King should first be enform'd of all that had past. I also sent to Judge *Mage* and the rest to forbid them, that they should not be assisting in any thing should be done by *Campaign* and *Gerard* upon forfeiture of their lives. They came in the evening one after another, I mean the Judges Assistants, to excuse themselves to Monsieur de *Burie*, confessing to him, that they had not foreseen the ruine this Sentence would have inevitably have brought upon the City, which would also have been the undoing both of them and their posterity: but they durst never speak a word to me, nor so much as come where I was. Monsieur de *Burie* told me all, but whatsoever the matter was, not one of them durst come in my sight; which if they had, upon my conscience I think I should have strangled one or another of them. About five or six days after came the Courier that the Relations and Friends of Monsieur de *Viole* had sent to the King, who brought an Injunction to the Commissioners, not to proceed any further in any manner whatsoever against the said *Sieur de Viole*, nor concerning this Sedition, commanding them to set the said *Sieur de Viole*, and the other Prisoners at liberty, upon Bail to appear when and so often as they should be summoned so to do. It is not to be wondred at if the City of *Cahors* have a kindness for me, as indeed they have, to such a degree, that by the respect they pay me, and the entertainments they care for me withal, it seems, as if the King himself, or some of his Brothers were come into their City.

The deliver-
ance of the
Sieur de Viole.

This was the second time that they attempted to corrupt me with money, but it shall never be found in History, that I ever had a hand in any such dirty practices; neither do I fear any person living, not only in *Guienne*, but in *Italy*, where I have had great and honorable employments, and where I might have got Two hundred thousand Francs at least, would I have done as others did, who had no fault found with them for it, and have had more thanks for their labour than I have. But I can say, and say truly, that I never return'd from any of my Employments, that I was not necessitated to borrow money to carry me to my own house, and have ever been willing to beggar my self, and to suffer all sorts of inconvenience, only to spare the Kings purse, and not to enrich my self: Neither was I alone the sufferer, but moreover all those who were under my Command; as for example, the Treasurer *Brancher*, the Comptroller *la Molliers*, and others, who return'd as very Rogues as I. And if at any time any City has presented me during these troubles, it was only to maintain the great expence I must of necessity be at to entertain the Gentlemen and people of the Countrey, and was done openly, and not in private. This was the end of the strange proceedings at *Cahors*.

Now Monsieur de *Burie* having himself seen, that these two brave Commissioners did not go franckly to work, and that their only drift was to execute Justice upon the Catholicks only, and not upon the Hugonots also, he sent in all haste to *Bordeaux*, for Messieurs d' *Alesme* the elder, and *Ferron*, Counsellors in the Court of Parliament, and men that very well understood their business, that he might joyn them to these Commissioners of ours for a Counter-poise to ballance their wicked inclinations, and so we went streight to *Ville-Franche de Rouergue*, when hearing by the way, that the Hugonots from all parts, drew together in great numbers. Monsieur de *Burie* sent for the Companies of the *Maréchal de Termes*, of Messieurs de *Randan*, de *la Vauguyon*, and de *Jarnac*, for before we had no more than our own two Companies; and found at *Ville-Franche*, Monsieur the Cardinal of *Armagnac*, who staid there expecting our coming, to complain of the Churches had been violated and defac'd in his Jurisdiction, and particularly at *Ville-Franche*, a member of his Bishoprick of *Rhodes*; when so soon as he saw us draw near, the Consuls seiz'd of four or five of the principal of the Seditious, whom we found Prisoners. The next day after our arrival came the above named Sieurs d' *Alesme*, and de *Ferron*, of whom our Commissioners would by no means allow, saying, they had not the

Kings

Kings Patents, though in the end we over-rul'd them whether they would or no. Monsieur de Burie had intreated me to do them no harm at our departure from Cahors, for they desir'd nothing more than to be gone; and at last they began to try these four or five that the Cardinal of Armagnac had caused to be taken: but it was impossible to perswade Campain and Gerard to consent to their execution, notwithstanding that an infinite number of Rapines and Violations, besides those of Churches, was by the testimony of the most eminent persons of the City, evidently prov'd against them. They continued eight or ten days in this dispute, evermore concluding that they ought to be releas'd, and although Monsieur de Ferron's Wife and Family were of that Religion, he nevertheless affirm'd with Monsieur d' Alefme, that they ought to dye. The Cardinal of Armagnac and all the Officers were in despair, to see that Justice was not executed, expecting nothing but all sorts of violence so soon as our backs should be turn'd, if some example were not made. In the end Messieurs d' Alefme and de Ferron came to my Lodging, to tell me, that it was not to be hop'd, that these people would ever execute Justice upon those of their own Religion, and that therefore seeing no good was to be done with such men, they were resolv'd to return home. I then entreated them not to leave us; to which Monsieur d' Alefme made answer, *Will you then do an act worthy your integrity and courage, and cause them to be hang'd at the windows of the Town house where they are Prisoners, by which means you will put the business out of dispute, and without that there is no hope that Justice shall be done.* Are you both of you of this opinion, said I. They answered me they were. Enough was said, I call'd to me Monsieur de Saintorens's Serjeant, saying to him in their presence, *Go fetch me the Goaler hither;* which he did, to whom I said, *Deliver thy Prisoners to this man; and you Serjeant, take my two Hangmen, and go hang them presently at the windows of the Town-hall.* Whereupon he immediately departed, and in less than a quarter of an hour, we saw them hang'd at the windows. The Commissioners were furiously enrag'd at this action, and endeavour'd to make Monsieur de Burie disapprove of it, which the next day I reproach'd them with, telling them in the presence of the said Sieur de Burie, that Monsieur de Burie and I should agree well enough, in despite of all their endeavours to divide us; *And I doubt not, said I, but to make you hang your selves, before the game be done, and that we go out of this Commission. There is a rumour that the Prince of Conde has taken arms and possess himself of the City of Orleans, which if it prove true, hope for no other, but that I will be as good as my word.* It was not two hours before Rance, the King of Navarres Secretary arriv'd, and brought news to Monsieur de Burie, that the Prince of Conde was in arms, and had seiz'd of Orleans, telling wonders of the prodigious Forces the said Prince had with him, in comparison of those of the King, and that the King of Navarre, the Constable, Monsieur de Guise, and the Marechal de S. Andre were together, who could not all raise so much as one man, with a thousand other slim-flam stories. Whereupon the said Sieur de Burie expressly forbid him to speak a word to any one else, telling him it would be as much as his life was worth, should I come to hear the least whisper of it: He sent also privately to the Commissioners to get away before the news should be publish'd, for otherwise it would not be in his power to save them from being put to death; and he was in the right, for I would infallibly have done their business. They needed not to be bid twice, but immediately sneak'd away in great secrecy, so that I know nothing of their departure till the next day, and search'd very diligently for Monsieur Rance, who had he fallen into my hands, I think I should have taught him to carry news.

Upon this untoward news, we were of opinion to go directly to Montauban, and put our selves into the Town, before it revolted, for we understood that the City of Agen was revolted, and had seiz'd upon their Catholick Officers, Consuls and Canons, and accordingly that night went to S. Anthony, thinking the next day to enter into Montauban, but before we were got half way, we heard that the Town was revolted, which made us turn directly towards Ville Neufue d' Agenois, and found that all was revolted. We then came to a Village call'd Gallapian, near unto Port S. Marie, and found that Port S. Marie was also revolted, for those people had laid their design long before hand, and had carried their business very close. And there we concluded, that Monsieur de Burie with the four Companies of Gens d'armes, should go put himself into Bourdeaux, and that I with that of the King of Navarre, which was at Condom, that of the Marechal de Termes, and my own, should pass over the Garonne towards Gascony, and keep my self in the open Champain towards Tholouze and Beaumont de Lomange, which being resolv'd upon betwixt us, and we just ready to depart, there arriv'd Captain St. Geme, who brought me Letters from the King, the contents whereof were these.

Monsieur

Agen and Montauban revolt.

Monfieur de Montluc,

The King's
Letter to the
Sieur de Mont-
luc.

I Entreat you, if ever you desire to do me a signal piece of service, that immediately, and in all diligence you come away to me with the Marechal de Termes his Company, and your own, and six Companies of Foot, for which I send you Commissions, with blanks for the Captains names, for you better know who deserve to be preferr'd to these Commonds then I; therefore leaving all things, I entreat you to come away, for we must save the body of the Tree, which being preserv'd, the branches will every day recover, &c.

The Sieur de
Caumont retu-
ses to be head
of the Hugo-
nots.

These were the contents of my Letter, and that of Monsieur de Burie, made mention of what his Majesty had written to me, telling him withal, that he was to take the best order he could in *Guienne*; for his Majesty knew nothing as yet of its revolt. Monsieur de Burie then took his way directly to *Thoneins*, where he found Messieurs de *Caumont* and de *Duras* (which said Sieur de *Caumont* had been importun'd by their Churches to be their Head, but he would never be perswaded to it, no more would Monsieur de *Duras*, though in the end he was constrain'd to take it upon him, at the perswasion of a person of greater Quality than himself) both which Gentlemen behav'd themselves with great civility and respect, and demanded nothing of him, for they still try'd to win him by obligation; but he was an honest man. He went then straight to *Bordeaux*, and the mischief on't was, that he sent away all his four Companies towards *Xaintonge*, so that he remain'd naked, and alone in *Bordeaux*, saving for five and twenty Harquebuzers of his Guard: And the same day that we parted, I came to Quarter at the house of Monsieur de *Beaumont* near unto *Agen*, and in the neighbouring Villages, where I dispos'd of the six Commissions the King had sent me, namely, to Captain *Charry* two, to Captain *Bazordan* other two, one to my Nephew the Baron of *Clermont*, and the other to Captain *Arne*.

The Catholick
Gentry detain
the Sieur de
Montluc.

The Sieurs de *Canon de Montferran*, and all the Catholick Gentry of *Aginois* were come in to me, and began to murmur amongst one another in the Hall, that if I left them, they were all lost, and their wives, children and houses ruin'd and destroy'd. For *Leffoure*, another strong place, was also revolted, by which means the Gentry of *Gascony* had no place to retire unto for safety, but were enforc'd to fly to me; so that they concluded among themselves, that in case I should resolve to go away to the King, as his Majesty had commanded, and offer to leave them without a Head, that they must be fain to detain me in the nature of a Prisoner, and not suffer me to depart. In the Evening I assembled all these Gentlemen together, where I remonstrated to them, that it would be necessary I should send away in all diligence to the King, to acquaint his Majesty with the revolt of all *Guienne*, *Tholouze*, and *Bordeaux* excepted, which also if they were not suddenly reliev'd, would be in great danger to be lost, as well as the rest. Which they all approving, I immediately dispatch'd away Captain *Coffeil*, to give the King and Queen an account of all that had past; which I had no sooner done, but that Monsieur du *Masles* (who dyed lately at *Limoges*, and at that time carried the Marechal de *Termes* his Cornet) told me before all the Company, that I had done very well to take this resolution, for otherwise they had determin'd amongst themselves to detain me by force. In the morning we past the River at two or three Ferries, with danger enough, for *Leyrac* was revolted, as also was the whole Country of *Bazadois*, *la Reolle* excepted, and all as far as the very Gates of *Tholouze*, excepting *Avillar* and *Condom*, where Captain *Arne* lay with the King of *Navarres* Company, which also before his coming thither had twice revolted; but the Lieutenant General du *Franc*, whom I have spoke of before, had taken Arms to defend the Kings Authority, and got the upperhand, nevertheless in the end he would not have been able to have kept it, without the said Company that I sent into it. I quarter'd my own Company at *la Sauvetat de Gaure*, and Monsieur de *Terride* had his round about his house, in his own Territories, for *Beaumont* was also revolted. Monsieur de *Gondrin* and I conferr'd together at my house at *Sampoy en Gaure*, to which place I had assign'd him to come, where we concluded to reconcile all the Catholick Gentlemen, that we might be united together, and being the Seigneurs de *Fermarcon* and de *Terride*, though both of one Family, had an aversion for one another, we agreed to make them friends; to which end we assign'd them to come to *Fandouas*, where there was a great company of Gentlemen, and where at last we made them perfect good friends. Captain *Charry* departed in all haste to go put himself into *Puymirol*, because

The Union of
the Catholicks.

becauſe I had intelligence, that the Enemy had quitted it, and taken away the Artillery that was there to carry co *Agen*. The ſaid Captain *Charry* went to paſs the River at *la Magiſtere*, and by break of day was in the City, for the good people immediately open'd him the Gates, and there was but ten Souldiers in the Caſtle, who preſently yielded, and every one of the other Captains went forthwith about their buſineſs to raiſe their Companies, when ſo ſoon as we had din'd, there arriv'd a Horſeman who was come poſt from *Cahors* (having rid all night, and hir'd a freſh horſe at *la Magiſtere*, where he was told that I was at *Faudouas*) bringing me a Letter from *Monſieur de la Rocque des Ars* near unto *Cahors*, a Kinſman of mine; which Letter is to be found enroll'd in the Register of the Parliament of *Tholouze*, and whereof theſe are the Contents.

S I R,

TO day about noon at this place, and by great journeys, is arriv'd a Gentleman from Court, who having enquir'd at the Inn, if there was any one that knew you, the Hoſt told him that I was in the Town, and was related to you; whereupon he ſent the ſaid Hoſt immediately for me, and ſo ſoon as I came to the houſe, he bad the Hoſt go in. I then offer'd to embrace him, but he made me a ſign not to touch him; when he and I being left alone, he told me that he was of the County of Foix, and belonging to the King of Navarre, and that at Orleans a Phyſician had dyed in bed by him of the Plague, with which he was yet infected, bidding me immediately go fetch pen, ink and paper; which I having accordingly done, he made me in the ſtreet to write this enclor'd Letter, entreating me to ſend it poſt away to you.

The ſaid enclor'd Letter was thus,

S I R,

Returning from Court, I paſt by Orleans, where I left the Prince of Conde, who is gathering great Forces together, and has already rais'd a great number of men. There is a * Capitoul of Tholouze, who is coming by long journeys after me, and I think this night will paſs by this place; who has engag'd to the ſaid Prince by the eighteenth of this month (which was May) to put the City of Tholouze into his hands. The ſaid Capitoul diſcover'd himſelf to me, of which I thought fit to give you ſpeedy notice, that if poſſible, you may prevent his deſign. For the Reaſons that *Monſieur de la Rocque* will write you word of, I would not ſubſcribe this Letter, but have cauſ'd it to be ſign'd by him.

* Capitouls of Tholouze are 12 principal Magiſtrates, whereof the firſt is to be a Gentleman of that Province, the reſt Lawyers, or rich Merchants.

Theſe were the contents of the two Letters, which having read, I took aſide the fore-mentioned Gentleman, to whom having communicated the ſaid Letters, I immediately ſent them by an expreſs Meſſenger poſt to the firſt Preſident *Manfencal*, and writ upon the inſtant three diſpatches to the three Captains *Bazordan*, the Baron *de Clermont*, and *Arne*, wherein I ſent them word to labour day and night to get the foot Companies I had given them Commiſſions for to gather, and approach as near as they could to *Tholouze*, *Monſieur de Terride* return'd in all diligence to make ready his Gens d'armes, and the *Sieurs de Gondrin*, and *de Fimarcon* return'd in all haſte to gather together the Gentlemen of the Country. Now the Meſſenger could not get to *Tholouze* till it was three hours within night, ſo that the Preſident was gone to bed, by which means he could not deliver his Letters till the next morning, which was the twelfth of May. And there the Preſident committed an Error, for aſmuch as in the morning he aſſembled all the Chambers, and there in the preſence of them all cauſ'd the Letters to be publicly read: and I committed another, having been ſo wiſe, as not to give him caution to communicate them but to few: which was the cauſe that thoſe of their Society who were of the new Religion, and alſo of the plot, at their return from the Palace, gave notice to all the reſt of the Conſpirators, that they muſt make haſte to ſeize the Town houſe, and the Artillery, and not to deferre it till the eighteenth day of the ſaid Month: For I had alſo writ in my Letter, that I was ſending away in all diligence to Captain *Bazordan*, and the Baron *de Clermont*, that in raiſing their Companies, they ſhould approach continually nearer and nearer towards the ſaid City of *Tholouze*, which eight days before was enter'd into great ſuſpicion, thoſe of the Town ſeeing every day ſtrangers that no body knew, enter into the City; and the ſaid Letters unluckily came juſt in the nick of this jealouſie. I had (not as yet knowing any thing of all this) ſent away my own Company to *Montjoye*, near unto *la Plume*, and

The *Sieur de Montluc* receives intelligence of the Enterprize of *Tholouze*.

The error of the Preſident *Tholouze*.

the very next day, which was the eighteenth, being return'd to *Sampoy*, I receiv'd two Letters together, one from Monsieur de *Terride*, with two others of Advertisements enclos'd, in one of which was, Sir, *Four Ensigns of foot are arriv'd at Montauban, who come fromwards the Sevennes, and entred about break of day, having march'd all night*; and in the other was, *That a black Ensign had past over the Bridge de Buzar, on the other side of Tholouze, wearing a white Scarf, and held the way towards Montauban*. Monsieur de *Terride* sending me word, that I might take both these Advertisements for certain. At the same instant I received another Letter from the Vicar of *Auch*, and the Consuls of the said City, wherein they entreated me to come in all diligence to *Auch*, or that otherwise they would cut one another to pieces. I writ in the open street for haste four lines to Monsieur de *Terride*, entreating him to make his Company ready, and to get together the most men he possibly could, which having done, I mounted to horse, having Monsieur de *Fontenilles* with me, and went in all haste directly to *Auch*, though I was neither the Kings Lieutenant, nor had any power to command, but all I did was out of the particular affection, and good will I bore to his Majesties service, being assur'd that doing well, all would be well interpreted by those of the Kings party, and as for the rest I did not much care, having evermore rather have them for enemies than friends.

Tholouze seiz'd
by the Hugonots.

The Sieur de
Montluc's di-
ligence to re-
lieve Tholouze.

Commendati-
on of Captain
Charry.

Coming to *Sezan* a league from *Sampoy*, there came a man to me from *Tholouze*, sent by Monsieur le President *Mansencal* to tell me, that he had received my Letters, entreating me to come and succour the said City, for the *Hugonots* had posselt themselves of the Magazine, and the Artillerie that was in it. I alighted at the Towns end under an Elm, and there writ back to the President, that he should with all speed give notice to the forementioned Captains, that they might put themselves into *Tholouze*, and that I would go send away the Marechal de *Termes* his Company which was at *Pessan* near unto *Auch*, that they might be at *Tholouze* by break of day in the morning, bidding them take courage, for I would soon be with them, and deliver'd at the same time four or five Blancks to my Secretary sign'd with my own hand, to send letters to Monsieur de *Gondrin*, and others to bid them march away immediately to *Tholouze*, which being done, and having sent to my own Company to return in all diligence to *la Sauvetat*, I gallopt away full speed to *Auch*, where being arriv'd fasting at one of the clock in the afternoon, I dispatcht two Letters as I sat at dinner, one to Monsieur de *Bellegarde*, it being no more than two leagues from thence to his house, and the other to Captain *Masses*, who was within half a league, sending to Monsieur de *Bellegarde* immediately to take post, and go put himself into *Tholouze*, to command the Soldiery there, causing his great horses and arms day and night to follow after. Monsieur de *Masses*, so soon as he had spoke with me immediately departed, and never stopt nor staid till he was in *Tholouze* the next morning by break of day, and Monsieur de *Bellegarde* got thither two hours after midnight. The Baron de *Clermont* entred the same morning, and at the same instant that the Soldiers entred, they fell to fighting, which was from the place *St. George* even to the two Gates of the City that lookt towards *Montauban*, which two Gates were posselt by the Enemy. Captain *Arne* entred about two of the clock in the afternoon, as also did Captain *Bazordan* at the same time, and so soon as I had pacified them at *Auch*, I unberthought my self of the Letters Monsieur de *Terride* had sent me, and concluded that those Ensigns which were come to *Montauban*, were come thither for no other end, but only to to relieve their people who were engaged at *Tholouze*. Whereupon I immediately dispatcht away a Soldier upon a good Horse, commanding him to ride directly to *Landecoste*, and that he should pass the River at *la Peyres*, by whom I writ a Letter to Captain *Charry*, that immediately upon the receipt thereof he should march day and night directly to *Tholouze*, and should make a halt at *Fronton*. In like manner I dispatcht away another to Monsieur de *Terride* to pass over his Company at *Borret*, sending him word also to halt at *Fronton*, and keep continually on horseback day and night, and whilst he waited for Captain *Charry*, to take care that such as should come from *Montauban* might not recover *Tholouze*. An hour after I had made these two dispatches, it came into my head, that in case the Soldier could not pass the River at *la Peyre*, or that he should chance to be taken, Captain *Charry* could not be advertiz'd what to do, and the City by that means might be in danger to be lost, which made me immediately dispatch away another, whom I order'd to go by the way of *la Magistere*, and it was the next day at noon before he could get to him, for the first had been pursu'd for above three leagues together. Captain *Charry* upon the Messengers arrival immediately marcht away, causing bread and wine to be carried along with him, as I had writ to him to do, and as he had learnt under me, that the Soldiers might not enter into any house by the way. He understood as well as any man in *France*, how such diligences were to be perform'd, and two hours after midnight with two or three hundred men,

men, arriv'd at *Fronton*. where he met with Monsieur de Terrides Company, and ſo, that before they knew one another, they were like to have gone together by the ears. Now as Captain Charry was got within a league of *Fronton*, two or three Hugonot horſe belonging to the Vicount de Bourniquel fell accidentally and undiscover'd amongst them in the night, when underſtanding them to be our people, they took their way ſtraight to *Montauban*, and met the five Enſigns already advanc'd the midway betwixt *Montauban* and *Fronton*, and not being able to number our men by reaſon of the obſcurity of the night, told them, that ours were three times as many as they were, and that it was Captain Charry who commanded them; which was the reaſon that they return'd back again to *Montauban*; and I marcht away with my Company. Monſieur de Gondrin came to me to *Faudouas*, and the next morning we advanc'd within two leagues of *Tholonze*, to a village called *Daux*, where we ſtayd for the Gentlemen who were coming poſt after us, and where the Sieur de Terride came not up to us till night, by reaſon he could no ſooner get to us with his Company. I ſent word to the firſt Preſident and Monſieur de Bellegarde of our arrival, and that in the morning by Sun-riſe we would be with them, but that in the mean time they ſhould be ſure to keep the Gate *St. Sabran* free, and let them take care for nothing elſe, but only that I might get in. The haſte wherein I was, made me forget to write them word, that I had ſent to *Fronton* upon the road from *Montauban* to fight any relief that might come from that ſide; and they having heard as well as we of the arrival of the five Enſigns that were at *Montauban*, fearing they would that night enter by the two Gates the Enemy were poſſeſſed of, were once in mind to enter into compoſition, and were advanced ſo far towards it, that in order thereunto *Rapin* was deputed for the Enemy, and Monſieur de Maſſes for the City; during the Treaty the ſkirmiſhes ceaſed for three or four hours, and in the interim of theſe tranſactions came the Letters that I had ſent to the Preſident, and Monſieur de Bellegarde from *Auch*. But by fortune the Preſident ſent his Letter to Monſieur du Maſſes, to the end that he might ſhew it them, to encline them the more to an accommodation, ſo that unknown to Monſieur de Bellegarde, the ſaid Sieur de Maſſes, who was already parted from *Rapin*, having ſeen my letter, turn'd back to him to ſhew him what I had writ, who upon the reading of it grew ſodainly very melancholy, ſaying to Captain Maſſes that they gave themſelves for loſt ſeeing I was ſo near (for they had heard that their ſuccours were return'd back to *Montauban*, though our people knew nothing of it.) In the end they concluded to talk further of it the next morning, but he never intended it, for at the ſame inſtant he went to prepare his party, without giving any notice to thoſe of the Town, in all haſte to be gone, ſo that in the cloſe of the Evening they began to quit the *Barricades* they had made at the corners of the ſtreets, and to ſteal away, which our Captains perceiving began to charge them from ſtreet to ſtreet, but they were hindred by the night from ſeeing their iſſue out of the Gates, ſo that in rout and confuſion they recover'd the Vines, and got away; but loſt five of their Enſigns. Now we had concluded to fight after this manner, to wit, that Meſſieurs de Terride, and de Gondrin ſhould march on without ſtaying in the Town, taking my Company and the Gentlemen Volunteers along with them, and plant themſelves before the Gates the Enemy were poſſeſſed of without the City, and that I ſhould alight, and with Monſieur de Termes his Company, whom I would alſo cauſe to alight, our own foot and thoſe of the Town to fight on foot, reſolving to enter and fight by day. In the morning as we began to march an hour before day, there came to us a Capitoul of *Tholouſe*, called Maistre Dourdes, who brought me a letter from the Preſident, and Monſieur de Bellegarde, wherein they ſent me word of the departure and flight of the Enemy; for which I was very ſorry, for had they ſtaid my coming, not a Rascal of them all ſhould have eſcap't; and God knows whether I had not a mind to have made clean work, and if I would have ſpared ever a mothers ſon. Thoſe who were come from *Foix* return'd towards their ſaid Country of *Foix* in route and diſorder, for the very Peaſants kill'd a great many of them, and the reſt fled every one to the place from whence they came. Thus was the City reliev'd, where the fight continued for three days and three nights together, during which above fifty houſes were burnt one after another, and many people on both ſides ſlain; and amongst others two Brothers of Monſieur de Saignac de Comenge. At our arrival we went and alighted before the Palace all arm'd as we were, my Enſign and Guidon diſplayd, and indeed for a hundred and fifty or two hundred Gentlemen there might be of us together with my Company, it was a handſome appearance, and a very fine ſight. We found all the Court aſſembled, and any one may judge, whether or no we were welcome. I there in a ſhort ſpeech told them, "That although I was not the Kings Lieutenant, nevertheleſs the ſervice I had of old devoted to their City, and particularly to that honourable Aſſembly, was the cauſe that after the advertisements I had received of the danger they were

Route of the
Hugonots.

The order de-
ſign'd for the
fight.

The Sieur de
Montluc's
ſpeech to the
Parliament of
Tholouze.

The execution
at Tholouze.

"in, I had gathered together all the friends I could for the conservation of their City, the second of *France*, and had my self immediately come away in person to their rescue; but Gentlemen, said I, in the long time that I have born arms, I have learnt that in affairs of this nature, 'tis better to keep without, and send in continual succours, knowing that such a rabble were not likely so soon to force your City, who had they staid my coming, should have been as well handled, as ever rascals were. It now remains, that since God has been pleased to deliver you, you do your parts, and make your Cantons stink with the Carcasses of these accursed Traytors to God, their King, and their Country. So soon as I had done speaking, the President *Mansencal* made me a very honorable Remonstrance, concluding with great thanks both to me, and to all the Gentlemen. The Capitouls then accommodated us with very handsome Lodgings, and at the very same instant began to fall in hand with those of the Mutineers who remain'd in the Town, and who had been taken at their going out, and the next day proceeded to execution, where I saw more heads fly than ever in one day before. I in the mean time was elsewhere sufficiently employd, for it fail'd but little, that the City was not sackt by our own people, forasmuch as so soon as ever the neighbouring Inhabitants heard that the City was reliev'd, they all came running both Peasants and others to the spoil; neither would they be satisfied with plundering the houses of the Hugonots only, but began to fall on upon those of the Catholicks also, infomuch that the very house of President *Paulo* himself had like to have been sackt, through a rumour that within it there was a Student a Kinsman of his who was a Hugonot, though nevertheless there was no such person found; so that I was forc't to run thither, and to remedy the disorder to cause Monsieur de *Termes* his Company, and my own to mount to horse, the half of which continually from six hours to six hours marcht arm'd, and mounted by six and six together up and down the streets of the City.

The third day I had word brought me, that Monsieur de *St. Paul* of the County of *Foix* was upon arrival, being come from the said *Foix* with three or four thousand men, and Monsieur de *Lamezan* of *Comenge* with seven or eight hundred more, who had they entred, it had been impossible both for me and all the rest of us who were within to have saved the City from being sackt; to prevent which I sent in all haste to the Capitouls to shut their Gates, and all night long we kept continually on horse-back in the streets, and had the foot Companies upon Guard at the Gates, together with the whole City in arms, after the same manner as before, when they had been in continual fight. All this while Captain *Charry* and Monsieur de *Terrides* Company never stirred from the two Villages betwixt *Fronton* and *Tholouze*. Monsieur de *St. Paul* quarter'd himself and his people in the Suburbs, and Monsieur de *Lamezan* also, very much displeased that they might not be permitted to enter the City, threatening that another time they would not come to relieve them, though their relief now did more harm then good, considering that they came not when they ought to have come. The next day I sent out Monsieur de *Bellegarde* to tell them, that they did but lose time in staying there, for they should not enter, whereupon Monsieur de *St. Paul* return'd with his people, and Monsieur de *Lamezan* sent away his, entring himself and his servants only. After this the Capitouls and I concluded together to drive out all those who were come in from the neighbouring places, and accordingly with the Trumpets of the City, and our Drums, Proclamation was made for all strangers to depart, so that in the end we were absolute Masters of the City. Nevertheless it was not possible so to govern our own people, but that there was still some disorder, which made me send all the horse and foot out of the City, surrendering the whole power into the hands of the Magistrates. I gave a Company to Captain *Masses* the younger to remain in the Town, and to Monsieur de *Grepit* Son to President *Mansencal* another, who already had it almost full, and so I cleans'd the City, leaving no body in it but the Inhabitants, and two Companies of foot.

The design of
the Hugonots
concerning
Tholouze.

Captains my Companions, consider I beseech you how narrowly this great and opulent City, the second in *France*, escap'd being ruin'd and destroy'd for ever. There lives a Gentleman at the Gates of *Montauban*, called Monsieur de *la Serre*, whose house was burnt by the Hugonots, who told me that he had been present at a Synod, where it was determin'd, that could they bring about their Enterprize upon *Tholouze*, they would totally raze it to the ground, and take such of the ruins as were of any use to *Montauban* to enlarge their own City greater than it was, intending to comprehend their Suburbs within the Walls, and to draw a River thorough it that turn'd a Mill belonging to the said *Sieur de la Serre*, that there might be no more memory of *Tholouze* for ever. Besides the testimony of this Gentleman, a hundred others have confirm'd the same, which must be the discourse of their little Ministers only, for the great ones who had the Government of affairs, would have been better advis'd than to have destroyed such a City, which would

would have been ſo great a loſs both to the King and the whole Kingdom. You may then take notice of the great and extraordinary diligence I uſed, beginning from the advertiſement I had of the Capitouls promiſe to the Prince of *Conde* to put the City into his hands, and next the haſte I made the Captains to make in compleating their Companies, which were not half full, to put themſelves into the City : then the diligence of *Monſieur de Bell-garde*, and Captain *Maſſes* with his Company : and on the other ſide the diligence wherewith I cauſ'd notice to be given to Captain *Charry*, and my foreſight in ſending another Meſſenger after the former, to bid *Monſieur de Terrides* Company croſs the River at *Borret*, beſides my diligence wherewith I advertiz'd *Monſieur de Gondrin* and others, all which was done in three dayes and three nights. Wherefore if you will take notice of this exemple, and retein it, it will ſerve you to ſo good uſe, that you will never loſe an hours time ; and altho' I have writ in the beginning of my Book (and as ſome may think with vanity enough) that my diligences and ready foreſights have procur'd me the reputation God has given me in point of a Soldier, as great as other men ; yet it is evidently true in this as well as upon other occaſions : for had I fail'd but a minute the City had been abſolutely loſt. You ought not then diſdain to learn of me, who am at this day the oldeſt Cap. ain in *France*, and whom God has bleſt with as many ſucceſſes as any man whatever of my time : but you ought to avoid learning of thoſe who have been continually beaten, and have eternally run away where ever they have been engag'd ; for if you go to ſchool to ſuch Maſters you will hardly ever come to be any great Doctors in Arms. If I had ſtood long conſidering, and conſum'd the time in conſultations, to be ſatiſfied whether before I intermeddled with theſe affairs, I ſhould not firſt ſend to *Monſieur de Burie*, who was the Kings Lieutenant, I leave you to judge whether or no the Hugonots had not had ſufficient leiſure wherein to do their work. But whenever they heard of me, they preſently fancied the Hangman at their Breech ; as alſo they ordinarily call'd me the Tyrant. When ever you ſhall be in place to do a notable piece of ſervice, never ſtay for a command if the occaſion be preſſing ; for in the mean time you loſe your opportunity, therefore fall back fall edge try your fortune, it will afterwards be well interpreted. I know there are ſome who think it ſtrange that the City of *Tholonze* had ſo great a reſpect and kindneſs for me ; but ſhould they have other, they would degenerate from all good nature ; for they will confeſs that I ſav'd the City together with their lives and eſtates, and the honor of their wives, which without my reſolute and ſpeedy ſuccour had all been loſt. Upon which account I hope they will never be ungrateful to me, for the good office I did them upon this occaſion : and if any one will ſay, that what I did was all for the ſervice of the King, I ſhall anſwer to that, that at that time I had no Employment from his Maſteſty, excepting the command of my own Company of *Gens d'armes* ; for *Monſieur de Burie* was the Kings Lieutenant in *Gnienne*, and the Conſtable in *Languedoc*. Yet ſhall I not deny, but that I was prompted to it out of an honeſt deſire I have ever had to do my King ſervice, and that not only out of reſpect to the obligation I have to my Countreys preſervation, but alſo out of a natural affection I have ever had for his Maſteſties ſervice ; and moreover, out of the love and friendſhip I have ever born, and do ſtill bear to this famous City. For the diſpair I was in to ſee it in danger to be ruin'd, made me take the pains I did : It is not then to be wondred at, if this City have an animofity againſt thoſe of this new Religion, for there is not a City in *France*, who has run ſo great a hazard as this City has done, nor that has ever manifeſted it ſelf more affectionate to the King and his ſervice, or ſtood ſharper brunts to maintain themſelves in his Maſteſties obedience. *Rouen* ſuffer'd it ſelf to be taken without ſtriking a blow, *Lyons*, *Bourges* and *Poitiers* did the ſame. *Paris* was never reduc'd to that extremity, being alſo another kind of thing than the reſt. *Bourdeaux* made no defence at all, that being no other than a ſurprize they would make upon *Chateau Trompette*, which they alſo made themſelves ſure of, forasmuch as *Monſieur de Duras* was at the ſame time at the Gates of *Bourdeaux*. We may all therefore confeſs with truth, that no City whatever has fought ſo well, and run ſo great a hazard as this, having bravely repulſ'd the Hugonots after they had ſeiz'd of the Magazine, and were poſſeſt of the gates, by which they might introduce ſuccours from *Montauban*.

Tholonze no friend to the Hugonots;

I was then advis'd to go before *Montauban*, but it was more to draw the Souldiers from about *Tholonze*, and out of the City, and to live upon the Enemies Country, than out of any hopes I had to take it ; for I knew very well there were a great many men within it, that were there aſſembled for the enterprize of *Tholonze*. I then march'd thither, having no more than ſix Enſigns of Foot, which were thoſe of *Monſieur de Saintorens*, *de Bazordan*, the Baron of *Clermont*, *Arne* and *Charry* ; to which thoſe of *Tholonze* gave me two pieces of Canon, and one Culverine, beſtowing moreover a civility upon the Souldiers, they

Enterprize of *Montauban*.

they gave them one pay. So soon as I was come before *Montauban*, I found that there was in the Town two and twenty hundred Souldiers strangers, and a thousand or twelve hundred Townsmen, all very well arm'd. I might have about eight or nine hundred in all, the most of which had never been in arms before; for all the good old Souldiers were gone over to the Hugonots, after the unfortunate peace, and that upon meer necessity, for they had no Trades, the Wars having continued long, and they having been all that while employ'd in *Italy*, and other of the Kings conquests. The godly Ministers promis'd them not only riches, but as I have been told, even *Paradice* it self, as if they had kept the Keys; and another inconvenience this peace brought after it was, that we had lain long idle, without having any employment wherein to make good Souldiers. So that when I came before *Montauban*, I was constrain'd to quarter all my Foot together in the *Bourg de l'Evesche*, for to have separated them had been madness, the Enemy making so great sallies upon me, that they continually beat up my Foot to my body of *Gens d'armes*, without which they had been stronger than I, and would have cut me to pieces: for for one that I had they came out ten, so that the second day I was constrained to leave the *Evesche*, to go relieve *Monfieur de Terride*, whom I had left in the Suburbs on that side the Town towards *Moissac*, to whom I had given *Monfieur de Bazordans* Company, where I found that the Enemy had beaten him out of the Bourg to a *Brick-kill* hard by, which made me speak to the Souldiers to run full drive to recover the Bourg, and to charge them bravely, so that being come running in so great haste, and going on immediately to the charge, I had no body with me but Captain *Cabarret*, who is yet living, *Monfieur de Clermont*, who is of the House of *Faudouas*, *Monfieur de Beaucaire*, who is since dead, and three or four of *Monfieur de Terrides* men only, with which we gave them so brisk a charge, that we beat them back, laying on in their rear, to the very wicket of the Gate of the City, most of them not being able to get in, but were forc'd to take on the left hand directly to the Bridge, and the others on the right, so that had the great Gate been open, we might have enter'd the Town; for *Monfieur de Beaucaire's* Horse was kill'd before the Gate, hard by the wicket, and mine was shot close by him, and so we retir'd, for all the wall was set thick with *Harquebuzers*, and two horses were shot in our coming off, of those of *Monfieur de Terride's* Company, who had follow'd after us. The third day I took a resolution to retire, for the *Gens d'arms* were no longer able to guard the Foot; and on the other side, though I had made a Battery, I had not dar'd to give the assault to so many as they were within, with so few as I had without. Wherefore I sent back the Artillery to *Tholouze*, and the Captains to the places to which they desir'd to go to make an end of filling up their Companies compleat. *Monfieur de Terride* went to *Beaumont de Lomaigne*, and the places adjacent to his house, for the Enemy had quitted *Beaumont* so soon as they perceiv'd us to approach. I repast the River at *Moissac* with the *Mareschal de Termes* his Company, my own and that of *Monfieur de Saintorens* of *Harquebuzers* both on horseback, and on Foot, which I always kept about me for my Guard. I sent Captain *Charry* to *Puymirol*, to compleat his two Companies, and to make War upon those who kept *Agen*; and so soon as I had past the River on the side of *Gascony*, I sent back the *Mareschal de Termes* his Company towards *Auch*, to keep that Quarter in aw, and *Monfieur de Gendrin* into *Armagnac*, with the Gentry he had brought along with him, to see that nothing revolted there.

Now I had left Captain *Arne* at *Condom*, to hold that Countrey in subjection, who might have about fourscore Launces in his Company, and I had intelligence that *Messieurs de Duras* and *de Caumont* held a consultation at *Agen*, and that *Monfieur de Caumont* would come at night to lie at *la Passage*: Which having heard, I sent a man to Captain *Arne* that he should not fail two hours after midnight to be at *Astafort*, and that he should not enter the Town, but stay for me in Battalia till I came, which he accordingly did. And as I was going away in the evening, *Monfieur de S. Paul*, to whose house I was retir'd near unto *Donac*, asking me whether I was going, I told him in his ear, that I was going to carry a clean shirt to *Monfieur de Caumont* at *la Passage*; whereupon he told and assur'd me, that he was gone the day before, after they had concluded of their affairs, and given Commissions to Captains to raise more men; which was the reason that I staid to give our horses, and *Monfieur de Saintorens* his Company a little repose. But as this enterprize fail'd, another presented it self; for the same morning that I would have given a *Camisado* to *Monfieur de Caumont*, Six hundred men were come out of *Nerac*, to go give another *Camisado* to Captain *Molia*, who had put himself into *Franciscas* with threescore or fourscore men, and the people of the Town, and those of *Nerac*, had taken four hundred Corslets out of the King of *Navarres* Magazine, and at break of day gave three assaults, one immediately after another, but were always repulst. By misfortune I staid there till night, for had I gone away in the evening, as I had done but for what *Monfieur de*

S. Paul

S. Paul told me concerning Monsieur de *Caumont*, I had come time enough to have fought the six hundred men of *Nerac*. And there my diligence once fail'd me.

By break of day Captain *Arne* and I met, and march'd together streight to *Moyracs*, because he told me he had intelligence that this very morning those of *Nerac* would come out, and had taken all the arms in the Castle, but he knew not whither they were to go; so that yet we had met them, had it not been that Monsieur de *Saintorens* would needs stay to skirmish those of *Layrac*, who were come out a great way towards the Vines, so that it cost me an hours time before I could get him away, because he had a mind to have charg'd them up to the very gates of the City, could he have tempted them out of the Vines; and when we came to *Moiracs*, we heard that the enemy was before *Franciscas*, which made us put on to a good round trot, to hasten thither, sending six light horse before to discover where they were, who sent me word that above an hour before, they were retreated to *Nerac*, by reason they had had notice of Captain *Arnes* departure by night from *Condom*; for they had heard nothing of me. I sent to the *Avant-Coureurs* still to go on, and that I would follow after; which they did, and at last discover'd them half a quarter of a League from *Nerac*, we still at a long trot following after, but in vain, for they got safe into the Town. I had a great mind to have been fingering those arms, to arm our new rais'd and naked men.

This was the naughty beginning of our War in *Guienne*, wherein the Hugonots took us at unawares, and unprovided; so that it is a miraculous thing how this Country could save it self, considering the secret intelligences the Rebels had in all the Cities of the Province: but they shew'd themselves Novices, and indeed they were guided by their Ministers only: if before they had made so many Surprizes, they had attempted *Bordeaux* and *Tholouze*, they had not fail'd of carrying the one or the other, and possibly both; but we were already upon our Guards, and God preserv'd those two Forts, the Bulwarks of *Guienne*, to save all the rest. I very much broke their designs, by sending people every where, and never resting long in a place, for by so doing, a Kings Lieutenant shall hold all the world in suspence, because they cannot guess at his design, every one imagining that he is coming upon him; whereas should he always lie still in one Quarter, he cannot provide against all accidents, nor come in time, where there is immediate and pressing need; and also your being settled in one place, gives a great advantage to your Enemy, who by that means has his arms at liberty to do what he will; but I was not only my self in continual motion, but also with Letters and Messages was perpetually soliciting and employing all the Friends we had. Believe me, you who have the honor to be Governors of Provinces, it is a very good thing, and of great utility to your Prince, to keep a correspondence by Letters with those you know have never so little interest in the Country, and I am certain, that had I not done so, the greatest part would have sided with these new people, who have made all this fine work in the Kingdom.

Soon after Captain *Cosseil* return'd with Letters from the King and Queen, wherein they commanded me to stay in *Guienne*, there to do them the best service I could, for the conservation of the Country, recommending to me the care of their affairs, in more honorable expressions than I could any way deserve: By which I discern'd their Majesties were in great anxiety, especially the Queen, who writ me a very pitiful Letter. The great ones sometimes, when it pleases God, have need of the small, they must now and then be put in mind, that they are men and women as the rest of the world are; for if all should go as they would have it, they would not so much regard those that do them service, as when they see themselves distressed, but consume the time in Plays, Masquerades and Triumphs, which are the cause of their ruine: as it hapned to my good Master, who running at Tilt for his pleasure, was unfortunately slain, which he could not have been in war, he would have been too well guarded for that. 'Tis an old saying, *that men scratch always where they itch*, and I also am senseable when I rub upon the old sore, which is the loss of my good King, whom I lament, and shall do the longest day I have to live.

Not long after Monsieur de *Duras* took his way all along by the River *Garonne*, and rendezvouz'd his Army at *Clairac*, *Toneins* and *Marmanda*, which consisted of thirteen Ensigns of Foot, and seven Cornets of Horse, and so soon as the *Pardaillans*, *Savignac* (Captain of the Guard to Monsieur de *Burie*) *Salignac* and other Chiefs, were ready to execute their Enterprize upon *Chasteau Trompette*; Monsieur de *Duras* march'd towards *Montsegur*, and the places adjacent to *Cadillac*, with a great number of Boats, wherein he had ship'd the best of his Souldiers, to present themselves in the beginning of the night before *Chasteau Trompette*, where the forenam'd Captains had thought to have been got in, and by it to have given them entrance into the City. But their enterprize succeeded ill; for Monsieur de *Vaillac* the Father was circumspect, and would not let *le Puch de Pardaillan*

The Sieur de *Duras* for the Hugonots.

The Enterprize upon *Chasteau Trompette* fails.

his

his Brother in Law re-enter, who pretended to be in great fear, saying that those of the City had a design to take him: and Captain *de la Salle* who belong'd to Monsieur *de Vaillac* did also very good service upon that occasion. Now this hapned at one of the clock in the night, and all the City was in an alarm. Monsieur *de Burie* was at the Maierie, the Inhabitants betook themselves to arms, and fell upon the Hugonots (but the said Sieur kept himself in the Maierie with some Gentlemen of his Guard, and those but very few, for most of them were of the Conspiracy) whereof some escap'd over the walls, and under a Pallisado that goes down towards the River. They were above two or three hundred Conspirators, some of which were taken, and as Monsieur *de Duras* his people, who were in the Boats, were under *Cadillac*, they met with the Count *de Candalle*, Son to Monsieur *de Candalle*, as he was coming from *Bordeaux* to the said *Cadillac*, whom they took Prisoner, and sent him to the Queen of *Navarre*, who was at *Duras*, but newly come from Court: and who made him promise her to take arms for their Religion, upon which promise she let him go to his own house, where he staid for a few dayes making shew as if he meant to go joyn with Monsieur *de Duras*; but it was only to expect when I should draw near, that he might come in to me, as he did; saying, *it was a promise extorted from him by force which he was no wayes obliged to keep, being no prisoner of Warre*. Ever since which time this Count has been a mortal Enemy to the House of *Duras*.

All things depend upon the Gentry.

At this time Monsieur *de Burie* dispatch'd away to me *Raze* his Secretary, post, entreating me to come to his relief, or that otherwise the City would be lost, for he had no Forces with him; and besides there was not one grain of corn in the City, insomuch that he was reduc'd in a manner to Famine, by reason that the Enemy were possess'd of all the River of *Garonne*, and that of *Dordogne*, which are the two Teats that nourish the City of *Bordeaux*. I immediately sent back the said *Raze* to assure Monsieur *de Burie*, that I would soon be with him, and in order thereunto presently dispatch'd away to Captain *Masses* to come to me with the *Marschal de Termes* his Company, and to Captain *Arne*, to send me forty Launces of the Company belonging to the King of *Navarre*, commanding him withal not to stir from *Condom*, but stay to keep the Country in avv, and to take care the Town did not revolt. I sent likewise to Captain *Bazordan*, that he should not stir with his two Companies from *Beaumont de Lomaigne*, and the places adjacent to Monsieur *de Terride*, to whom I writ also to put himself into *Grenade* with his Company, and that I had left Captain *Bazordan* to be near him. I sent in like manner to Monsieur *de Gondrin*, that he should gather to him his Relations and Neighbours, and some Souldiers, to put himself into *Euse*, and that I was going to relieve Monsieur *de Burie* at *Bordeaux*. I was not the Kings Lieutenant, and yet every one obey'd me as chearfully as they could have done any man in the world; by which you may see what it is for a man to get the love of the Gentry as I did, and who does not so, shall never perform any thing worth speaking of; for upon them, almost all things depend, especially considering how *Gascony* and *Armaignac* abound in Gentry.

The fifth day after *Raze*'s departure, there came to me Monsieur *de Courre*, Nephew to Monsieur *de Burie*, and Lieutenant of his Company, who came again to sollicite my haste, by whom the said Sieur *de Burie* sent me word, that if in six days he was not reliev'd, the City would be lost. The Sieur *de Courre* told me also, that although he had only travell'd by night, he had nevertheless met with the Enemy almost at every step, and that all the Country was up in arms against us, either voluntarily or by force. I sent back the said Sieur *de Courre* by *les Landes*, he having with him five and twenty Launces compleatly arm'd, recommending him to houses of Gentlemen of my relations, and the next day assembling all my men both Horse and Foot, I began to set forvvards directly to *Bordeaux*. The first days march was to *Bruch*, which belongs to Monsieur *de Gondrin*, and another Village a quarter of a League from thence, call'd *Fongarolles* appertaining to the Queen of *Navarre*, where I lodg'd the Companies of Monsieur *de Termes*, and that of Monsieur *de Saint Salvy*, Brother to Monsieur *de Terride*, which was newly rais'd, and so soon as ever their Quarters were made, there came three Ensigns of *Nerac*, led by one Captain *Donazan*, which might be in all betwixt five and six hundred men. I had not eaten six bits, when they came to tell me, that at a Castle hard by, call'd *Castel-Vieille* there were some people who defended the place; whereupon I presently went thither, commanding Captain *Bardachin*, that with a hundred of his Musketeers, he should go and set fire to the gates, and give an assault, which he did, and we carried the place, when as we were entring, there came an Alarm from *Fongarolles*, that the Enemy were fighting with the Companies of Messieurs *de Termes*, and *de Saint Salvy*; whereupon I left the Castle, and ran to *Fongarolles*, sending to Captain *Charry*, who was quarter'd with his men close by me, (I never suffer'd him to be very far off, for if it came to striking, he would always give

give the first blow) that he should advance with his men to come to the fight. I had some Gentlemen with me, and but a few, forasmuch as they durst not as yet declare, seeing the Enemy to have the upper-hand, and amongst others the Governor *de la Mothe-Rouge* Captain *Poy*, and fifteen or twenty others. I gave Captain *Bardachin* order to make the Soldiers give over the sack, and follow after me as fast as he could, but he left the charge thereof to his Lieutenant, and went along with me, with five or six horse more of his.

Now from *Castel Vieille* to *Fougarolles* it is no more than a quarter of a League, when so soon as I came thither, I found Monsieur *de Termes* his Company in Battalia by the Bourg, and that of Monsieur *de Saint Salvy* also close by one another. The Enemy were at the other end of the Bourg, who saw us coming, and began to face about and retire. Whereupon I bid Captain *Maffes* take ten of his Launces, and that the rest should quarter themselves with the Company of Monsieur *de Saint Salvy*, for we had made a long march on't, and would be going an hour before day, by reason of the excessive heat. Captain *Charry* also came up to me with five or six horse, and the rest were coming after as fast as they could, for I put my self in the Rear of the Enemy.

Close by the Village on that side towards *Nerac* there is an ascent, and when we were at the foot of the Hill, they were in the middle, and upon the top, and there they fac'd about: I had no great mind to fight, because my design was to relieve *Bordeaux*, and therefore was unwilling to engage, fearing some disaster might happen, and that then I could not relieve the City. Nevertheless seeing them upon the top of the Hill I followed after, and when I came to the top, saw them in the great High-way betwixt two Copses marching softly on, and in very good order, this Captain *Donazan*, with four or five horse, and ten or twelve Harquebuzers, bringing up the Rear. We might be in all with the ten Launces some five and fifty horse good and bad: I made the Harquebuzers alight, and to put themselves in their Rear, whereupon I perceiv'd them to make a little more haste than before, which made me cry to the Governor *la Mothe Rouge*, Monsieur *de Saintorens*, Captain *Charry*, and the rest of the Gentlemen, *follow them close, for upon my life these people are afraid, I see it by their march, they have a long retreat to make, and I will second you with Captain Maffes.* Captain *Bardachin* then sent to his Musqueteers, that they should run as fast as ever they could, and we had not march'd after this manner above two hundred paces, but that I saw our Avant-Coureurs were fallen in pell-mell amongst them, and our Harquebuzers began to make a little more haste; when seeing their horse pass thorough the files of the foot, to recover the Van (which was because *Donazan's* horse was shot) I rid up to the head of our men, and shew'd them that the Enemies horse gain'd the Front of their own people, either with intention to make them face about and fight, or else they ran away for fear: *But I rather think, said I, it is for fear, for their foot also begin to mend their pace, let us charge them, but first let Captain Maffes come up to us,* who might be about some two hundred paces behind, to whom I sent that he should gallop away: but as soon as ever they saw our people coming upon the gallop, they began to ply their march, and gave over shooting, and then I cried, *let us fall on,* The Hugonots *let us fall on, for they are afraid,* which we did, and without resistance charg'd them defeated. through and through over the very bellies of them. Their horse fled full speed towards *Nerac*, and the foot like cowardly rascals crept into the Copses, and squat in the ditches, where our Musketeers sought them in the Woods, and shot at them as they shoot at Birds. Part of those who escap'd threw themselves into the River *Baise* where some were drown'd, the rest past through the Woods, and recover'd the Vines. We were so few that we were not enow to kill them all: for in those times there was no talk of Prisoners, and had the King paid his Companies, I should not have suffered Ransoms to have been in use in this quarrel, which have only serv'd to maintain the War. But neither Gens-d'arms nor Soldier were paid, and therefore it could not possibly be avoided, though indeed there were not many. It is not in this case as in a foreign War, where men fight for love and honor; but in a Civil War, we must either be master or man, being we live as it were all under a roof; and that's the reason why we must proceed with rigour and cruelty, otherwise the temptation of gain is such, that men would rather desire the continuation, than the end of a War. But to return to our Runaways, the Alarm ran quite thorough our Camp, so that all of them came powdring in both Horse and Foot, but at their arrival found that all was done; so that would we have pursued the Victory as far as *Nerac*, they had all run away, and we might with great ease have taken the Town: but my design was only to relieve *Bordeaux*. In this Engagement there died of the Enemy above three hundred men, whom the Judge of *Viane* caused to be interred, as I have since been told, without comprising those that were slain in the Vines,

The Ransoms
of Prisoners
maintain the
Warre.

and those who were drown'd, who might in all amount to betwixt four and five hundred men; and it was fought upon a Friday. This Victory very much dejected the Brethren, and encouraged the Catholicks, for if you once begin to drub your Enemy, you may certainly conclude that you have the better of the Game, for they will ever after be so afraid, that they will never dare to stand before you.

The next morning an hour before day I began to march, and thought to have entred into *le Mas d'Agenois*, but I found that there was there three Ensigns of the Enemy who had taken possession before me, and was thereupon constrain'd to quarter at *Gruere* and *Calonges*, close by the aforesaid *le Mas*, both by reason of the long march I had made the day before; and also because the Secretary of the Queen of *Navarre* call'd *Barbant*, brought me letters from the said Queen from *Duras*, wherein she writ me word, *that I did not need to proceed any further, for that Monsieur de Burie and she had compos'd all things, and that she was come out of France purposely to appease these Commotions, and to make those of the Religion to lay down their Arms.* In answer to this Letter I told *Barbant*, *that I would not return back unless I was first commanded by Monsieur de Burie so to do; for that if the City should chance to be lost, the whole blame of the miscarriage would be laid at my door.* We there disputed it above two long hours in the field, he still expostulating with me, *whether I thought the Queen of Navarre was against the King, and if I thought she had a mind to make his Majesty lose the City of Bourdeaux;* to which I answered with all moderation and respect, for that was the way I was to proceed in this affair; but all he could get of me was, *that I would send two Gentlemen along with him to the Queen of Navarre, to see in what posture affairs were betwixt her and Monsieur de Burie, and that in the mean time I would make four dayes march, of what I had design'd only for two, to give the said Lady time to make an end of the Treaty she had begun with Monsieur de Burie:* and accordingly deliver'd him to the two Captains *Peug* and *Sendat*, who were in danger to have been kill'd more than twice by the way; for in all the Corners and Villages the Hugonots had planted Courts of Guards to hold every one in suspence, and to fright people into their Party. In the Evening I call'd a Council of all the Captains, where they were all of opinion, *"that I should lend no ear either to the Letters or Messa-* ges of the Queen of *Navarre*, who should she falsifie her word, the loss of the City of *Bourdeaux* was of so great importance, that what excuses soever I might make, they *"would not be sufficient to justifie me from the blame that all the world would justly lay* *"to my charge: and on the other side should I be put to vindicate my reputation with* *"my sword, I could not fight with the Queen of *Navarre*, insomuch that all the world* *"would laugh me to scorn, and she her self the first of all, so that the fault would still* *"lie where it did; and I should have no possible means to clear my own honor. I was very glad to hear them all of this opinion, because should my actions be disapproved, I had to say in my excuse, that all the Captains had advis'd me to it; for if a man commit an error, it is at least more excusable if it be done upon deliberation and advice, than upon the meer account of his own humour and fancy; for alwaies to trust to a mans own headpiece is not so well.*

In the morning two hours before day I departed from my Quarters, and pass'd over above the Vines, leaving *le Mas* on the right hand, and came but by break of day onely near unto *Caumont*, by reason that the Passes were very streight, and I would not leave the Baggage behind me, for a great many people entred all night long into *le Mas*; who came from that side towards the River. Those of the Castle of *Caumont* sallied out, and came thorough the Vines, where we could not charge them by reason of the ditches, so that we continued on our march, till we came near unto *Reolle*, and there I found Monsieur de *Courré*, who at his return to *Bourdeaux* had taken the rest of Monsieur de *Burie's* Company, and was come out to meet me. A little before I had sent to Monsieur *Deymet* my Cousin-German, who was raising two Companies, to go and put himself into *Reolle*, which he had done; but the Hugonots had besieg'd it before my coming, and batter'd it with some field-pieces; but they could do no good, and raised the Siege. By which it is to be concluded, that they were Masters of the field, since they durst adventure to march with Canon, and had not God inspir'd me to oppose them, and to hang up those that fell into my hands, I do believe the whole Country had been lost; for Monsieur de *Burie's* moderation was by no means seasonable in such a time as this. I quarter'd my self in some houses overagainst *Reolle*, those of the Town bringing us in provisions, and at midnight without sound of Trumpet or beat of Drum (by reason of a certain jealousie Monsieur de *Courré* had possess'd me withal) we began to march, and never staid till we came within two or three leagues of *Bourdeaux*, I there quarter'd my men in certain Villages, and my self went straight to the City, where I found Messieurs de

Cançon,

The Queen of Navarre's Letter to the Sieur de Montluc.

Consultation upon the Queen of Navarre's Letter.

La Reolle besieg'd by the Hugonots.

Cançon, and *Montferran*, the Vicount d'*Uza*, *Ciurac*, and others, who were there expecting my coming, and where by reason of the great scarcity of all things in the City, I could stay but three dayes only; in which time it was concluded betwixt Monsieur de *Burie* and me, that the fourth day we should pass over the River, and go fight Monsieur de *Duras*, who was in the Territories of Monsieur de *Candalle* in the County of *Benanges*. Accordingly I began to pass the River, and by noon had got over all the Foot, and in a few hours after my own Company, and the forty Launces belonging to the King of *Navarre*: when, seeing it began to grow late, I was of opinion that Captain *Masses* should return to his Quarter with the Company belonging to the Marechal de *Termes*, and should pass them over at midnight; which order being given I return'd into the City again to conclude with Monsieur de *Burie*, that at midnight he should begin to pass over the rest of the men. He had caused four field-pieces to be made ready, which already were upon the shore, and the Company of Monsieur de *Randan* commanded by Monsieur d'*Argence* was arriv'd, as also that of Monsieur de *Vanguion* commanded by Monsieur *Carlus*. So soon as it was night Monsieur de *Burie* caused all the Boats to be brought up under *Château Trompette*, expressly forbidding that any one should pass the River without leave, so that in the night when Captain *Masses* came to the water side, it was not possible for him to get Boats to carry him over. I shall not here declare what every one said upon this occasion, and what they reported was the cause why the River was not passed at the time appointed; for it signifies nothing, but Monsieur de *Masses* in excusing himself spoke very plain, and without caring who heard him. I was quarter'd not above half a league from *Bordeaux*, and above an hour before day mounted to horse, and (sending word to Captain *Charry*, who was Camp-master, that he should stay for Monsieur de *Burie* with all the foot Companies, excepting those of the Baron de *Clermont*, and Monsieur de *Saintorens*) march'd on till I came to *la Seuve*, sending word to Monsieur de *Burie*, that I had left him the Foot to accompany the Artillery. The Messenger pass'd the River, and found him in his Chamber not yet quite dress'd, though it was then past six a clock in the morning, by which time I made account he was come over, and so soon as I was come to *Seuve*, Monsieur de *la Seuve*, Uncle to Monsieur d'*Audoux*, told me that the Enemy was at *Targon*, and had no intelligence of our passing the River, and lent me one of his Servants to go carry the news to Monsieur de *Burie*, whom in my Letter I entreated to advance, for that the Enemy was in a very convenient place to be fought withall. Now from *la Seuve* to *Bordeaux* it was about three leagues, and as Monsieur de *la Seuve*'s Servant came to the water side, he saw Monsieur de *Termes* his Company going aboard: I also by the same Messenger sent to Captain *Charry* to sollicite Monsieur de *Burie* to advance, who seeing them make so little hast, and knowing that I was gone to attaque the Enemy (as I had sent him word) he took three-score light horse that he had of his own, and leaving the other Captains to wait upon Monsieur de *Burie*, and to guard the Artillery, came away after me.

So soon as I came within sight of *Targon*, which is a Village (as I think belonging to Monsieur de *Candalle*) Messieurs de *Saintorens* and de *Fontenilles* went on before, where at some scatter'd houses, they fell upon the Enemies Quarters, and kill'd fourteen or fifteen men, by reason whereof the Alarm in their Camp was so great, as made them draw all their Foot into Battalia in a great field, and their Cavalry all along by a little River there is in that place, whom I could not discover by reason of a Wood betwixt them and me, and they were also in a Valley. The field where their Foot was drawn up, was a little more advanc'd than the River, and when Monsieur de *Saintorens* fell into their Quarters, it might be about seven of the clock in the morning, after which they never stir'd from this field where they were first drawn up. I was upon a little Eminence at three or four houses that were there, from whence I dispatcht away another Messenger to Monsieur de *Burie* to entreat him to make haste, for that I was at the head of the Enemy, thinking that he was near at hand. The Count de *Candalle* who was then very young, and full of spirit, came to me to this place, with ten or twelve Gentlemen in company with him, and amongst others the Sieur de *Seignan*, who had been a Captain of Foot with me in the Kingdom of *Naples*, at which time we call'd him Captain *Montlaur*, who also brought two of his Sons along with him, all three very brave Gentlemen. There the Count told me of the promise the Queen of *Navarre* had compell'd him to make, without which he could not have escap'd out of her hands; in answer to which I merrily told him, that I would cause the Bishop of *Bordeaux* to absolve him from that Engagement, neither could that promise any way bind him, forasmuch as he was not a prisoner of Warre, and besides, it was made to the Queen of *Navarre*, who profess'd her self to be a most humble servant of the Kings, and very passionate for his Majesties service.

Dispute about
the fight.

The fight re-
solv'd upon.

The order of
the Fight.

The Fight.

About twelve of the clock the two Messengers I had sent to Monsieur de Burie return'd, and brought me word, that they could not be past over the River till after noon, and that the Company of Monsieur de Termes only was already landed on this side. I had sent back all our Horse to *la Seuve* to bait, having kept with me only twenty, or five and twenty Horse, and there I stood Centinel, letting our horses eat the while under a Hedge, with the bridles in our hands. The Enemy saw me, and I saw them, and our men having got some victuals came back to me, just as the Enemy began to remove and to take the way directly towards me. We observ'd that they march'd off by Companies, by which we very well understood, that they meant to take some other way than to come to us, and thereupon fell to consult whether we should fight them, or no. In which Consultation the greatest part of the Company said, "That in case we should fight them, we should put all *Guienne* in danger, they being twenty for one, and that therefore it was better to stay for Monsieur de Burie, than commit such an error, which would neither be approved of by the King, nor by any other person whatever. Whereupon I granted them that what they said was very true : but that nevertheless we saw all the Gentry in *Guienne* in fear, and though it be true, said I, that you are not here above thirty Gentlemen, yet the whole Country is possess'd with so great a terror, that they dare not rise against them to assist us, which when they shall hear, that we came to face them without daring to fight, will be so augmented, that in eight dayes time we shall have all the whole Country against us; therefore fall back, fall edge, it is my opinion, that we ought rather to hazard the losing our selves by fighting, than by avoiding the Combat, which is equally pernicious, especially considering that all things are in the hands of God. I have already tasted these people, where I have had the fortune to meet them, and have found them men of very little resolution; believe me they will never stand us, and we shall certainly rout them; neither ought we to have come so near if we had not intended to fight; and moreover you see that they are about to steal off, and to escape away. As to what concerns our overthrow, should it so fall out, *Bourdeaux* will notwithstanding be in no more danger to be lost for that, Monsieur de Burie being there, and a Court of Parliament to defend it. Monsieur de Seignan then being the oldest in the Company answered, and said, *that it was very true, we should have all the Country infallibly upon us, and therefore seeing we were reduc't to this necessity, and that there was no hope of Monsieur de Burie's coming up to us, we ought to fight*, whereupon they all in general began to cry, *let us fight, let us fight*; when as we were mounting to horse, the Mareschal de Termes his Quarter-master, called *Moncorneil*, came up to us, and told me, that their Company having been on horseback from the beginning of the night, they had been necessitated to stay, and bait at *Seuve*, at which news I was almost fit to despair. The two foot Companies were marching as fast as they could; but it was so excessively hot that we scorcht as we stood, however *Moncorneil* seeing us going to fight, gallop'd away to *la Seuve* to make Captain *Maffes* mount to horse.

We then marcht on the left hand of the Enemy, when being come within two Harquebuzes shot of them, I divided my horse into two Troops: we might in all be betwixt a hundred and sixscore Light-horse; for I had not above thirty Launces in my Company, it having been that of Monsieur de la Guiche, and the Soldiers being almost all gone home to their own houses, excepting a very few, and I could not supply their places with others. The Enemy still by little and little mounted this Hill, sending most of their Harquebuzers down into the Copse below, which was there very thick, and to come to them we were to march thorough a great high-way enclos'd on both sides with Vines. I made Captain *Cherry* follow in their Rear, and gave one of my Troops to my Son Captain *Montluc* and *Fontenilles* with the Corner of Guidons, and kept to my self the other Corner of Gens-d'armes, which was carried by Monsieur de *Berdufan* the Seneschal of *Bazadois*. When we came to the Vines I saw we could not pass them to come to fight, and therefore took on the left hand under the Vineyards. Captain *Montluc* was about two hundred paces before me, who seeing us take on the left hand, they marcht on by the higher way before us, and when we were got clear of the Vines, and some ditches that were there, we saw Captain *Montluc* still making on to gain the top of the Hill, to whom I then joyn'd Monsieur de *Saintorens* with his Harquebuzers on horseback, and kept with me the Baron of *Clermont*, who also had some few.

Now, so soon as we came within betwixt twenty and thirty paces of them, they began to fire, and not before, whereupon the Harquebuzers of Monsieur de *Saintorens* fir'd also, whilst in the mean time Captain *Montluc* charg'd full drive into the middle of all their Horse: I had an eye to him, and at the same instant a little on the left hand charg'd quite thorough their Foot, where we routed and put them to flight, but not without having

ving first stood our shock, and maintain'd their ground. Their Horse seeing their Foot defeated, fled down the Hill all along by the Wood, and the Foot I enclosed in the Copse. Though being we had no Foot to do execution (for every one knows, that Horse do not stay to kill, but pursue the victory) there was not many men slain, yet though their loss was not very great, the reputation of the Victory was of as great advantage to us, as the shame of the defeat was prejudicial to them, and every one on our side began to take heart, as they, and those of their Religion began to lose it; both Gentry and Common people now taking arms, and declaring for us. My Son had two horses kill'd under him, and was himself wounded in two places: both the horses were mine, and one of them was my gray Turk, which next to my children I lov'd above all things in the world, for he had three times sav'd my life, or at least my liberty. The Duke *de Paliano* had given him me at *Rome*, I never had, nor ever hope again to have so good a Horse as that was. The Prince of *Conde* would fain have had him of me, but I put him off as well as I could, for I saw that such a Treasure was not every where to be found. Monsieur *de Seignan* lost his, the Vicount *d'Uza*, and the Count *de Candalle* their's also; to be short, after the charge we rallied upon the very place where we had fought, and found that in so great a necessity we could not make twenty horse to fight had the Enemy rallied upon us, almost all the horses being either kill'd or shot, and above the third part of our men: but they had not the judgment to examine their own condition, nor ours neither; and I must needs say, it was one of the rudest and most furious charges, without a Battail, that ever I was in in my whole life; neither can it be said, that they ran away for fear without being fought, for they fac'd about upon us, either to give or to receive the charge, and in plain truth I did not expect to have found them so brave. We lost upon the place but one Gentleman call'd Monsieur *de Vigneaux* only; but two or three that were wounded died after of their wounds. From the top of this Hill we discover'd the Enemy marching off as fast as they could, and saw that they rallied still as they went, still getting further off from us; and then we began to retire, some on horse-back, and some on foot, for most of the horses were kill'd, and those that were not, were almost all fain to be led off, for they were wounded. I was in such a condition, that there was not a horse of mine to be found to remount me; so that had an hundred horse only return'd upon us, I had been a lost man, and the rest that were with me; for as for my part it was not to be hoped that all the world could have sav'd my life, these new Saints had such a malice to me above all others.

The Hugonots
defeated.

The Enemy
retires.

This was the Engagement of *Targon*, which was very shameful for the Hugonots, considering that they suffered themselves to be beaten by a handful of men; and as we were returning back, the two Foot Companies arriv'd, who all day had run as fast as they could, and were ready to faint with excessive heat. Monsieur *de Termes* his Company, though they came at a good round trot, yet could they not possibly come up in time, for before *Moncorneil* could get to *Seuve*, which was a long league from the place where he left us, and they mount to horse and march another league and a half, which they must do to the place where we were, we had done our business, at which they were all very much concern'd, especially Captain *Masses*: I never saw man in so furious a passion, so that I was fain to entreat him to be quiet, and to hold his tongue, for he had a great mind to say more than I had a mind he should. And so we return'd back to *Seuve*, where we found Monsieur *de Burie*, who was but just come, and yet it was betwixt four and five a clock in the afternoon. He was glad to hear of our Victory, and I believe had made all the haste he could; but he was old, and old men cannot be so diligent as young. We cannot have it twice, I know it by my self.

We here concluded that Monsieur *de Burie* should return to *Bordeaux* to bring from thence three pieces of Canon, with which to go and batter *Montsegur*, and the other places the Enemy held upon the River of *Garonne*, to clear the River, that provisions might come into *Bordeaux*, for they were in a manner reduc'd to famine, and carry back with him the four Field-pieces, knowing very well that we should be no more in probability of a Battail, by reason of the Brush the Enemy had lately receiv'd; and that in the mean time I should march with the Army up the River towards *Montsegur* and *Reolle*, there to stay till the said Sieur *de Burie* should come with the Canon. But before we separated our selves, it was necessary to turn towards *Bourg*, being that one of the Sons of *Montandre* had possess'd himself of it, whose business it was to hinder all sorts of provisions from going down the *Dordogne* to *Bordeaux*, which we did, and when we came to the River near unto *Cusac* we caus'd our Cavalry and Monsieur *de Sanctorens* to advance before towards the Town, who coming before it, the said *Montandre* quitted the place, into which we put some few men, that we sent for from *Bordeaux*. I then remonstrated

ted to Monsieur de *Burie*, that we were to run a dangerous fortune, and that therefore it would be convenient for him to take the Castle of *Blanquefort*, which belonged to Monsieur de *Duras*, and was his habitation, and retreat, and that in the mean time I would go seize upon the Castle of *Caumont*, which we did, and I garrison'd *Caumont* by the way. A thing that Monsieur de *Caumont* was by no means pleased withal, being afraid that I would make prize of all I found within it : but I was very far from any such intention, as I made it evidently appear ; for though there were in it goods to the value of above an hundred thousand Francs, yet did he not lose the worth of one single penny, saving that the Count de *Candalle*, and Captain *Montluc* took some Chaplets of Corel from the Warden of the Castle, and those with a receipt and an obligation to make them good. And yet if I would I might have taken all the goods in the house, and it had been lawfull prize, forasmuch as within it there had been a party of Hugonots, which had made a Sally upon our people coming from *Bordeaux*, where Captain *Sendat* had his horse kill'd betwixt his legs, which was a sufficient reason ; for that was to declare himself an Enemy.

Justice executed by the
Sieur de Mont-
luc.

The Queen of
Navarre a
mortal enemy
to the Sieur de
Montluc.

At the same time we had intelligence brought us that the Enemy had abandoned *Bazas*, out of apprehension that we would pass the River, because they heard that Monsieur de *Burie* was return'd to *Bordeaux*, and that I went up to *la Reolle* : and so they began to carry in some little Corn to *Bordeaux*. I had notice that at *Gironde* there was three or fourscore Hugonots, that were retir'd thither upon the rout of Monsieur de *Duras*, whom I trapt, and without more ceremony hang'd threescore and ten at the pillars of the Town-Hall, which strook so great a terror into the whole Country, that in every place they quitted the Banks of the River, and fled towards *Marmanda*, and *Thoneins* ; to which place Monsieur de *Duras* was retreated to rally his scatter'd people, and recruit his Troops, and was forc'd to remove from thence, and to retire to *Dordogne*. One might see all thereabouts which way I had gone, the Trees upon the High-ways wearing my Livery. One man hang'd, terrified more than an hundred that were kill'd. The Queen of *Navarre* who was at *Duras*, after having heard of the defeat of Monsieur de *Duras*, departed from the Castle of *Caumont* (which was before I seiz'd upon it) where she had been, but made no stay, and retir'd into *Bearn*, and we came after to the said Castle of *Caumont*. God knows how dearly she lov'd me, and how she baptiz'd me, calling me the Tyrant, and all the ill names she could invent ; but she was a Princess, and moreover a Woman, and consequently not to be question'd. Being a Servant to the King, and a Catholick, I did my duty, and had every body else done so, we had never seen such doings as have been practised since. Both I and mine have ever been most faithful servants to her and her Family, but it was then when the Kings interest was not in question.

Monsieur de *Burie* being come to *Reolle* with the Canon, we went to besiege *Montsegur*, and lay one night at *Sauveterre*, where I took fifteen or sixteen whom I hang'd every Mothers Son, without the expence of paper or ink, or without vouchsafing to hear them speak ; for these people would promise mighty matters, which they never intended to perform. Now in *Montsegur* there was betwixt seven and eight hundred men. The Town is little, but fortified with walls as good as good can be, and of a very advantageous situation. We besieg'd it on that side by the Tannery, where they drest their Leather. Monsieur de *Burie* quarter'd himself in the Houses before the Gate which looks towards *la Sauvetat*, where there are great Towers, and I hard by him. Monsieur d'*Ortobie* and *Frederville*, Commissaries of the Artillery would needs go view the Town in open day, where we wanted for no Harquebuz shot, and after the discovery had been made, we concluded to attaque it by the said Tannery. There was on that side a Gate of the Town, which they had lately covered with a Wall, and had let down the Portcullice, which the Wall cover'd, and within had cast up a Rampire of earth and rubbish. I made the approaches by night, and lodg'd *Bardachins* Company in the Tannery. We let Monsieur de *Burie* take his rest, and presently after midnight our Artillery was planted upon a little Eminence overagainst, and within a hundred and fifty paces of the said Gate. Against the opinion of the said Commissaries I would try to see what was behind this Wall that cover'd the Gate, and to that end caused some Fagots to be set on fire hard by the Gate ; by the light whereof I caused five or six Canon shot to be made at the said Gate, which beat down all this new Wall ; whereupon I sent Captain *Bardachins* Ensign all alone to discover the place.

The Tannery was betwixt the Artillery and the Gate, and betwixt the Gate and the said Tannery there was a great Walnut Tree, behind which Captain *Bardachin* and I planted our selves, it being no more than five or six paces from the Gate, where the Ensign came and brought us word that the thing we saw that lookt white was the Portcullice.

We

We thereupon made him to return back again, and to climb up the Portcullice; which he did, and at his return told us, that over the top of the Portcullice he had perceiv'd a Terrass within, but that it was but low, and a man might pass betwixt the Arch of the Gate and the Portcullice, creeping upon his belly. The Enemy could not see him, by reason of the fire, but we could who stood behind the Tree, and yet they made above twenty Harquebuz shot. I then sent in all haste to Captain *Charry*, to bring all the Companies without beat of drum, or making any noise, whom so soon as they came I made to squat close upon their bellies behind the Artillerie, bidding Monsieur *d'Ortobie* begin to shoot, though it was not yet day, and try to make a Battery hard by the Gate; when so soon as he had made two volleys, I sent away the said *Bardachins* Ensigne called Captain *Vines*, who had a Target upon his arm, a Morion upon his head, and a Coat of Mail with sleeves of the same; and after him two Harquebuzers without Morions, who all went creeping with their bellies almost to the ground. Captain *Vines* began to mount the Portcullice, and *Bardachin* and I were again advanc'd behind the Tree. The dawning of the day began to appear, and Monsieur *d'Ortobie* still continued firing at the Wall, and the Enemy advanced to entrench behind the Battery, which was on one side of the Gate, taking no heed at all to the Gate it self, as not suspecting the Wall which cover'd it was beaten down. So soon as Captain *Vines* was got to the top of the Portcullice he gave his Target to one of the Harquebuzers, and mounted upon the Rampire, after which taking his Target again, he drew in first one of the Harquebuzers, and then the other, when seeing three to be got in, taking the advantage of the Thunder of the Cannon, I ran to the Tannery, making *Bardachins* Harquebuzers one after another to march straight up to the Walnut Tree, and again my self return'd immediately behind it. At the next Volley I made *Bardachin* approach the Portcullice, having a Target and a Morion, and the Harquebuzers one after another concealing their matches, when so soon as *Bardachin* had got five or six men about him he mounted the Portcullice where at the top his Ensign drew him in, and the Harquebuzers one after another as they came; and still as the Harquebuzers came behind the Tree I made them slip in, when seeing there was already twenty got into the Town, I my self drew up to the Portcullice. They within entred into a little Chamber of the Tower, to which there was two little doors, which open'd upon two pair of stone stairs on the right hand, and on the left, by which they went up and down on the inside of the Town to the said Tower. In the mean time I still put in more men, one after another, till *Bardachin* sent me word, that he began to be strong enough to be Master of the Tower, and that he was not as yet discover'd. Whereupon I sent to Captain *Charry* and the Baron of *Clermont*, that they should rise and come running all along a high-way there was that came directly up to the Gate; which they did, but before they could come up *Bardachin* was discover'd, where they began to fight, and to defend the stairs. Immediately upon which came the Ensigns of Captain *Charry* and *Clermont*, and mounted with all their men after them. The Enemy made good those stairs, but our people gain'd the top of the Tower, by the help of a little hand ladder they met withal, and were Masters of the inside of the Gate, when the Captains on the right and left ran desperately down the stairs, and came to dispute it hand to hand in the Streets. The Enemy once repuls'd our men, but in the end being overpower'd by numbers they retir'd, the Assailants falling in pell mell amongst them, till they came to the Market-place, where they found three hundred men in Battalia, who made head and disputed it for a time, but in the end were put to rout, and fled every man to shift for himself. I sent an account of all to Monsieur *de Burie*, but he had heard of it before, and he must needs know also by the Harquebuz shot that they were fighting; whereupon he sent some Gens-d'armes about the Town; but they could do nothing there. I took four score or a hundred Soldiers, and with them marcht round the Walls, so that as many as leapt over were dispatcht. The slaughter continued till ten of the clock, or after, because they were fain to ferret them out of the houses, and there was not above fifteen or twenty taken prisoners, whom we presently hang'd up, and amongst the rest all the Kings Officers, and the Consuls with their hoods about their necks. There was no talking of Ransoms unless for the Hangmen. The Captain who commanded there, was called Captain *Heraud*, who had formerly been of my Company at *Montcallier*, as brave a Soldier as any was in *Guienne*, and was taken alive. There were many who would fain have sav'd him for his valour, but I said, that if he should escape here he would make head against us at every Village, for I very well knew his courage, which made me hang him. Nevertheless he still thought I would save him, because I knew him to be valiant: but that made me the rather put him to death; for I was very well assur'd that he would never return to our side, as knowing him to be a stubborn obstinate fellow, and moreover

Captain *Vines*
enters the first
into *Montsegur*.

Montsegur carry'd
by assault.

besotted

The number of
the dead.

besotted with this new Religion, otherwise I would have sav'd him. We numbred the dead, and found them to be above seven hundred, all the Streets and the Walls were cover'd over with dead bodies, and yet I am sure a great many died without, of those who leapt over the Walls, whom I caused to be slain.

Thus was *Montsegur* taken; but I believe it would have been a hard dispute, had we been put to have entred by the breach we were about to make, and yet it would have cost us above five hundred Canon shot before we could have made a Gap wide enough for two men to enter a breast only: for the Walls were built of admirable good stone, and exceeding thick, as strong as any whatever in the whole Province; and withal it had been a matter of great difficulty to enter, though the breach had been never so sufficient, they having means to entrench themselves within, and I do believe they would have found us work, and it would have been a Mart of honor both for them and us; but it was better as it was.

Duras surren-
dred.

Two dayes after, we went to besiege the Town and Castle of *Duras*, in which there was a hundred and fifty men. All night long I never rested to lodge the Artillery to batter the Town; for to batter the Castle was a thing of extraordinary difficulty, unless on that side of the Garden behind it, and there also it was very hard to bring up the Artillery: which made us conclude, that it was better to attaque the Town, and afterwards from within to batter the Gate of the Castle; when so soon as I had made all things ready, they call'd to us to know if Monsieur de *Burie* was there, to which they were answered, that he was quarter'd at the Farms two or three Harquebuz shot distant from the Town: but that I was at the Artillery; whereupon they desir'd to know if I would give them leave to come out in safety, which I promised they should, and so they came to speak with me; but I refer'd them to Monsieur de *Burie*. The day began to break when they return'd, and they told me they had capitulated. Monsieur de *Burie* with some few with him presently entred into the place, but I entred not till eight of the clock in the morning, but laid me down to sleep after the Capitulation; for I wak'd when others took their rest. Monsieur de *Burie* told me that there was nothing in the place, but a hundred and fifty Corslets that belong'd to the King of *Navarre*, which the Warden of *Thoneins* a Hugonot had left there, intending to have carried them to their Camp, but that he was afraid of being snapt by the way. We caused them to be divided amongst the Captains to arm the Soldiers; and from thence Monsieur de *Burie* went to *Bordeaux*, and I with the Army marched down towards *Marmanda* and *Thoneins*. Every one quitted the places they held for fear, so that I met with none but some few Catholicks; and from thence marcht directly to *Clairac* and *Aguillon* where I passed the River. And as I was passing it I halted before the said Town, because there were three or four thousand men in *Agen*, and I would go to environ them to trap them within it. Having then reimbarkt the three Canon at *la Reolle*, which I made to mount up the River, it was night before I had passed over all the men, and as I was marching in the night I had news brought me from *Agen*, that in the begining of the night they had abandoned the City, and were gone away towards *Montauban*. I wondred that these people should be so damnably timorous, and that they did no better defend their Religion, they having not so much leisure as to take their prisoners along with them; a sudden terror having surprized them, when they heard that I was at hand; for they no sooner heard my name, but they fancied the rope already about their necks. Those whom they had clapt up in prison were Messieurs de *la Lande*, de *Nort*, all the Officers of the King, and the Consuls, excepting the President of *Agen*, against whom they had no prejudice. These poor Officers, very honest men, had been two or three months detain'd in prison, in which space above a hundred times the ropes were presented before them to hang them up, so that I wonder they did not die for fear.

Agen abandon-
ed by the Hu-
gonots.

Monsieur de *Burie* being arrived at Port *St. Marie*, we there and in the adjacent Villages quarter'd the Army, and from thence went with a few men only to *Agen*, where we found the City ruin'd; for these people where ever they came left sad marks behind them, and there we staid three or four dayes. Monsieur de *Burie* sent to *Ville-Neufue*, and to *Montflanquin* three Companies of *Gens-d'armes*, namely his own, that of Monsieur d' *Argence*, and that of Monsieur de *Carlus*, Lieutenant to Monsieur de *Vanguion*. They sent to Monsieur de *Burie* to send them four or five hundred Foot, and that they would go and fight Captain *Bordet*, who was coming from *Xaintonge* with three hundred Horse, of which sixscore were Cuirasseers, and Lances all, the rest Pistoleers, and Harquebuzers on horse-back, together with three Ensigns of Foot. I offer'd my self to Monsieur de *Burie* for this service, who told me that he would go himself, and be engag'd in this action, and that he would go away at midnight. I would not contradict him lest he should think

think that I had a mind to do all my ſelf, and get an advantage over him, and therefore retir'd my ſelf to *Eſtillac* to take ſome order in the affairs of my Family, hearing that my Wife was lately dead. The next day *Monſieur de Burie* was yet at *Agen*, and the next day after that, and in the mean time *Bordet* paſſed by, and marcht to get to *Montauban*, where *Monſieur de Duras* ſtaid to expect him. I know very well that *Monſieur d'Argence* and his Companions advertized *Monſieur de Burie* in all haſte to ſend them the Foot they deſir'd, that they might fight, and am very confident the fault was not in them: but *Monſieur d'Argence* is yet living, who is able to give an account where the fault lay, I have nothing to do to meddle, or make in the buſineſs.

At my return back to *Agen* we concluded to go and aſſault the Caſtle of *Pene*; for during the time that our Company lay about *Agen*, there came to us three Spaniſh Companies commanded by *Don Lewis de Carbajac*, in the abſence of his Uncle *Don John de Carbajac*, who afterwards came and brought the other ten Enſigns. We attack'd the Caſtle in the Front of it, for we could batter it in no other place, it being very ſtrong both in ſtructure and ſituation; and there we made above three hundred Canon ſhot. They had here a great Terraiſs caſt up within, and in the Terraiſs had made a Trench where the Soldiers lay to defend the Breach, which alſo was of very difficult acceſs, becauſe we were to mount by ladders from the Breach up to the Terraiſs. Now we had the firſt night taken the Town, for Captain *Charry* and his Companions had ſet fire to the Gates, which the beſieged having long and bravely defended in vain, they all retir'd into the Caſtle. They might be within it about three hundred men; and I went to diſcover the Breach by the Houſes on the right hand, which I cauſed to be pierc'd thorough, paſſing from one to another till I came to the laſt, which was ſo near to the Caſtle, that there was no more than the way betwixt them; from whence I perceived an out-jut of ſtone at the flank on the right hand in the Wall, and ſent a Soldier creeping on all four to diſcover this place. He went up the half-way, and found that it was made, as if they had purpoſely left ſteps to go up by in that place; which having done, he came back to me, and upon his report I went immediately to *Monſieur d'Ortobie*, where we drew a piece of Canon a little on the right hand this place. We had enough to do to lodg it there, by reaſon that it was a very great Precipice that went down to the River; and from thence we ſhot ſide-ways at this Wall, which being not very ſtrong, was in four ſhots pierc'd quite thorough, ſo that one might ſee thorough the hole into their Trenches; whereupon I immediately went down, and made the ſame Soldier climb up by thoſe ſteps ſo far as to diſcover if the hole was over againſt the Trench, bidding him in no wiſe to diſcover himſelf; which he accordingly did, and brought me word, that they ſtood all in Battalia in the Trench, and that there was a great number of Corſlets, as it was true. I then cauſed the Ladders to be brought, which I had made to be ſought for in every place, and which might be ſome twelve or fifteen in all. *Monſieur de Burie* was with the Artillery, whither I went to conclude the Aſſault before him, entreating him that the *Gascons* might go on firſt, and the *Spaniards* after: but *Don Lewis* deſir'd they might fall on together, which was alſo granted. In the mean time I made choice of four Harquebuzers to mount theſe ſteps, for more could not ſtand upon the top to ſhoot thorough the hole into the Trench, when ours ſhould give the aſſault to the Front of the Caſtle, and ſo I committed to them the aſſault. The Soldiers themſelves took the Ladders, and I went to the forementioned ſteps with my four Harquebuzers, when as the one were rearing their Ladders, the four went up by the ſteps, and at the ſame inſtant that the *Spaniſh* and *Gascon* Foot mounted the Ladder, the four Harquebuzers fir'd into the Trench. They kill'd one of them, who tumbled down dead at my feet, and I ſent up another in his room: but when the Enemy ſaw themſelves kill'd thorough this hole, they retir'd into another Fortreſs, where they defended themſelves above three long hours, and twice repul'd our people to the very Breach. Where I perceiv'd two things, though I had very well obſerv'd them before, the one that the *Spaniards* are not more valiant than the *Gascons*; and the other, that the brisk diſputes are alwayes made by the Gentlemen, for above five hundred *Spaniards* and *Gascons* were overturn'd either upon the Ladders, or down to the ground, yet muſt we not deprive thoſe of their due honor, who worthily achiev'd it; for though the *Gascon* Captains, and the Gentlemen of their Companies, all day bore the brunt of the fight, I will not ſay but that the *Spaniſh* Captains very bravely behav'd themſelves, but in truth their Soldiers did very little. In the end I encourag'd our people, making them again to mount the Ladders, encouraging ſome, and threatening others, for I had my ſword drawn in my hand, ready to have given them a caſt of my Office, had I perceived any Poltrons. But they all now began to do better both *Spaniards* and *Gascons*, inſomuch that they gain'd the ſecond Fort. The Enemy then divided themſelves into two other Forts, namely the

Spaniſh Companies.

The Siege of the Caſtle of *Pene*.

The Breach diſcover'd.

The Aſſailants repulſed.

Captain Charry
leaps thorough
the fire.

great Tower, and another quarter of the house on the left hand. Now we were to go up a pair of stone steps into a base Court, betwixt the said Tower and the other Fort, so that our people were constrain'd to set fire to the Gate of the said Base-Court. On the top of these steps, and close by the Gate there was a corner on the left hand, where fifteen or sixteen men had room to stand. Captain *Charry* and the Baron *de Clermont* were in this place encouraging the men to shoot thorough the Gate into the Base-Court, and so soon as the Gate was burnt it fell down just in the Passage. I was upon the middle of the steps, when seeing the Gate fall'n down, I call'd to Captain *Charry*, that they should leap in thorough the fire, which they did without disputing the business, a man needed not to bid him twice, he fear'd not death. I pusht forwards those who were upon the steps before me, whether they would or no, and so we all entred in fury, but found no body in the Base-Court save Women and Maids, of which it was all full, even to the very Stables. Those of the Tower of the other Fort on the left hand shot at us in the Court, and kill'd five or six Soldiers. Captain *Charry* was there a little hurt, and the *Sieur de Bardachin* also. We made the Women go down by those stone steps, where the *Spaniards* who were at the foot of the stairs in the great Base-Court below, kill'd them saying they were Lutherans disguis'd. We redoubled the assault upon this Fort on the left hand both by a door, and by two windows that went into it, which we carried, putting all we found within it to the Sword. Now we were afterwards to assault the great Tower, and the Gate that was between. I there left the Captains who were not hurt in this Fort on the left hand, and in the Stables to keep them penn'd in, and as fortune would have it, they had all their provisions in this Fort on the left hand, and none at all in the great Tower; and that was the reason that in the close of the Evening they surrendred themselves to the Captains upon Quarter for life. The *Spaniards* were lodg'd in the Town, who knew they were surrendred, and that in the morning our Captains were to bring them to Monsieur *de Burie* and me, who were quarter'd in the House of Monsieur *de Cathus* a Harquebuz shot from the Castle. Monsieur *de Pons* lay there also, being come with Monsieur *de Burie*, and so soon as the Prisoners came, who might be forty or fifty in number, we deliver'd them to fifteen or twenty Soldiers in guard; but the *Spaniards* came and took them from those fifteen or twenty Soldiers, and kill'd them all excepting two servants of Madam *la Marechalle de St. Andre*, that I had kept at my lodging; so that of all these three hundred men there was not a man escaped, saving these two that I sav'd, and another that went dowe the Wall of the Castle by a Rope, and swam the River, who had also a great many Soldiers at his heels plying him all the way with their Harquebuz shot, but he miraculously escap'd in despite of them all. His hour was not come, for he had an infinite number of shots made at him, but none of them had the fortune to hit. I here perceiv'd that Don *Lewis* his men were for the most part raw rascals; for old Soldiers do not use to kill Women, and these kill'd above fourty, at which I was furiously angry. Their Captains were sorry for and asham'd of the action, but they could not help it, for they said they were Lutherans in disguise, because having been fumbling with one of them to lye with her, they had found that it was a beardless Deacon, who had disguis'd himself in women's clothes. This was the taking of *Pene*, which was of no little importance, as being an extraordinary strong place, and in a good Country upon the River, where a great many Rogues were dispatcht out of the way, whose bodies serv'd to fill up a very deep Well that was in the Castle. It may truly be said, that every one here play'd his part, as also did Monsieur *de Burie*, who never stir'd from the Canon, but took as much pains as any man of his age could possibly do,

Pene taken by
assault.

The *Sieur de*
Saintlorens
sent to relieve
Cabors.

Now so soon as Captain *Bordet* was joyn'd with Monsieur *de Duras*, their Army began very much to encrease, forasmuch as those who before had forborn to declare themselves in expectation of the said *Bordets* coming, now that they saw he was come, conceiving a better opinion of their affairs, they repair'd boldly to the Army. The Enemy then being in this condition, we were one night afraid that they would take from us *Moissac*, or else *Cabors*, by reason that the Rivers were so low, that they were almost every where to be foarded, which made me tell Monsieur *de Burie* that it was necessary we should speedily send avay some men to *Cabors*; for the water being every vvhere to be foarded over, they vvould at the very first carry the Town, there being no body there but the Inhabitants only to defend it; vvhereupon he presently made choice of Monsieur *de Saintlorens* vvith fourscore or a hundred Light-horse he had besides his Foot Company, vvhom I entreated to make all the haste he possibly could, and never to rest day nor night, till he had put himself into the place. I made account that from the place vvhere the Enemy lay he vvould go in eight hours to *Cabors*, and (as God vvhen he pleases vvill prevent the evil from coming to pass) we had nevvs brought, and did believe it, that the Enemy vv as design'd

design'd for *Moissac*, and had no thought of *Cahors* at all. Monsieur de *Saintorens* made very great haste without either stop or stay, unless to eat a little bread, and drink a little wine, he had caus'd to be carried along with him for the Soldiers by the way; and also it stood him upon to lose no time. He was to go very near to their Camp, and as he marcht by night, the Enemy at the same time did the same, so that in the morning by sun-rise, just as he was got over the River, the Enemy came to the water side, so little had he the start of them, and so narrowly they mist of him. At his coming to the Town he found all the people in so great a terror and confusion, that they were forsaking the Town to fly to the mountains for safety; but at his coming they took courage; and immediately without entring into any house, Monsieur de *Saintorens* went out to skirmish, and put himself upon the passage of the River to defend it, for he had very good men, and it was also the first Company that had been rais'd. All day the Enemy was hovering about the River, making a shew as if they intended to pass it, and I believe staid for the rest of the Army, who were marching after them; but made no attempt to pass. At last the night drawing on, Monsieur de *Saintorens* fortified himself with Barrels, logs, and stones, and such materials as he could find; wherein the whole City were employed at work, and plied it so well, that in the morning the Enemy saw there would be no good to be done; so that the remainder of their Army coming up to them, they all quarter'd themselves in the Villages nearest to the River, and there some dayes remain'd without making any further attempt. In the mean time we went to *Moissac*, to which place Monsieur de *Burie* had caused two great Culverins, and two Field-pieces to be brought from *Bordeaux*, and where we left the three pieces of Canon, and marcht toward *Cassade*, *Mirabel*, and *Realville*; to which places their Camp was retir'd. A little before this the King had sent to Monsieur de *Malicorne*, to give us an account how affairs stood in *France*, and also to bring him word in what posture they were with us. In two or three dayes we came to *Mirabel*, during which I could not make it sink into Monsieur de *Burie*'s head, that we were to make haste to snap the Enemy, there being some who continually laid difficulty upon difficulty before him.

The Sieur de
Malicorne sent
by the King.

All of us vvho were there, and vvho are yet living, must needs confesse that vve were all troubled at him, and at this cold proceeding of his, because he had ever had the reputation of a fighting man, and was reputed a great Captain, of which he had also upon several occasions given sufficient proof: where as we found him so heavy, and so slow, that it appeared to every one as if he avoided fighting only to give the Enemy opportunity to escape out of our hands, insomuch that he stood highly suspected to many, both by reason of this supineness and remiss way of proceeding, and also for that almost all his Servants, especially a Secretary of his, whom he extremely lov'd, were Hugonots. A Servant of his a Basque, whose name was *Hatsé*, told us, that would Monsieur de *Burie* have given ear to him he should have chang'd his Servants, knowing very well that they rendred him suspected, especially to the *Spaniards*; and in truth it was intollerable, by reason of the jealousy we all had, that the Enemy had perpetual intelligence of our designs; for I never knew any of that party, how moderate soever they might seem to be, that did not heartily desire the King's ruine. As for my own part I do really believe that never any ill entred into his heart, and that which made him deferre things so, was only the continual buzzing him in the ear, that I would make him lose himself.

So soon as we came to *Pecornet*, which belongs to Monsieur de *Thoneins*, Monsieur de *Burie* would take up his Quarters there, and I with my own Company, and a good Troop of Gentlemen marcht on straight to *Mirabel*, sending my Son upon the Forlorn Hope before; who coming to *Mirabel*, found the Enemy newly risen from their Quarters, and marching away towards *Cassade*, where he fell upon the Rear, and defeated a Troop, the rest putting themselves into two or three houses, vvich being near unto *Cassade*, where their vvhole Army was, and he having no Foot vvith him, he was constrain'd to let them alone, and to retire to *Mirabel*, where I staid to expect him. Now I had sent to Monsieur de *Burie* to entreat him to come and quarter at *Mirabel*, it being no more than a league only from *Pecornet*; to which he sent me answer back, that the greatest part of the Army was already settled in their Quarters; vvhereupon I went my self in all haste, vvhere at my coming I found that he had already taken up his lodging in a Grange belonging to Monsieur de *Thoneins*: but vvith the help of Messieurs de *Malicorne*, d'*Argence*, and other Captains of Gens d'arms, I prevailed so far upon him, that vve perswaded him to march. I never (as I have already said) vvhat reports soever were made of him, suspected him in the least, but ever attributed his slow and wary proceeding only to his fear of misadventure, being unwilling to hazard any thing, as knowing very well, that should he lose a Battail, the Country would be totally lost, and on the other

side, he saw also that the Enemy was going into *France*: but I alwaies said it would be a good service to the King to defeat them before they should joyn with their Confederates there, and that a hundred Rebels and Traitors would never dare to stand ten honest men. He would often complain of me to Monsieur *de Courré* his Nephew, saying that one time or another I would make him to lose all, and consequently the Province of *Guienne* would be left to the King; so that as to my own particular I durst answer for him, that it was this apprehension only that restrain'd him; for he was neither corrupted nor disloyal to his Master, and neither wanted courage, nor conduct; but he would hazard nothing, which was a great fault in him.

Consultation
about the Bat-
tail.

Twice that night we sent out Parties to discover the Enemy at *Caussade*, which was no more than half a league distant from us, and the second time it was by Monsieur *de Verdun* my Ensign, who fell upon one of their Courts of Guard. Now I would fain have beat up their Quarters in the night: for all their Army lay without the Town, and far enough from one another: but it was impossible ever to perswade Monsieur *de Burie* to it. The next morning I went with the King of *Navarres* Company, that of Monsieur *de Termes*, and my own, to discover, taking Monsieur *de Malicorne* along with me, and found that there was some Harquebuzers in the Town, vvhho shot at us. Now Monsieur *de Duras* and Captain *Bordet* were gone to *Montauban*, it being but two Leagues thither, and had left there all the good Horse, that Captain *Bordet* had brought, behind them; Monsieur *de Duras* and he having taken only ten or twelve along vvith them, and had lain all night at *Montauban*; by reason of whose absence they never offer'd to appear, and were in very great fear, lest all our Army should come down, it being from *Mirabel* to *Realville*, no more than a quarter of a league. We dallied there above two hours before the Town, not knowing that these people were within it: 'tis true the Country people told us, that Monsieur *de Duras* was gone the day before to *Montauban*, but they did not know vvwhether or no he might not be return'd. At night we return'd to Monsieur *de Burie*, and entred into Councel, to which were called all the Captains of *Gens d'arms*, and Don *Lewis de Carbajac* also, vvhere vve fell to debate, vvwhether the Walls being of no strength, vve should not go vvith the two great Culverins, and assault them in *Caussade*. To which proposition some said I, and others no; but in the end the Negative voices carried it, which so soon as I perceiv'd, I made a motion, that after dinner vve should descend into the Plain, and there draw up in Battalia, by which I said we should produce two effects; the first, that we should by that means discover the strength of the Enemy, and discern by their countenance vvwhether they were in fear, or no; and secondly we should order our men as if they were to fight, and separate our Harquebuzers from the *Gens d'arms*, so that every one might know his own place when we came to fight, which we could not do where we were quartered; by reason that there was no even ground. This in the end was concluded of, and agreed, that so soon as we had eaten a little we should mount to horse. All the Gentry, which was a sprightly and brave Troop, retir'd with me, and we soon dispatcht our dinner; after which I sent away a Gentleman to Monsieur *de Burie* to give him notice that I began to march to take my place in the field; when presently there came Monsieur *de Malicorne*, who had been present at the first deliberation to tell me, that Monsieur *de Burie* was resolved not to come down into the Plain, nor to suffer the Army to do it, and told me moreover, that those whom I thought to have been the most forward to have stood to the former resolution, were the first who retreated, and were now of a quite contrary opinion; which is an abominable thing, that men should out of respect to authority go contrary to their own sense. I entreated him that he would go back again, and remonstrate to Monsieur *de Burie* the great error he committed in not ordering our men as they ought to fight, and that I would engage my honor to him we vvould not fight, but only observe the countenance of the Enemy, and play upon him vvith our Artillerie in case they should present themselves on the other side of the River: but I had something else in my thoughts, and had I seen a fit opportunity, vvould have come so near that it should not have been possible to have retir'd vvithout fighting. Howver the said Sieur *de Malicorne* absolutely refused to go, saying that he had already said all he could to perswade him, and vvould meddle nor make no more in the business, and I perceiv'd vvwas very angry, though he forbore to say all that he thought. I therefore sent Monsieur *de Madaillan*, but Monsieur *de Malicorne* staid vvith me, and vvould no more return. We then march'd and pass'd before his Lodging, all of us hoping that vvhen he saw us upon our march, his humour vvould come about, and that he vvould come, and so soon as vve were come into the bottom were avvare of the Companies of the King of *Navarre*, and the Mareschal *de Termes*, commanded by Captain *Arne*, and Captain *Masse*, vvho told me that Monsieur *de Burie* had sent to protest against them

them if they came down to me, but they had return'd him answer that before dinner they had concluded to descend into the Plain, and that for their parts they would stand to the first resolution, that I was there already, and that should the Enemy come out to fight me, they would share in the sport. He protested also against the other Captains (I have heard since, that Don Lewis was one of those who alter'd his opinion) and particularly against Captain Charry the Camp-master, who thereupon left him the Companies, and came himself alone to find me out, and to run the same fortune with me. In short we were all in division, which is an unruly Beast when it once gets into an Army; and therefore you, who have the command of Armies as much as you can oppose its entrance, for if it once get a foot within the door, it is very hard to thrust him out again.

The Enemy departed from *Caussade*, taking their way directly to *Realville*, to escape towards *Montauban*, when so soon as they came into their side of the Plain, they were aware of me, and made a halt: after which they began to put themselves into Battalia, and were above a long hour in doing it, by which I very well perceiv'd they were but raw Soldiers, and that their orders were either not well given, or not well obeyed. They durst not venture a step further upon their march, fearing lest I should charge them in the Rear, and so we stood facing one another above four long hours with a little River betwixt us. I would not suffer some Harquebuzers on horseback that I had to make any attack upon them, to the end that Monsieur de Burie might see that I had no mind to fight unless he himself was there, hoping that his knowing us to be so near would bring him out into the field, but all signified nothing, and so we were constrain'd to retire from thence. As we were retreating towards *Mirabel* some of their Cavalry that was in *Realville*, and that before had not dar'd to shew their heads pass'd the River (which were Captain Bords men) they had all white Cassocks, which were the first that I had ever seen, but so soon as they saw us face about upon them, they turn'd back again to repass the River, and in our fight cross the water above *Realville*, taking the way to *Montauban*. I then retir'd to my Quarters as angry as ever I was in all my life, that we had lost so fair an opportunity of fighting the Enemy, and what promise soever I had made to the contrary, had the gross of our Army come down to us, we would have had a brush with them, and I would (as I have already said) have approacht them so near, that it should not have been possible for either side to have retir'd without fighting.

In the Evening Monsieur de Burie sent to me to know if I would come to the Council, which after many entreaties, with much ado I did, but they had much ado to persuade me to it. Where being come, I remonstrated to him what a piece of cowardize we had committed, who thereupon told me, that it had not stuck at him, we had not fought; but he did not go without an answer. Messieurs de Malicorne and d'Argence are both of them yet living, who I believe can better remember what I said than I; for I was scarcely my self, I was so transported with passion. To be short, in this huffe I left him and his Council, upon which occasion he shewed himself to be wiser than I, and more patient to bear with my imperfections, and I do believe in his conscience knew himself to be in fault. At night Captain Masses, Arne, and I, with my Company, and the Gentlemen went out thinking to find the Enemy on this side the River *Labeyron*; not imagining the passage being very dangerous and bad, that they would offer to venture over in the night; but so soon as ever they came to the water side they hurried over in great disorder, and went to gain a Wood near unto *Montauban* call'd *le Ramier*. Captain Masses and Captain Arne met with some who staid behind in the Farms on this side the River, as being afraid to venture over, having seen some of their men drown'd in the passage, and those they took an order withall for drowning, and so we return'd back without being able to do any thing more; having resolv'd to have fought could we have met with them, though it had cost us all our lives, and I do believe that the rage wherein we were, would have redoubled our Forces to have fought them to some purpose; if but in spite to have left the shame and reproach at their doors, whose gums were so tender they would not bite. The Farmers assur'd us that they would neither stop nor stay till they came to *Montauban*, which was the reason we did not pass the River, and they moreover affirm'd, that had a hundred horse only come in, when they began to foard the River, they had defeated them all, or they would have drown'd themselves, they were in so great a fright, and that a great many of them were drown'd upon a false alarme, Horse and Foot throwing themselves desperately into the River to escape away. And this was the fine piece of cowardize we committed, which never went off my heart till after the Battail of *Ver*, that we fought a little while after. Me thought the very stones lookt upon us, and that the Peasants pointed at us; for we had here a much better opportunity to have done their business, than we had afterwards at *Ver*.

The strange
fear the Hugonots
were in.

I was in so great a rage, that I was very near going away from Monsieur de Burie in the morning, and had it not been for the Captains and Gentlemen, who were with us, and dissuaded me from that resolution, I had done it, being very sure that the greatest part of the Army would have gone along with me : but he that of all others most prevail'd upon me to stay was Monsieur de Malicorne, who remonstrated to me, that the King would take it highly ill at my hands, that all things would go amiss, and that afterwards all the blame would be laid upon me, which would be sufficient to pull down upon me the Queens hatred and indignation, and ruine me for ever. As for my own part I had a minde to have pursued the Warre after my own way, wherein I fancied at least I should succeed much better, the business of Targon evermore running in my mind, where I had defeated them with so few men ; and I had also an opinion that the Sieurs d'Argence and de Carlus would go along with me, although they came with him. Nevertheless I suffer'd my self to be govern'd by the said Sieur de Malicorne, and the rest who reconcil'd me to him ; for my anger though it be suddain and violent, is none of the worst sort, and besides he was the Kings Lieutenant. He was pleased upon our reconciliation to assure me, that upon the first occasion that should present it self he would lay aside all fear of losing the Province, and resolutely fight them ; and that which made him bear with my rough humour was, that he knew all my heat proceeded from the zeal I had to his Majesties service, which made me talk after that disrespectful manner, neither had any thing else restrain'd him but only the fear of disaster, being certain that the King would lay all the fault to him with whom he had entrusted the Government and care of the Province.

A fault in a
Lieutenant of
a Province.

Oh 'tis an ill thing when a Lieutenant of a Province is always in fear of losing ; in the name of God be as cautious as you will when you are to keep a place, raise fortifications as high as Heaven if you can, watch, ward, and still be jealous of surprizes : but to have sufficient Forces, and evermore to be in fear of losing, this favours of I know not what, and believe me (Lord Lieutenants) 'tis an ill Omen. For my part I was of a quite contrary humour ; for I evermore saw that if the affairs of Guienne went well, those of France would succeed the better, and if we defeated the Forces on this side, we might afterwards go over into Languedoc, and by that means frustrate the Prince of Condé from having either men or money out of those two Provinces.

A few dayes after Monsieur de Malicorne return'd back to Court, and I believe acquainted the King with what he had seen, which I presume was the reason of his Majesties sending Monsieur de Montpensier into these parts, having heard that there was no very good intelligence betwixt Monsieur de Burie and me. A thing very prejudicial to the service of those we serve, and I should never advise that the supreme power be divided betwixt two, for an indifferent Captain will do better alone, than two good ones in joint Commission. It is true that I took more authority upon me than the King invested me withall ; and perhaps it was necessary so to do ; there are now that can witness it. Would to God the King had taken the same course in this last War, he did here in sending Monsieur de Montpensier, which if he had, there would perhaps have been a better account given of his service in this Country ; neither was I single in this opinion, for I was very well accompanied, and with men of the best understandings. And I would alwaies advise his Majestie, that when ever he shall hear of any division in an Army, evermore to send away a Prince of the blood to command in chief, and the sooner the better, before the division have got any great footing to endanger his affairs : for after it is once establish'd, and that the disorder is once hapned, it is never to be remedied but with great difficulty and dammage ; or by separating those who disagree, which also is not to be done without great inconvenience, considering that both the one and the other must needs have many friends and servants depending upon them.

The Siege of
Montauban.

A little while after Monsieur de Burie propos'd an Enterprize, which was to goe and lay Siege to Montauban on that side towards Tholouze, and that in order thereunto we should return back to Moissac, and there pass over the River ; and to this end he caused another Canon and another Culverin to be brought from Bourdeaux, and took the way directly to Moissac. I was resolv'd to let him alone without contradicting him in the least (having made a vow not to speak a word) to see what he would do, though I was certain beforehand that his Enterprize would vanish in smoke and come to nothing ; for seeing we had not dar'd to fight them in the field, what hopes could we have of doing any good upon them in a Town, and such a one as that was ? Nevertheless I followed as others did, and we came to the Bourg, where we staid seven or eight daies, having spent some Canon shot against the Tower of the Bridge where there was a Church the Enemy had fortified. In short I know not at which end to begin to give a Narration of this brave Enterprize,

prize, neither can I make of it either good Pottage, or good Broth, and therefore I conceive it better without saying any more to let it alone, and only to tell you, that after these seven or eight days, it was resolved that we should retire to *Montech*.

At our coming to *Moissac*, I had there intelligence, that those of *Lecloure* had taken the Field, making prodigious havock, and committing infinite insolences upon the Gentlemen and their Estates, in all places where they could get in, and that they expected Forces out of *Bearne*, that Captain *Mesmes* was bringing into them, being five hundred men. Their design was to make a flying Army, which was the reason that I sent back Captain *Montluc* with part of my Company; upon which occasion the Count de *Candalle*, the Sieurs de *Cançon*, de *Montferran*, *Guitinieres*, and some other Gentlemen would needs bear him company; Captain *Parron* also went along, taking with him the Company of the Baron de *Pourdeac* commanded by Captain *la Rocque d'Orman*, for the Baron himself had some dayes before this been wounded in a skirmish Captain *Montluc* had made before *Lecloure*. So soon as they came to *Florence* they understood that the *Begolles*, Nephews to Monsieur d'*Aussun*, were the Heads of those who were gone out of *Lecloure*, and that they had taken their way directly to *Sampoy* to go meet the said de *Mesmes*, who was to be that morning at *Aiguetint*. Monsieur de *Baretnau*, who was raising a Foot Company hapning to be there, went to put himself betwixt *Terranbe* and *Lecloure*, because they there intended to fight them: but the Enemy having intelligence of his departure from *Florence*, thought to return back to *Lecloure*, and also because they had notice that Captain *Mesmes* could not that day come to *Aiguetint*, when having passed *Terranbe* to return to *Lecloure*; they saw they must of necessity fight Captain *Montluc* by the way, who had intercepted their retreat, which rather than do they would return to *Terranbe*; though they could not do that neither, but so as there was some skirmishing at the entering into the Town, and had they had but five hundred paces further to go, Captain *Montluc* had defeated them before they could have got in. He then dispatcht away to *Auch*, *Florence*, *la Sauvetat*, *la Sampoy*, and as far as *Condom* for succours to come in to besiege them, which every one did, so that there came in to him above two thousand men. He dispatcht away a Courier to me also in all haste, giving me to understand, that if I would come thither with the Artillery, we might take *Lecloure*, for that all the good men that belong'd to it he kept shut up in *Terranbe* to the number of four hundred men, together with the two *Begolles*, Nephews to Monsieur d'*Aussun*, who were also coop't up with the rest. I shewed the Letter to Monsieur de *Burie*, and we had some dispute upon it, he being unwilling to suffer me to take any of the Foot Companies, but in the end he granted me the Baron of *Elermont* my Nephew, to whom I had given a Company of recruit, and Monsieur d'*Ortobie*, and de *Fredeville* immediately yoked three pieces of Canon, and went before to *Moissac* to prepare the Boats, so that when the Canon came they found the Boats all ready, and all night long we did nothing but pass the River. I then sent a Quarter-Master from Village to Village to get Oxen ready to relieve the others, which having done, I gallop'd away before, and found that Captain *Montluc* had besieg'd the Town, and that the four hundred men which were in *Terranbe* had surrendred to him upon Quarter for life.

Captain *Mesmes* advanc't as far as the River *Baise* within a League of the said *Terranbe*, when hearing the others were besieg'd, he went back the same way he came, and retir'd himself into a little Village called *Roquibrune* near unto *Viezezenjac*. My Nephew Monsieur de *Gohas*, who had been Lieutenant to Monsieur de la *Moth-Gondrin* in *Piedmont*, and had married his Daughter, hearing of his motion, had taken the Field with some Gentlemen his Neighbours, and some Country-fellows, whom he had call'd together by the ringing of a Bell, and putting himself in his Rear had constrain'd him to take into *Roquebrune* for his safety: where the Peasants impatient of lying all night to besiege him, almost all of them stole away, so that Captain *Mesmes* went away in the morning towards *Bearn*, from whence he was come, to tell his friends there the news of the fine frights he had been in.

Now Monsieur d'*Ortobie* made so good haste, that the next morning two hours before day he was got over the River, and come before *Lecloure*. At break of day, he, Monsieur de *Fredeville*, Monsieur de la *Moth-Rouge*, and I went to view where we should plant the Artillery, and concluded to plant it on a little Hill on that side by the River, where there was a Windmill, to batter the Town on that side by the Fountain. And here we battered it all day long, and to so good effect, that a Breach was made betwixt seven and eight paces wide. They had entrencht themselves within, and had Bastion'd the ends of the Streets with the way that went all along by the Wall, and pierced two or three houses that lookt into the Breach. In the interim that the Canon was battering I was busie causing

Lecloure besieged.

causing Ladders to be made wherewith to assault the Bulwark that flankt the Breach, to hinder those that mann'd that Bulwark from shooting into the Breach : but being they had environ'd the Bulwark with Pipes and Gabions fill'd with earth, and that also the Breach was not yet reasonable, I would not this night do that which I did the night after.

The next morning I caused the Artillery to play upon these Pipes and Gabions, and to widen the Breach, and lay it lower, and the night following we put our selves into *Camisado*, where I ordered that Captain *Montluc* should assault the Breach with the two Companies of the Baron de *Clermont*, that of the Baron de *Pourdeac*, and such Gentlemen as would go along with him, of which the Count de *Candalle* was one, a young Lord full of noble courage, who also has since lost his life in a Breach in *Languedoc*, as I have been told ; and as for me I was by the Ladders to storm the Bulwark, with the *Sieur de Batternan's* Company, and another with my own Company of Gens d'arms, whom I had dismounted for that purpose. This order being concluded I caused them to take up the Ladders, putting Captain *Montluc* and his men before, and marching my self in their Rear, to see what would be the issue of their assault, and after me came the Ladders, and my fellows. They carried the Breach with very great boldness and bravery, entred thorough it, and began to dispute the Rampires they had cast up in the streets, and were already almost Masters of one.

A mine sprung
at *Leffoure*.

Now the Enemy the night before had made a Ditch betwixt the Breach and the Rampires, and had put a very great train of powder into it, to which they were to give fire from within a House in the Town. We set up our Ladders, and two Ensigns mounted up to the very top of the Bastion : I was making the Soldiers still to mount, and to rear the rest of the Ladders, when just as our people of the Breach were as good as Masters of the Rampires, some of those who came after, clapping a foot into the ditch of the Train, which was cover'd over with Bavins, began to cry out *we are in the Train*, and took such a fright, that they overturn'd one another upon the Breach. Upon this accident, the foremost who were disputing the Rampires, had no other remedy but to retire, and there Captain *la Rocque* was hurt, Lieutenant and Kinsman to the Baron de *Pourdeac*, who died the next day, one of the bravest Gentlemen that these fifty years has come out of *Gascony*. Others also were slain there, and some of those were hurt who storm'd by the Ladders ; when seeing those of the Breach retir'd, I also drew off mine, very glad to have escap'd so good cheap ; for had they sprung the Mine in time, they had made a terrible *Fricassee*.

The *Sieur*
d'Ortobie mor-
tally wounded.

The next day Monsieur *d'Ortobie*, the Governor of *la Motte-Rouge*, and I went to view the other side of the Town towards the little Bulwark ; but could find no place where we could conveniently plant any more than two pieces of Canon, for this Town (for a Town of War is one of the best situated in all *Guienne*, and very strong) and there also was the little Bulwark that flankt the place where we had a mind to batter, which put us to such a stand, that we could not resolve what to do ; so that about noon Monsieur *d'Ortobie* return'd to batter again by the Breach at some Flankers there were there, because the next morning I was resolv'd to give an assault in open day, where as he himself was levelling a piece of Canon, he was wounded in the thigh by a Faulconet shot from the great Bulwark ; which went very near to my heart, for he was a valiant Captain and an admirable Engineer. He died two dayes after. 'Tis of all others of our Trade a Command of the most danger ; nevertheless in all Sieges where I have been, I was ever by the Canon, and fancied that all things did not go right, if I was not there. This Gentleman very well understood his business, which is very rare, and (as I have said) exceeding dangerous, and few escape of those who expose themselves too much. In the mean time the Enemy parlied, where it was agreed, that they should give me three of those within in Hostage, and that I should send them in other three, which they desir'd might be Messieurs de *Berduzan*, de *la Chappelle*, and another, who being accordingly advanc'd near to the Gate, and that we expected the others should come out, thirty or forty Harquebuz shot was fir'd upon them all at a clap, by which they narrowly escap'd being slain, and one of my Trumpets was wounded ; whereupon I caus'd them to call out to *Brimond*, that this was not the faith of a man of honor, but of a Rascal ; he excus'd himself, saying it was a Rogue who had begun it, and that I should soon see him made an example.

Treachery of
the besieged.

But the treacherous Rogues instead of executing justice upon the offenders, hang'd a poor Catholick at the Battlements, who could be in no fault at all. Now they were evermore asking to see me, saying they could not believe I was there, whereupon I was advis'd by some to shew my self ; but they could never perswade me to it, and it was well

For

for me. *Old Birds are not caught with Chaff* : suspect every thing from an Enemy, without discovering nevertheless openly your mistrust. After the hang'd man was dead, they cut the rope, and let the body tumble into the Graff; after which it was again concluded, that the same Deputies should go in, and their Hostages come out, for we believ'd, that he who had been hang'd was the man that had committed the treachery, and now every body went confidently into the street near unto St. *Claire*, and in a Crowd to see what the Deputies did, and when the others would come out. The Enemy had levell'd and prim'd three or four pieces of Ordinance they had, and some Muskets exactly upon the Company, thinking that I was there; so that when our Deputies were again advanc'd almost to the Wall, they began to fire their pieces directly at the Crowd, and there kill'd a Gentleman who liv'd hard by *Agen* call'd Monsieur de *Castels*, and hurt three or four others.

I saw all this from behind a little Wall, and wondred that our Deputies were not kill'd, for they fired at them above threescore Harquebuz shot, but they got off, running as fast as they could drive; when seeing this treachery the second time practis'd upon us, I sent to tell them from behind the Wall, *that since they had made so little account of their faith, and promises, I would make as little of mine*, and accordingly sent Monsieur de *Berduzan* my Ensign, who was one of the Deputies, with my own Company of Gens-d'armes, and another of Foot to *Terraube*, to kill and dispatch all those that were there, giving him with him the Hangman to truss up the Chief, which he perform'd with a very good will (as he had reason, considering the foul play those of *Lectoure* had twice practis'd upon him) and after they were dead threw all the bodies into a Well of the Town, which was very deep, and yet so well fill'd, that a man might reach the bodies from the top with his hand, which was a very good riddance of a pack of very great Rogues. They brought me the two *Begolles*, and two others of good Families of *Lectoure*, whom I caused to be hang'd upon a Walnut-tree by the Town in the sight of the Enemy, and had it not been for the honor I bore to the Memory of Monsieur d'*Aussun*, the *Begolles* his Nephews had fared no better than the rest: they were within two fingers breadth of it, for I had once given the word to dispatch them; but afterwards, I know not how, alter'd my resolution. Their hour it seems was not come, and as for the other two, had it not been to give those of *Lectoure* the pleasure of the spectacle, they had not been put to the pains of coming so far for their hanging, but had been lodg'd in the Well with therest. Their treachery required.

The night following I began to remove my Artillery to the other side, where Monsieur d'*Ortobie*, the Governor of *la Mothe-Rouge* and I had discover'd, by which removal, which the Enemy was presently aware of, they perceived where I intended to begin a new Battery, and thereupon began to doubt they had not men enow to withstand an assault at two Breaches at once; which made them desire to speak with Captain *Montluc*, who accordingly had some conference with *Brimond*, who told him, that he would capitulate, provided he would beforehand give him his faith to let them march out with their Arms, and quarter for life. In the mean time the day appear'd, when at the importunity of the Captains I granted their conditions, for I saw very well I was not yet at the end of my task. The besieg'd partly, and Surrender.

When I parted from Monsieur de *Burie* I carried Monsieur de *Saintorens* along with me, and Captain *Gimond*; but when I came to *Moissac*, I was there advertis'd by Monsieur de *Burie*, that the Enemies Camp was upon their March from *Montauban*, and taking the way towards *Cahors*, which made me send back Monsieur de *Saintorens* and Captain *Gimond*, to put themselves into *Cahors*, where if Monsieur de *Saintorens* had with great difficulty entred before, he found it much harder to do it now, which was the second time, that by great and extream diligence he saved the Town. The said Sieur de *Burie* sent me word also, that in case I saw I could not carry *Lectoure* in two days time, I should let it alone, and come joyn with him, for that without me he was the weaker party, having since I parted from him left four hundred Spaniards of the three Spanish Companies, who had mutinied, and were departed towards their own Country. The Spaniards mutiny.

I therefore sent a Gentleman after these Spaniards, who being able to prevail nothing upon them, I was fain to send again Monsieur de *Durfort de Bajaumont* with letters and entreaties to reduce them to reason, which letters so stagger'd them in their ill taken resolution, that they call'd a Council to deliberate what they were best to do. In my letters I told them, that I would not give the assault unless they were there, which so tickled their vain humour, and was taken so kindly by them, that they all resolv'd to turn back to me; so that just as I had sign'd the Capitulation, they arriv'd at *Florence* a league from *Lectoure*, which was upon a Friday. Into *Lectoure* I put the Baron de *Pourdeac* with his Company, for he was now come up to us with his foot bound up; and upon Saturday morning

They are ap-
peas'd.

morning I made all the Hugonots march out of Town, that every one might go whither he pleased; some whereof list'd themselves into our Companies. They had never heard any thing of the death of their fellows at *Terraube*, till I had taken possession of the Town, and then expected to scape no better than the rest: but I kept my word with them. I then immediately sent away the Baron of *Clermont* with the five Ensigns I had, bidding him go and pass the River *Garonne* at *Leyrac*, and went my self to talk with the *Spaniards* in a great Meadow, where I promised to reconcile them to their Captains, remonstrating to them so many things, that in the end they resolved to follow me; whom I left under the command of Monsieur de *Durfort*, and they marcht away with the five Companies to pass the River at *Leyrac*. The remainder of the day I spent in resettling the Clergy in the Bishoprick, and the Monasteries, and those of the Long-Robe in their Courts and Tribunals, leaving with the Baron de *Pourdeac* such orders as he was to observe for the Government of the Town. Which being done, on Sunday morning I went to dine at *Stillac* a house of mine own, and to lie at *Agen*, vvhether I was told that Monsieur de *Duras* had taken the Castle of *Marques* belonging to the Bishop of *Cahors*, and the Bishop himself in it, vvhom he had carried away prisoner; vvhen having heard that Monsieur de *Saintorens* had put himself into *Cahors*, they marcht avway directly to *Sar-lac*. I was told also that Monsieur de *Burie* followed after them, and moreover heard news of Monsieur de *Montpensier*, vvho was come to *Bergerac*, having vvith him the Seigneurs de *Candalle*, de la *Vauguyon*, d'*Estissac*, de *Lauzun*, and de *Chavigny*.

All Sunday and Sunday night our people were continually ferrying over at *Leyrac*, for there was but two Boats, so that they could not get over till near ten of the clock on Monday morning, by which means I could that night march no further than *Villeneuve*; and there the Count de *Candalle* fell sick upon our hands, so that we were constrain'd to send him home to his own House, and Captain *Montluc* also, who had already had two fits of an Ague. Upon Tuesday the Baron of *Clermont* sent me word, that upon Monday he could march no more but two leagues, being hindred by the passage of the River, and that he was making all the haste he possibly could to *Belvé*, to which place I had appointed him to come: wherefore to give him some advantage, I marcht but three leagues on Tuesday morning, which was to *Montaignac*, near unto *Monflanquin*. Upon Wednesday two hours before day I was on horseback, and went to bait at *Belvé*, where the foot Companies began to arrive, and where I made them stay two hours, whilst I went before to *Ciurac* upon the *Dordogne*. There I was advertiz'd that Monsieur de *Burie* was at the *Mirandes* (which belongs to Monsieur de *Caumont*) with the Army, and that Monsieur de *Montpensier* was at *Bergerac*. Immediately upon my Quarters being made, a Gentleman of *Ciurac* of the new Religion lent me two of his Servants, one to send to *Bergerac* to Monsieur de *Montpensier* to give him notice of my arrival, and of the taking of *Lectoure*; of which till then he had heard nothing, and withall to tell him, that if he pleased to advance a little towards us, we might find means the next day to joyn, and to fight with Monsieur de *Duras*, who was encamped upon a little River called la *Vezere*, near unto *Fages*. I writ to Monsieur de *Burie* to the same effect, that he might by break of day pass the *Dordogne*, as I had already done: at which Monsieur de *Burie* was strangely astonisht that I could be so soon there, considering that but two days before he had receiv'd intelligence from *Aginois*, that I was yet before *Lectoure*, and in danger not to carry the place.

I had scarce made an end of my dispatches, when the Baron de *Clermont* arrived with the five Ensigns, and the *Spanish* Foot, whom I made to pass the River in two great Boats, and go to lye at Saint *Subran* near unto *Fages*, to which place they came not till two hours within night, and there found already quarter'd the Companies of Messieurs de *Burie*, de *Randan*, and de la *Vauguyon*; so that had it not been for Mademoiselle de *Fages*, Mother to Madam de *Lionx* my Sister-in-law, they had not that night got one bit of any thing to eat; but she shewed her self to be the Wife of a brave Captain, which was the late Monsieur de *Fages*; for she not only gave them all the bread she had in the house, and seven or eight punctions of wine, but moreover did nothing else but make her people bake bread all night long, giving them all her Bacon, and other Provisions, without sleeping a wink of all night, and was never at rest till they had all eaten enough.

In the Morning, which was Thursday, I foarded the River *Dordogne* (for the River was foardable here, and there in some certain places my Guides led me to) having with me in all not above fourty or fifty Light-horse, and upon my departure from *Ciurac* I receiv'd an answer from Monsieur de *Burie*, who sent me word that he was exceeding glad of my coming, and that I had taken *Lectoure*: but that nevertheless he was not of opinion to pass the River *Dordogne* by reason the Enemy was stronger than we, and that therefore

therefore it was our best way to try to joyn with Monsieur de Montpensier, after which the said Sieur would himself determine whether we should fight or no. This answer put me into a suddain fury, fearing we should do here as we had done before at *Mirabel*, and was advised by the Gentlemen who were with me to send to protest against him if he did not pass the River, and that I was myself gone with a resolution to fight : which notwithstanding I did not think fit to do : but by *Seignan* one of my men at Arms, sent however to protest against Messieurs d'Arne, du Masses, and de Charry our Camp-master, who thereupon immediately went to Monsieur de Burie, and plainly told him, that as for their parts they were resolved to pass the River, and that they would not have it laid in their dish before Monsieur de Montpensier, whom we already lookt upon as our General, and immediately caused their Trumpets to sound to horse, whilst Captain Charry drew out his Ensigns of Foot into the field. And then it was, that seeing no other remedy, he prepar'd himself to go. Captain Charry according to his custom put himself before with his Foot, and coming to the water side, suddenly made a Bridge of Carts, and passed over in all haste.

Dispute be-
twixt Messieurs
de Burie and
de Montluc.

I staid not at *St. Sabran* under *Fages*, but only spoke with Messieurs d'Argence, and du Courre, entreating them to mount to horse, and telling them that I had writ to Monsieur de Burie to come, and that at noon we were to fight. They promised me they would mount to horse, but that wihal they must of necessity send away a Messenger post to Monsieur de Burie to acquaint him with it. I then spoke to the Baron de Clermont immediately to make his Soldiers eat something, and Monsieur de Durfort to do the same by the Spaniards, and presently to come away after me to the Ferry of *Vezere*, when as I was talking with them, came *Seignan* (for he had gone away at midnight to go speak to Monsieur de Burie) who brought me word that he had left Monsieur d'Arne, and Captain Masses ready to set out, and that Captain Charry was already passing the River. I then went before. Now from *Fages* to the Ferry at *Vezere*, it is no more than a good league, so that I was presently there, where I met with several Country people coming back from the Enemies Camp, who had been to look after some Asses they had taken from them, who told me, that the Enemy were dislodging from two or three Villages where they had lain that night, and that we were not above a league from thence. I passed the River, and at night sent out Monsieur de Fontenilles with two or three horse to scout. Messieurs d'Argence and de Courre had also sent out the Quartermaster of Monsieur de Randan, so that Monsieur de Fontenilles and he hapned to meet, where the Quartermaster assur'd him that he had seen the Camp dislodg, and upon their march, and (as God when it pleases him will sometimes assist some, and punish others) it was from the Quarters they rose from, but two little leagues only to *Ver*, and from *Ver* but two little leagues more to the passage of the River de l'Isle, where they had made account to pass over that day. But being they saw Monsieur de Montpensier was at *Bergerac* with very small Forces, and Monsieur de Burie at the *Mirandes*, they would make no great haste, forasmuch as they had two good Quarters between : *Ver* for the Foot and the Artillery, and *St. Andras* and two or three other little Villages for the Horse; for they knew nothing of me : but it had been better for them to have consulted their ease less, and their safety more.

Monsieur de Burie came having only two or three horse with him, and found me talking with the Quartermaster, who was telling me that the Enemy was going to pass the River de l'Isle, as he had been told by a prisoner he had taken, and some Peasants that came from their Camp; and that from thence they were going into *France* to joyn with the Prince of Condé. I then told Monsieur de Burie, that it was necessary he should make haste and fight them that day : to which he made answer, "that Monsieur de Montpensier would take it ill if we did not stay for him : but I replied again, that he was so far off, "it would hardly be possible for us to joyn that day, and that therefore we were not to "forbear to fight out of that consideration; for should we suffer them to pass the River, "and joyn with Monsieur de la Rochefaucant, who waited with his Forces in expectation "of them about *St. Jean d'Angely*, the King and Queen would never more look upon us as men of honor. I warrant you, said I, they are our own, my good genius tells me so. As we were in this dispute came Captain Charry, and I began to discover his men coming down a little Hill that shoots down on the other side towards *la Vezere*. I also saw the Cornets of the King of Navarre and Monsieur de Termes, and at the same time the three Cornets of Monsieur de Burie, de Randan, and de la Vauguyon, at which I very much rejoiced, telling Monsieur de Burie that we must instantly march, and fall into their Rear, and that at the passage of the River we would fight them. To which he made answer, that it should not stick at him; but that if Monsieur de Montpensier should be displeased, or that matters did not succeed well, he would lay the blame upon me. To which I replied in the presence

The Sieur de
Montluc's rea-
sons why they
ought to fight,

of a great many, Sir, Sir, let every one charge the fault upon me, and spare not, I will bear the blame of all, my shoulders are broad enough, but I do assure you I will be loaden with honor, and not with shame, or be left with my belly toasting against the Sun. Whereupon Monsieur de Burie making a sign with his hand, said, let us go then in the name of God. In the mean time the Baron de Clermont and the Spaniards were passing the Vezere, where the water was deep to the middle of the thigh only, and Captain Charry return'd to pass over his; when still as the Foot got over they drew up in Battailia in a Plain there was in that place. The Captains Arne and Masses then came to me full gallop to embrace me, and all the Gens d'arms after them; Messieurs d'Argence and du Courre, and de Carlus did the same, having already understood by the Quartermaster, that the Enemy was not far from us, and we all hoped, that within three or four hours we should fight. I have been in seven or eight Battails besides this, but never saw the Captains and Soldiers both Horse and Foot so chearful as at this time, which I lookt upon as a very good Omen. Now that I might stay to give all the Army time to pass over, and be drawn up in order to fight, I drew all my Horse along by the side of a Hedge, sending to a Farm hard by for a little hay wherewith to bait them, for every one had brought a few Oats along with him, and to say the truth, I never in my life saw Monsieur de Burie so pleasant as that day, which gave me sufficiently to understand, that all his delays had proceeded more from his apprehension of losing the Province, than from any defect in himself; and I dare answer for him, that neither treachery nor cowardize ever entred into his heart; for he was an old and a valiant Cavalier, and one that had ever given very brave testimonies of his worth and valour; but he was afraid of failing. I sent Monsieur de Fontenilles, and the foremention'd Quartermaster with thirty Horse to follow in the Rear of the Enemy: and my self, who might have some fifteen Curassiers of my own Company, and about thirty Gentlemen (betwixt forty and fifty Horse in all) marcht in the Rear of them, intreating Monsieur de Burie to follow after; and so we set forwards.

Good omen for
the Battel.

Commendati-
on of Monsieur
de Burie.

Monsieur de Fontenilles had not gone above half a league, before in some certain Farms upon the way he met with some straglers of the Enemies Camp whom he cut to pieces. They had three Corners of Horse in the Rear of their Army, who some of them sometimes fac'd about upon Monsieur de Fontenilles, and now and then the whole Body made a halt. I still follow'd after him, sending Monsieur de Burie continual notice of all that pass, and solliciting him withal to march as fast as he could, for that I was within sight of their Army; and so I marcht continually in the Enemies Rear, till about two of the clock in the afternoon, about which time there came to me Monsieur de St. Genies, the Father of Monsieur d'Andax, whom Monsieur de Burie had sent to me to enquire of my news, and to bring me an account of him; by which I found that he was still in the Plain of Vezere, where I had left the Army in Battalia, and he told me so many stories, that my joy was soon turn'd into vexation. I entreated the said Sieur de St. Genies, that he would return back to him, and entreat him to come away, which he refused to do, being resolved not to leave me; seeing which I took him aside, where we concluded together to speak to the Captains of Horse, and tell them plainly what we thought, which perhaps might incline them to come away, and then he return'd, and found them yet in the same place, but after he had spoken to the Captains, and as a secret told Monsieur de Burie what had been concluded betwixt him and me, he was then resolv'd to set forwards. And I must needs give Monsieur de St. Genies this due commendation, that he was the cause the Battel was fought.

The Sieur de
St. Genies
cause of the
Battel.

Thus then Monsieur de Burie marcht after me, with an intention to quarter all his Army at St. Alvare. About half a quarter of a league above the said St. Alvare, there were ten or twelve Houses that kept entertainment for passengers, and chiefly for the trading Merchants, it being a great Road from Perigueux to Bergerac. So soon as I came to these houses, I joyn'd my self with Monsieur de Fontenilles, who shewed me that the Enemies Camp was taking up their Quarters on the further side of a little River in certain little Villages that lay before us; wherefore we were of opinion to bait our horses, for we found there Hay and Oats, but no people, saving some few poor women, the Peasants being all fled avay upon the report of the Enemies approach; and so soon as our horses had baited (which they did with every man his bridle on his arm) there came a servant of Monsieur d'Alvare, who had been to wait upon two Nephews of the said Sieur, and the younger Bordet to their Camp, and told us that the Artillery and the Foot were quarter'd at Ver, which is a great Bourg, and Monsieur de Duras with the Cavalry at St. Andras within half a league of the place we were, shewing us the Villages. We saw that there were three Corners of Horse of them, and he told us that on this side, close by the River were quarter'd the Captains Salignac, Moncaut, and another whose name I have forgot, who might

might have with them twenty or five and twenty horse only; but that the Village where the three Cornets lay was within less than two Harquebuz shot of the said house, and that he had left the said *Salignac* preparing a Supper for young *Monferran*, since called *Langoirau*, *Lepuch de Pardaillan*, and five or six others, whom he had left hawking in a field hard by, having brought their Hawks along with them. You may judge whether this was a time to hawk in, or no, and whether this was to march like Soldiers, when they had an Enemy so near. I then askt the fellow if he would guide me thither, to which having made answer that he would, we immediately mounted to horse. I gave half the Troop to Monsieur de *Monferran* to fall upon the House, and with the rest went to put my self betwixt the House and the Village where the three Cornets lay: but I would not give Monsieur de *Fonteniller*, who was quarter'd at an odd House at the end of the Village, notice of my design, because I intended that the Company should remain all night on horseback, and so we went, and came up to the House so little expected, that they never dreamt of an Enemy within two leagues of them. Monsieur de *Monferran* flew suddenly into the Court of the House, and at his first coming took *Salignac* and *Moncaut*, and forcing a lower room into which some of them had retir'd themselves, kill'd all they found within it. Monsieur de *Cançon* was with me, and Monsieur de *St. Alvare's* Servant advis'd me to retire, telling me that the three Cornets in the Village were the best horse in the whole Army, it being Monsieur de *Tors* his Troop, who was come with Captain *Bordet*. I took his advice, and we retreated to the place from whence we came, where at my coming I found that Monsieur de *Burie* was pass'd by, and was gone to quarter at *St. Alvare*, the Army going after in file. I staid the five Ensigns that had been with me at *Lectoure*, and the mutinous *Spaniards*, whom I quarter'd promiscuously among our Horse. Flesh, Wine, and Chesnuts we found store, and I got some great loaves of course brown bread they make in that Country, which I gave to the *Spaniards*; which being done without alighting, I went to wait-upon Monsieur de *Burie*, taking Monsieur de *Monferran* only in my Company, who also carried Captain *Salignac* his Prisoner along with him. I found him lodg'd in Monsieur d'*Alvare's* Castle, where at my coming into the room I said to him, *Look you Sir, I have taken one who was once in times past a great favourite of yours, Captain Salignac.* He then demanded of me where I had taken him; I made answer in the Enemies Camp. He thought their Camp had been three leagues off towards the passage of the River de *l'Isle*, and askt me where their Camp was, whereupon I told him it was close by, and that we were quarter'd promiscuously amongst one another. At which news he seem'd to be something amaz'd, when I took occasion to say these words to him, *Sir you must now justify the old Proverb to be true, That a good horse will never tire. In like manner you must resolve to fight to morrow morning, and send order to all the Gens-d'armes who are not yet alighted, that they must bait their horses with their bridles in their hands, and not a man of them to unarm; for we are come so near, that it is not possible to avoid fighting:* In saying of which I was aware of Monsieur de *St. Alvare*, whom I saluted, desiring him to call in his Servant, whom he had sent along with his Nephews to conduct them to the Enemies Camp, who stood without, which he did, and being come in I entreated him to tell Monsieur de *Burie* where the Enemies Camp lay, which he accordingly did, place by place, and so exactly, that their own Quartermasters could not have given a more perfect account. Whereupon Monsieur d'*Alvare* said, *you are quarter'd within four Harquebuz shot of one another, excepting the Infantry which lies at Ver, from whence 'tis a league and a half to St. Andras, where Monsieur de Duras is quarter'd, and whose Quarters take up all the space betwixt St. Andras and this place.* Well, said Monsieur de *Burie*, *I see we are engag'd to a Battel, and seeing it is so, we must fight it as well as we can.* Whereupon I saw joy sparkle in his eyes, which I was exceeding glad of, and taking him in my arms, said to him these words; *Sir, if we must die, we cannot honor our deaths more, than by dying in a Battel for the service of our Prince, to which he made answer, and said, that is the least of my concern, 'tis no matter what becomes of me, but I fear to loose the Country.* I then entreated him that by break of day, every one might be on horseback, and that we must say with the Italian, *Qui assalta vince*, and thereupon bad him good night, and retir'd to my own Quarters, leaving him very well resolv'd to fight.

The Enemy have ill intelligence.

The Battel resolv'd upon.

All night we remain'd in arms, and our horses saddled, their Centinels and ours being so near, that they could hear one another talk, and by break of day we were on horseback, when I sent to see if Monsieur de *Burie* was ready, and to tell him, that it was his way to pass by my Quarters. He sent me word, that as soon as ever the Army could be got ready to march, he would immediately come away, and in the mean time I march'd directly to *St. Andras*, where I found that Monsieur de *Duras* was already dislodg'd, and gone

Commendation of Monsieur d'Argence.

gone to *Ver*. I then sent Monsieur de *Fontenilles* with five and twenty horse upon the Forlorn, giving him order to halt at the entrance into a little Wood there is under *Ver*, and telling him that I would halt at a little Village four or five Harquebuz shots on this side, till Monsieur de *Burie* should come up to me. Monsieur de *Duras* this while made no haste at all, believing that our Camp was yet upon the *Vezere*, and that those who overnight had taken *Salignac* were only some Avant-Coureurs of the Army. Monsieur de *Fontenilles* sent me word, that he had sent out two Light-horse to discover the Enemy, who had brought word back, that their Camp was drawn up in Battalia in the Meadow of *Ver*. Whereupon I sent to Monsieur de *Burie* to make haste, and to hasten away four Field-pieces he brought along with him, which he did, when so soon as I was advertised that he was within half a mile of me, I marcht up to Monsieur de *Fontenilles*, and the three Companies of Gens d'arms, namely that of Monsieur de *Burie*, and those of Messieurs de *Randan*, and de la *Vauguyon*, advanced to come up, and joyn with me. But they mist their way, and went by the Chestnut Trees directly into the view of *Ver*, thinking that I was already at *Ver*, and never perceiv'd their error, till they were just upon the Enemy, having with them also a Company of Light-horse which Captain *Pechié* of *Perigort* commanded. So soon as I came to the Wood I commanded Monsieur de *Fontenilles* to advance, which he did, and it was well for us he did so, for he came just in the nick of a charge that Captain *Bordet* made upon the Companies with a hundred or sixscore Horse, Launceers all; which so soon as Captain *Pechié*'s Light-horse saw coming upon them, they fac'd about, and fled almost into the three Companies. The Charge was so rude, that all our three Companies were once disorder'd, and there Monsieur d'Argence bravely signaliz'd himself, but for whom, as I was told, they had all run away. Monsieur de *Fontenilles* then with only five and twenty Launces that he had with him, charg'd desperately in amongst the Enemy, and so fortunately, that he made them retire three hundred paces, where they made a halt as ours did also. Upon this I came in, seeing which the Enemy clos'd up with the other Troops of horse. There were above twenty Launces broken in this charge, and all the Enemies Camp made a halt. I then took Monsieur de *Montfer-ran* only, and went to discover the Enemy at my ease, where I saw that they began to march with Drums beating, that they had left in a corner of the field on the left hand Harquebuzers both on foot and on horseback, and in a little Wood on the right hand Harquebuzers on foot.

In the meantime Monsieur de *Burie* arriv'd, where I acquainted him with all I had seen, entreating him to caute his Field-pieces to advance to the brink of a Ditch, and to shoot at those people in the Corner, which approving of my advice, he did; I then spoke to Monsieur de *Masses* to place himself on the right hand by the side of a little hill there was there, and placed the King of *Navarre*'s Company, and my own on the left hand towards that Corner, as I also did the three Companies of Messieurs de *Burie*, de *Randan*, and de *Vauguyon* in the Meadow betwixt them. Monsieur de *Burie* then began to make his Artillery play, and so soon as we had put our selves into this posture, all our foot came up together, the *Gascons* before, and the *Spaniards* after within fourscore or a hundred paces of one another. I then rid up to the *Spaniards*, where addressing my self to Don *Lewis de Carbajac*, and the rest, I spoke to them in *Spanish* after the best manner I could; for during the time of the War I had learn'd something of their language; and you Gentlemen who have Estates to allow your Children a liberal education, take it from me, that it is a very good thing to make them, if possible, acquainted with forreign Languages, which will be of great use to them, both upon the account of Travel, Escapes, and Negotiations, and also to gain the hearts of Strangers. I spoke to them then after this manner, which I had been hammering in my head the night before, and God has given me a gift, though I am no great Clerk, that I can expresse my self well enough upon occasion.

The Sieur de Montluc's Speech to the Spaniards.

"Remember, Fellows in arms (for so I may now call you, since we fight together under the same Ensigns) remember the great and noble reputation wherewith your Nation have at all times signaliz'd themselves throughout the whole world, where they have obtain'd so many famous Victories, as well over the Turks, Moors, and Barbarians, as against those of our own Faith. You have often made us feel the valour of the *Spanish* Infantry, which throughout the Universe are allow'd to have the precedence of all others, and since it has pleas'd God that we, who not above three dayes ago were Enemies, are now assembled to fight under one and the same Standard, make it appear, that the opinion we have ever had of your worth and valour is justly grounded. Our *French* Foot will have an eye to your behaviour, they are emulous of your reputation, and have an ambition to excell you, therefore maintain your antient renown, or you dishonor the

"*Spanish*

“*Spaniſh* Nation for ever. The King your Maſter hearing how bravely you have behav’d your ſelves, will take it better at your hands, than if you had fought in his own particular concern, for this is Gods quarrel againſt the Lutherans, who will cut you into a thouſand pieces if you fall into their hands; a conſideration, that if it have not alone the power to encourage you to go bravely and cheerfully to the fight, it is not to be expected that any thing in the world can excite your courages, or enſlave your hearts. I fancy that were I fighting in *Spain*, my arm would be as ſtrong again, and you are (fellow Soldiers) in *France*, that rejoices at your coming, expects great advantages by your aſſiſtance, and our being thus far reconciled, begets in us a hope, that theſe two great Kingdoms will one day be united to juſtly the great Turk out of his Dominions. Go to then (fellow Soldiers) betake your ſelves to your arms, and were it not that I will not deprive *Don Lewis* of his due honor, I would put my ſelf in the head of your Battalion, with a Pike in my hand, to ſee how you will lay about you, but I ſhall not be very far off, that I may ſee how well you can imitate the actions of your fathers, of which I my ſelf have been an eye witneſs both in *Italy* and in *Piedmont*, at *Rouſſillon*, and *Fontarabie*. Methinks I long for to Morrows light, that we may ſend an account to both our Kings of the brave ſervice you have perform’d againſt an Enemy a hundred times worſe than the Moors of *Barbary*, having broken down the Croſſes and Altars, and polluted the Churches of God, built by our pious Anceſtors, Sacriledges, of which I aſſure my ſelf you will take an honourable and ſevere revenge. *No quieren vueſtras Mercedes nos otros que ſeemos Hermanos, y Compagneros por todas las fonereas nueſtras per hoara de Dios y Protection del Rey Chriſtianiſſimo Hermano de l’ Rey Catholico*, which when I had ſaid, *Don Lewis* making anſwer for them all, ſaid to me theſe vvords. *Crea vueſtra merced que nos avemos bien apelear del primero aſta el poſtero, y quanto averemo unu gotta di Sanguine nелlos cuerpos. Nos tarda il Tiempo que non veniamos a las manos contra los Hereges.*

As *Don Lewis* had made an end of ſpeaking, I deſired them all as a token of their chearfulneſs to hold up their hands, which they did, after they had firſt kiſs’d the ground: after which I return’d to the *Gascons*, bidding Captain *Charry* remount to horſe, and go bring all the Harquebuzers on horſeback on my left hand, that they might be ready to alight when I ſhould command them, which he accordingly did. I then made a ſpeech to the *Gascons*, wherein I told them, “that there had been a long diſpute betwixt the *Spaniards* and the *Gascons*, and that they were now to end the Controverſie, that above fifty years agoe had been begun; which was, that the *Spaniards* pretended to be ſtouter than the *Gascons*, and the *Gascons* on the contrary to be braver than they; and that ſince God had done us the grace to bring us upon this occaſion to fight a Battel under the ſame Standard, the difference was to be determinately decided, and the honor made clearly our own. I am a *Gascon*, ſaid I, but I will henceforth renounce my Country, and never own my ſelf to be a *Gascon* more, if this day you do not by bravely fighting win the Prize, and gain the proceſs of your adverſaries, and you ſhall ſee I will be a good Advocate in this cauſe. They are Swaſh-bucklers, and think no people under the Sun ſo brave as they; therefore (fellow Soldiers) let them ſee what you can do; where they give one blow, give you four. You have more reaſon to fight than they; for you fight for your Prince, for your Altars, your Fires, your Wives and Children; and if you be overcome, beſides the ſhame that attends your defeat, your Country is loſt for ever, and which is worſe your Religion. I aſſure my ſelf I ſhall not be put to the trouble of thruſting my Sword into the reins of ſuch as ſhall ſhew their backs to the Enemy, and that you will every one do your devoir. Theſe people are no other than a Crew of baſſel’d Rascals, gather’d ſeditiouſly together, people inur’d to be beaten, and that already fancie the Hangman at their heels, ſo highly do their own conſciences accuſe them. It is not ſo with you, who fight for the honor of God, the ſervice of your Prince, and the conſervation of your Country; therefore fight like men, and hold up your hands in token of your chearfulneſs, and conſent; which they all did, and began to cry with one voice, *Let us go, and we will never ſtop till we come to grapple with them with the Sword*, and thereupon kiſs’d the earth. The *Spaniards* then drew up to our men, and I commanded both the one and the other to move but a foot pace only, that they might not put themſelves out of breath; which order being given, I gallopt up to the Gens-d’arms, entreating them to move gently forward, and ſaying to them, *It is not to you (Gentlemen) that fine ſpeeches are neceſſary to enſlave your breasts, I know you ſtand in no need of ſuch encouragements; there is not a Gentry in France equal to ours in Gascony, to us then Gentlemen, to us, and you ſhall ſee how I will ſecond you.*

The Sieur de Montluc’s Speech to the Gascons.

Monſieur

The Order of
the Battel.

The great
judgment of
the Sieur de
Montluc.

The Sieur de
Montluc en-
courages
his people.

The Battel.

Monſieur de Burie then mounted upon a great horſe, having put on his arms behind the Artillery, where I told him, that if he would pleaſe to march at the head of the Foot with the Artillery, the three Companies of Gens-d'armes ſhould flank him, and he ſhould make the main Battail, which he inſtantly conſented to, and in truth I never ſaw him ſo brisk, nor more full of noble reſolution to fight than at that time. Neither did he contradict me in any thing whatever, as if I had been in his place, and I was told that he ſhould ſay, *this man is fortunate, let him do what he will.* So ſoon as the whole Army began to move in this order, I gallopt away, Monſieur de Monferran, and the Sieur de Cajelles (who is of the Family of Mongairel, and now Knight of the Order) along with me, and ſtaid not till I came within thirty or forty paces of five or ſix horſe who were under a Tree. The Sieur de Puch de Perdaillan has ſince told me, that theſe were Monſieur de Duras, de Bordet, and himſelf, Captain Peyralongue and another, whoſe name I do not remember. The ſaid Captain Peyralongue was their Camp-maſter of Foot, and in the Charge that Captain Bordet had made, they had taken an Archer of Monſieur de Randan's Company, whom they led priſoner near unto this Tree, and there gave him two Piſtol ſhot in cold blood, and being not yet dead, demanded of him, who was in our Camp, and who commanded in chief. To which he he return'd them anſwer, *that I was come to the Army, and that I commanded, Monſieur de Burie having reſerr'd all things to my conduct,* which he ſaid, as knowing very well that news would ſtartle them. Captain Peyralongue then went to Monſieur de Duras, who was under the forementioned Tree, about ſome ten paces from the Archer, who himſelf came to him, and again demanded of him if I was in the Camp, to which he anſwered, *that I was, and was come thither the night before, having taken Leſtoure,* at which they were baſely down in the mouth. They thereupon return'd roundly to their men, who were marching a foot pace only, and were not yet got clear of the Meadow, where I perceived that upon their coming the Foot began to double their pace, and ſaid to Monſieur de Monferran, *do you ſee theſe five horſe that were under the Tree, they are run to make their people mend their pace, do you not ſee what long ſtrides they take?* which having ſaid, I turn'd upon the ſpur to the Troop where Monſieur d'Argence was, and ſaid to him theſe words: *O Monſieur d'Argence (my Camrade) ſee, ſee the Enemy are in fear, upon my life the day's our own,* and cried out aloud, *O Gentlemen, let us think of nothing but killing, for the Enemy is afraid, and will never this day make head againſt us. Let us only go boldly to the fight, they are our own. I have a hundred times had experience of the ſame, they are only endeavouring to ſteal off the Field.* I then embraced the Captains, and return'd to Captain Maſſes, and ſaid as much to him, after which I return'd to Captain Arne, and the Gentlemen who rid under my own Corner, being come along with my Company, and we began to march at a falſe trot. I then galloped towards the Enemy, being my ſelf very hot, and my horſe all of a foam, having only Monſieur de Monferran with me: when being come very near them, I obſerv'd their countenance, and ſaw their deſign was to make all the haſte they could to recover a little hill that was hard by; and on the other ſide our own men coming on in great fury: I obſerv'd alſo their Cornets of horſe, and ſaw one marching, and another facing about. I took notice likewiſe of three or four Horſe amongſt the Foot, and perceiv'd by their geſture, that they were haſting their people forward, and thereupon turn'd back to our own Horſe, crying out to them, *they are afraid, they are afraid, let us take them at their word, Camrades, let us take them at their word, that they fly not back. Theſe are Poltrons, they tremble at the very ſight of us.* I then ſent to Monſieur de Burie to leave the Artillery, and advance to put himſelf into the Squadron of the three Companies of Gens-d'arms, and we began to march at a good round trot towards them. Some there were who call'd out to me to ſtay for the Foot; but I made anſwer, that we muſt not ſuffer them to recover the Mountain, for they would make head againſt us, and fight at their advantage. I evermore remembered Targon, where they had made head againſt us upon the Hill, ſo that we were conſtrain'd to charge them againſt the aſcent of the Mountain, where had they come down upon us, we had infallibly been defeated. Our Foot made all the haſte that Foot could poſſibly make, and when the Enemy ſaw they could not recover the Mountain, they rallied a thouſand or twelve hundred old Soldiers they had left in the corner of the field, whom Monſieur de Burie had plaid upon with his Artillery, and ſo all their Forces march'd ſide by ſide at a good round trot; when ſo ſoon as we came within two hundred paces of one another, I began to cry out, *charge, charge;* which I had no ſooner ſaid, but that we all fell in pell-mell amongſt their Horſe and Foot, except Captain Maſſes, who at the ſame time that he ſaw their people overthrown, ſaw alſo another great party of them hard by the Hill, who did not offer to move, and therefore did not charge till he came up to the party, and then

then flew in furiously amongst them. Monsieur de Fontenilles, vvhho had rallied some few of our men, vvas in this second charge also, and there they were all defeated, and their Artillery taken. We pursued the Victory all along the Plain, and thorough the Vineyards, vvhwhere many of them threw themselves into a Wood on the left hand, and swarm'd up the Chesnut Trees, vvhwhere the *Spanish* and *Gascon* Foot shot at them as they do at Rooks. It vvas vvell for me that I vvas vvell arm'd, for three pikes had enclosed me amongst them, and put me to my Trumps, but Captain *Baretnau* the younger, and two others had disengag'd me, vvhwhere the said Captain *Baretnau* had his horse kill'd under him, and mine was hurt in the nose, and in the head, with two thrusts of Pikes; for my horse had carried me whether I would or no into their Battalion, and I never knew that he had an ill mouth till then, that it had like to have cost me my life: the Captains *Arne* and *Bourdillon* were both wounded close by me. My being thus engag'd was the reason that I could not rally with the Cavalry, for they vvere following the Chace on the left hand; and I vwith fifteen or twenty horse that vvere rallied pursued the Victory on the right hand towards a little Village, vvhwhere thirty or forty vvere slain. I there made a little halt to take breath, after vvhich I returned to the Artillery vve had taken, vvhwhere I found Monsieur de *Burie*, and vvhwhere vve staid the return of our people, vvhwho vvere yet pursuing the Chace, and rallied our men. We found that some of ours had followed the pursuit for above two long leagues from the Field of Battel, and about two a clock in the afternoon return'd to quarter at *Ver*, from whence vve sent Oxen to fetch in the Artillerie vve had taken, and all the next day continued there.

The Sieur de Montluc engaged.

The Runawayes faild but a very little of meeting vwith Monsieur de *Montpensier*, vvhwho vvent to put himself into *Mussidan*, thinking to joyn vwith us, which had it pleased God that it had so fall'n out the business had been done, though he had but very few Forces vwith him; for men that fly seldom or never face about, and are so afraid of every thing, that they take Bushes for Squadrons. Those vvhwho escaped of their Foot (vvhich vvere very few) rallied to their horse, and marcht all the rest of the day, and the night following towards *Xaintonge* to carry the good news to their Brethren. Of three and twenty Ensigns that they had we took nineteen, and of thirteen Cornets of Horse, five, all which we sent to Monsieur de *Montpensier*, by that Complement acknowledging him for our Chief. The Country people kill'd more than we, for in the night they stole away to retire themselves into their houses, and some hid themselves in the Woods, but so soon as ever they were discover'd, both men and women fell upon them, so that they could find no place of safety. There was numbred upon the Plain, and in the Vineyards above two thousand slain, besides those who were dispatch'd by the Boors.

Nineteen Ensigns taken, and five Cornets.

Number of the dead.

After this Victory we marcht straight to *Mussidan*: Monsieur de *Burie* went before to attend Monsieur de *Montpensier*, and we left all the Army at *Grignoux* in two or three great Villages there are betwixt *Mauriac* and *Mussidan*, where after I had seen them settled in their Quarters, I also went to pay my duty to him at *Mussidan*, where I was as well receiv'd as I shall ever be in any Company what ever so long as I live, and do think that Monsieur de *Montpensier* took me above ten times in his arms, making me stay above four hours with him. He was a good Prince a truly honest man, and very zealous for the Catholick Religion. He was of opinion that I should return into *Guienne*, which was also the Judgment of all the forementioned Seigneurs who were with him, and indeed in the King of *Navarre's* Company and mine there were not thirty Horse that were not wounded; and was resolv'd to take along with him Monsieur de *Burie*, the three Companies of Gens-d'arms, and that of the Mareſchal de *Termes*, together with the three *Spanish* Companies to go and joyn with the other ten led by Don *Juan de Carbajac*, who was that day to be at *Bergerac*. This was the success of the Battel of *Ver*, and because some perhaps may say that I commend my self as the sole cause that the Battel was fought, and attribute to my own courage, and conduct the entire glory of the victory: Monsieur de *Montpensier*, and Messieurs de *Chevigny*, and de *Vauguyon* are yet living, who if they please can bear witness, what they heard the whole Army say, and particularly the very Servants of Monsieur de *Burie*, which Sieur de *Burie* himself did not deny, but that he refer'd the whole management of that business to my conduct: for he was old, and not so active as I to command, and to run up and down from one to another as I did, being at the end of the Battel as wet as if I had been plung'd into the River. Neither is the said Sieur de *Burie* to be reprehended, for he came in good time, and though he did not meddle himself, yet the Battallion he brought along with him strook a terror into the Enemy, which made us have a better match. If this Body of Hugonots could have joyn'd with the Prince of *Conde* they had mated the King's Army, as may well be suppos'd, when without them he was very near winning the Battel of *Dreux*: and besides, had it

The Sieurs de *Burie*, and de *Montluc* with Monsieur de *Montpensier*.

Importance of the Battel of *Ver*.

The Succours
of Guienne sent
to the King.

not been for this Battel the *Spaniards* would never have dar'd to have entred into *France*, neither could Monsieur de *Montpensier* himself have been there, but had been sent to defend and relieve *Guienne*, whereas by means of this victory he carried all the Forces of *Guienne* and *Xaintonge*, which consisted of four Companies of Gens-d'armes, and six, what of his own, and what of *Xaintonge*, and Monsieur de *Sanfàc* with his three and twenty Ensigns of *Gascons* and *Spaniards*, which were no contemptible succours that he carried to the King, of which a good part also were at the winning of the Battel, and I have been told, that all those who went from that side behav'd themselves admirably well at the Battel of *Dreux* (and indeed there are no Soldiers in the Kingdom that surpass the *Gascons*, if they be well commanded) especially the ten Ensigns of Captain *Charry*, whom the King since honor'd so far, as to take them into his own Guards; and keeps them to this day, that Monsieur de *Strozzy* has the command of them after the execrable murder of Captain *Charry* most vilely assassinated at *Paris*. And although a man should not commend himself, I shall not nevertheless forbear to deliver the truth, and to give it under my hand, that I did at that time as great service for the King my Lord and Master, as ever Gentleman did, and in a time of extreme need, and the greatest necessity of his affairs. And if the Queen please to lay her hand upon her heart, I am confident she will confess the same; she better knew than any other the condition affairs were in, and how much I travaill'd and prevented the intelligences the Prince of *Condé* had in *Guienne*, of which he counted himself cock sure.

The qualities
of Monsieur de
Lautrec.

A General
ought to disco-
ver an Enemy
in his own per-
son.

You Lords then and Companions of mine, who shall read my Book, take example by the great diligence and sudden execution I perform'd after the taking of *Lebloure*, and do not (you who are Lieutenants of Provinces) I beseech you depend upon the reports others may make you of the discovery of an Enemy, at least if you be able to do it your selves: for you your selves ought to see and observe their order, countenance, and motion; and in so doing shall ever be better able to command, than upon the report of another. Your own eyes will better discern what is necessary to be done, than any other whoever you can send to perform that service, you may take an old Captain or two along with you; but above all things have a care of taking an old Captain out of any particular affection you have to him, in company with you when you go to discover; for it is to be fear'd, that that affection of yours may make you take some swaggering insignificant Coxcomb, instead of a good Soldier, who so soon as he shall discover the Enemy, will find a false friend about his heart, which will be the cause, that out of the opinion you have of his judgment and valour, and the friendship you have for him, he will make you commit so great an error, and lose such an opportunity as perhaps you shall never again retrieve: but alwayes take some old Captain, who in all places whereever he has been, shall not only have fought but have been moreover the occasion of fighting; and although he may have been sometimes, unfortunate, and beaten, provided it was not thorough default of courage or understanding, do not forbear out of that consideration to take him about you. For all the world are not so fortunate as *Montluc*, who was never defeated. Rather take such a one, than one who has never either wonne or lost, and that has never serv'd in an Army otherwise than as a looker on. I do not say this without experience, I have learnt these Lessons under the late Monsieur de *Lautrec*, who was a brave commander, and if he was unfortunate, it was rather thorough the defect of his Council, than thorough want of courage, or good conduct, for he had as much of both those qualities, as any Lord Lieutenant I ever serv'd under. I continued my Apprentiship under *Messieurs les Mareschaux de Strozzy*, and *de Brissac*, and others. I have seen errors enow committed by the King's Lieutenants upon the reports have been made them by those they have sent out to discover, and will moreover be bold to say, that when a General has himself seen and discover'd the Enemy, he is more confident, and commands with greater boldness; and if before he was in some apprehension (as no man living is without fear, when he sees his Enemy make head against him) he will reassure himself, and forget his apprehension. How many times did Monsieur d'*Anguien* curse and revile himself upon Easter day at night, before the Battel of *Serifolles*, that he had not trusted to his own opinion, and that of the rest who were for fighting, when he saw the Enemy face to face, and had not his Army with him? Assure your selves (Lords Lieutenants) I do not write this without great reason on my side; but you will say, that this were to put the person of the Chief in hazard, though it may be done without any such apparent danger. Let such as are afraid of danger lie abed, go to discover in your own person, no one can be a better judge than your self, who will easily discern if you have never so little experience, by your Enemies countenance and motion, if he be timorous or resolute. And pardon me if I be constrain'd to write my own praises, for seeing I am to write my own Life, you shall have the truth, neither

neither would I have scrupled, had I been beaten, to have confessed it. If I lye in any thing I have said, there are a thousand Gentlemen that are able to disprove me.

But to return to my Subject, and to make an end of this War, Monsieur de Montpensier went with all his Forces to stay for the Spaniards at Barbezieux, where he met with intelligence from Monsieur de Sansac, that Monsieur de Duras was retir'd, and Monsieur de la Rochefoucault, and that they made a shew as if they intended to turn towards him. I was come to Bergerac, to which place Monsieur de Montpensier dispatcht away to me two Couriers, one in the heels of another, intreating me with all possible speed to return back to him, for that Messieurs de Duras, and de la Rochefoucault were rallied together, and as he was enform'd, were turning towards him. As God shall help me, amongst all the Gentlemen, both of the King of Navarre's Company and my own, I could not find thirty Horse that could go a step without great pain, however two hours within night I set out, and except to eat a bit or two by the way, never rested till I came within two leagues of Barbezieux; in which march I twice met parties of the Enemy by the way, of those who were escap'd from the Battel, whom I cut to pieces, and about one of the clock in the night took up my Quarters at St. Private; my Brother Monsieur de Lieux was with me, who could not come time enough to the Battel, and we were at Monsieur de Montpensiers rising, who took the great haste I had made to come to him very kindly at my hands: and there I found Monsieur de Sansac, who told me that the Enemy in a day and a night had marcht eighteen or twenty Leagues. There being then nothing to do, Monsieur de Montpensier dismiss me, and I return'd to lie at St. Privat near unto Aubeterre, and the next day to Bergerac, where at my return I found Don Juan de Carbajac with the ten Spanish Companies, who staid one day there, and the next morning marcht away. Thus I return'd and dismiss every one to his own house, there being nothing that stirr'd in all Guienne, nor a man that dar'd to own he had ever been of that Religion, every one going to Mass, and to the Processions, and assisting at Divine Service, and the Ministers who had been the Trumpets of this Sedition were all vanisht and gone, for they knew very well that in what corner soever they could lie, I should trap them, and then they knew what would follow.

Being come to Agen I there heard that Monsieur de Terride was gone to engage himself before Montauban, with the Artillery of Tholouze, and the two Companies of Bazordan, that I had left to guard the Country, and seven or eight more that those of the City had set on foot, which Siege he had undertaken immediately upon the news of the Battel being won: and after I had been eight daies there the Cardinal of Armagnac, who at that time commanded Tholouze, sent to entreat me, with whom the Court of Parliament also joyn'd in the request, that I would go to Montauban, they conceiving that matters there went very slowly on, which put them out of all hope of any good account of that Enterprize. I immediately then departed, and took the way directly to Tholouze, where I recieved a Letter from a friend of mine, wherein he writ me word, that Monsieur de Terride had sent a Letter to the Cardinal, another to the Court, and another to the Capitouls, wherein he writ, that he had heard they had sent for me to command at the Siege of Montauban, complaining that they did him great and manifest wrong, and invaded his honor; for by that means after he had beaten the Bush another must come and take the Hare. These were the contents of his Letters, which were brought by Captain Bidonnet. Being then at Tholouze, I was press'd to go to the Leaguer; but I made answer to the Cardinal and the rest, that I would not do my friend that wrong, especially since it appear'd by his Letters, that he made himself sure of the place; when seeing they could not prevail with me, to take upon me the command of the Siege, they entreated me at least to go thither, to see how matters went, which I did.

At my coming thither Monsieur de Terride shewed me all he had done, by which I found that in twelve dayes he had lain before it he had not done two dayes work, and saw the beginning had not been very good, which made me doubt the end would be worse: for I found that he had quitted the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, which is upon the way from Caussade, by which they carried out, and brought into the Town whatever they would. He had indeed been necessitated to do it, because the Soldiers had forsaken him after the death of Captain Bazordan, who had been there slain, and serv'd him in the quality of Camp-master, which had it not so fallen out, it was my opinion, and several others were of the same, that matters would have gone much better; for he was an understanding man, and a good Soldier. Neither is it to be wondred at, if Monsieur de Terride was not very perfect in the besieging of places; for I will maintain that no man understands a Siege but a Master of the Ordnance (who has also been long in that employment) the Commissaries of the Artillery, an Engineer, the Camp-master, and the Colonel, if they

The Sieur de
Terride before
Montauban.

Captain Bazordan slain
before Montauban.

be old Soldiers, who in these commands (if they have been long in them) must necessarily have seen much of that kind of service. All the rest understand nothing of it, nor the General himself, if he have not learnt by being very much with them, but having us'd to go with them, when they have gone to discover places, learns to know what belongs to a Siege, but otherwise not : for the Captains of *Gens-d'armes* never go to discover ; nor to the approaches, it being their business to be in a readiness to fight, and to watch that no kind of relief enter into the place. How then should they be expert in Sieges, considering that they have never assisted at discoveries, nor heard the debates that old Soldiers enter into with one another upon that Subject ; for there they argue upon what they themselves have discover'd, and in sight of the strengths and defects of the place. 'Tis a thing of all others in War of the greatest difficulty and importance, and by which many who are otherwise great Captains are put to a stand ; and it requires a long practice to understand fortification, to observe and know the defects of a Bastion, a Spur, a Flanker, and to guess what may be within it, by what you your selves would do if you were in the place. Monsieur de Terride was a good Horse Officer, and very proper for fighting, but not for beleaguering of places, no more than several others, who have never had other command than those he had been trained up in ; although in his Quarters every one will be giving his vote, and spending his judgment upon a Carpet, or over a sheet of Paper. It is indeed good to see the Map, but that very often deceives. I could wish, that when any one, who has never been employed in any of the forementioned Commands ; nor ever follow'd the Kings Lieutenant when he went to view a place, nor heard the dispute of the above named Officers upon their said discovery will be prating, and offering to put in their Verdict : the Kings Lieutenant would bid him, first go hazard himself through the Enemies shot at the discovery, and then deliver his advice. 'Tis alwayes the tickliest place, forasmuch as if the besieged be men of any metal, they will hinder as much as in them lies, the assailant from discovering their Fort : and as much as they possibly can will dispute all they have without, as much as to a hut, for if they suffer them to make their approaches at first, they either discover themselves to be weak, or that they are no Soldiers.

The Sieur de
Montlac at
Bordeaux.

I left then this hopeful Siege, and return'd to *Agen*, having told Monsieur de Terride my opinion, that he would have no better success, than what I had prophecied to him. A few dayes after the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, and Monsieur de Novailles Governor of the City, sent to entreat me that I would come to *Bordeaux*, to help to pacifie a Tumult was risin in the City, which I accordingly did, and there staid some dayes ; after which I returned again to *Agen*, that I might be in the heart of the Country, to which all the Gentry ordinarily repair. And there it is that the Lieutenant of a Province ought to reside, and not at *Bordeaux*, although that be the Capital City, it being too farre off. And moreover there is a Court of Parliament, that will have a hand in every thing, and the Gentry cannot go thither without great expence, and besides there is alwayes something or other amiss, and some one or another question'd, which frights the Gentlemen from going thither.

The design of
those of Tho-
louze.

Not long after the Cardinal of *Armagnac*, Court of Parliament of *Tholouze*, and the Capitouls of the same, sent to entreat me to come thither about some affairs of importance they could not commit to writing, which I did, they needed not to summon me twice, and when I came there they called a Council wherein were assisting Messieurs de Cardinals of *Armagnac*, and de *Strozzy*, Monsieur le premier President d'*Affis*, the Seigneurs de *Terride*, de *Negrepelice*, *Fourquevaulx*, du *Fant* the Kings Advocat General, and the Capitouls, where they gave me to understand that they intended to set some Forces on foot to go into *Languedoc*, and that they had chosen me for head of the Army : but I excus'd my self, reprenting to them, that the Constable would not take it well, considering it was in his Government, and that besides he had no great kindness for me. Now the Battel of *Druix* had already been fought, where, as every one knows, his Majesties affairs were very foul shaken, but the Victory remain'd to the King, thorough the valour and conduct of the Duke of *Guise*. Nevertheless the said Constable was taken prisoner on the one side, as the Prince of *Conde* was on the other, and so both the Generals were taken, a thing that was never known before ; which shews that it was well fought, but being that I was not there it nothing concerns me to speak of that business. I was so importun'd by these people, that in the end I was fain to accept the Commission, and we set down in writing all things that were necessary to be provided for the expedition. Of which the Cardinal de *Strozzy* undertook to cause twelve hundred Canon shot, and a proportionable quantity of Powder to be brought from *Marcelles*, and Monsieur de *Fourquevaulx* took upon him to send some also from *Narbonne* ; and so we began to distribute the

the foot Commissions, concluding within thirty dayes to have all things in a readines, together with the money that was to be levied by the City and the Country of *Languedoc*, who were also associated in the Design.

During these transactions in a day and a nights time no less than three Couriers came to me from *Bordeaux*, of which the eldest Son of the Recorder *Pontac* was the first, the Kings Advocat *la Het* (who since has been Attorney-General) the second, and a Gentleman belonging to Monsieur de *Novailles* the Third; who all came upon one and the same errand, which was to tell me, that if I did not suddenly, and with the extremest diligence go to relieve the City of *Bordeaux*, it would infallibly be lost, through an unhappy difference was fall'n out there betwixt the first President *Lagabaston*, and Monsieur de *Novailles* the Governor: wherefore the Court of Parliament, the Jurats, and the said Monsieur de *Novailles*, all of them entreated me to make haste, or otherwise I would come too late, for Monsieur de *Novailles* had already sent for all the Train'd-Bands to bring them into the City by the Castle of *Ha*, that was in his possession, and some of those of the Town posselt themselves of the Gates, for part of the City sided with Monsieur de *Novailles*. I had much ado to prevail with these Gentlemen to let me go thither, till I was fain to promise them upon my honor within fifteen dayes to return to *Tholonze*, desiring them in the mean time to hasten their Levies and Preparations, that I might find all things ready at my return; and so I put my self upon my way, for I was never a man of delays; and being I had a great number of Gentlemen with me, I could not go by water, but was constrain'd to make my journey by land, by reason of the armes and great Horses we had, so that we were three dayes in going to *Agen*. I had dispatcht away *Pontac*, and Monsieur de *Novailles* his Gentleman, to assure those of *Bordeaux* of my coming: but Monsieur de *Het* would not go away till he first saw me on horseback, and afterwards rid so hard, that he fell sick, and had like to have died. Their arrival held every one in suspence, both on the one side and the other. We staid but one night at *Agen*, and went forwards, and in three dayes more I came to *Bordeaux*, where I found a Patent the King had sent me, by which he made me his Lieutenant in the one half of the Government of *Guienne* in the absence of the King of *Navarre*, and the other half to remain to Monsieur de *Burie*, without making nevertheless any distinction as then, which part should belong to Monsieur de *Burie*, and which to me.

Division at
Bordeaux.

They believ'd that at my coming I would presently have had recourse to arms, and have kill'd all those of the Presidents Party, and out of that believe many were fled away: but I knew very well that that had been to ruine the City, and that the King would be a great loser by it; for had I gone that way to work the Earth could not have saved the City from being sacked. I went by *Cadillac*, where Monsieur de *Candalle* did me the honor to bear me company, and we shipt our selves in his Galion, and other Vessels, for there was a great number of Gentlemen, and by the way met news, that Monsieur de *Novailles* died that night, having lain only two dayes sick, which gave occasion to some afterwards to say that he died of poison, how true it was I know not, but it was great pity, for he was a prudent honest Gentleman, and a good Subject.

The death of
Monsieur de
Novailles.

The next morning after my arrival I went to the Palace, and there propounded to the Court what I had retin'd from the Siege of *Sienna*, and after what manner we ought to proceed in a great City, either in Warre or in Sedition; telling them that should we put our hands to blood, the City would be totally destroyed, wherein both parties would suffer alike, laying before them the example of *Tholonze*, where had I permitted those who came from the Mountains, and *Cornenge*, to enter the City, it had not been in the power of man to have preserv'd it from being sackt, which would also befall them, if we once proceeded to blood, and gave reins to the peoples fury, especially those from without, bidding them remember what hapned when Monsieur de *Monens* was slain, that the people took the Authority upon them. That they were therefore to begin with a good reconciliation and union, without engaging in any disorders or trouble, after which they might proceed to punish the Delinquents by the way of justice. All the Assembly approv'd of my advice, and return'd me infinite thanks. At my departure from thence, so soon as I had din'd I went to the Town Hall, where I had appointed the Jurats and all the Council to meet me, and made them the same remonstrance, where though there were some who had a mind to blow the coals, nevertheless I laid so many exemples and good reasons before them, that they all altered their resolution, and about four of the clock I went to the Arch Bishoprick, where I had assign'd all the Clergy to expect me, and there made them also a Remonstrance touching the Estate of the Church, as I had done to the other two concerning theirs: so that that very day I appeas'd the City, and the next day we fell to consult of the order was to be observ'd, that the paci-

fication

fication might endure, wherein I so bestirr'd my self, that in three dayes all tumults were converted into peace and perfect union. I will be bold to say, and call all the City of *Bordeaux* to witness it, that had I proceeded otherwise the City had been destroyed; neither ought we to have recourse to violence, where there is any other way left open, especially considering, that it was a division amongst the Catholicks, or at least those who professed themselves to be such, for I am not God Almighty to dive into mens hearts.

The Nature of
the Sieur de
Montluc.

Oh that the King ought well to consider to whom he entrusts the Government of a Province, and above all things to make choice of such as have formerly been Governors of places; for if by a long experience he be not intelligent in such employments, the Country or City where such Tumults shall arise, run a manifest danger. I had been Governor of *Montcallier* and *Alba*, and the Kings Lieutenant first at *Sienna*, and afterwards at *Montalzin*: Where the various accidents I had had experience of, had taught me to know, and to foresee the ruine or preservation of a place; without which experience I do believe I had taken the way of execution, I being in my own nature rather inclin'd to scuffle, than to pacifie affairs, and more to fighting and cutting of throats, than to making of speeches: but my discretion govern'd me upon this occasion; neither ought a man to suffer himself to be hurried away by his own inclination, or transported by his passion, forasmuch as his Masters affairs will suffer by it. There were enow in the City that would have been glad to have cut out work enough, in hatred to the chief President, who was never much belov'd amongst them: but whether he were hated with reason, or otherwise I referre to others to determine. Monsieur de *Bordeaux* who is yet living, knows very well what intelligence a certain person brought me as I was walking with him in his Garden.

I was then solicited by all the Court of Parliament, all the Gentry, and the whole City, to accept the Charge the King had conferr'd upon me, which nevertheless I would by no means be perswaded to do, and had sent away a dispatch to the King and Queen to return their Majesties my most humble thanks, and to excuse my self from that employment; for I still fancied to my self that that would happen which has since befallen me, and that this Government would bring upon me the envy and hatred which peradventure I might otherwise avoid: neither did I ever prophesie any thing of my self that has not come to pass. Let any one ask President *Lagebaston*, who made me the Harangue in the Palace to perswade me to take the Government upon me, what answer I made him there in publick, and what I afterwards said to him in private. There are also other Presidents and Counsellors yet living, who heard my reasons, and who I am confident can remember if the Predictions I then made of my self be come to pass. So it was that at that time I did not accept it, nor of two dayes after; nor that the King did not herein conferre a greater honor upon me than I deserv'd; nor that I would not have been glad of so good a fortune; but I had evermore a thousand niceties before my eyes. But the premier President *Lagebaston*, the other Presidents his Brethren, and the ancient Councillors, came to my lodging, and gave me very many arguments to perswade me, and on the other side Monsieur de *Candalle*, Monsieur d'*Escars* (whom I found there) Monsieur de *Lieux* my Brother, Messieurs de *Barsac*, d'*Uza*, and all the Gentlemen who were with me, were very pressing upon me, saying that I ought to accept it; and the Jurats, together with the whole Body of the City did the same; by which means being left single in my opinion, I was constrain'd to pass the Wicket, like a man that is thrust into the Gaol; for so I may say I was forc'd in, and had I been left at liberty, I would have lost my life, or have perform'd some services that should have been acceptable to the King, and from which I would have deriv'd some recompence, whereas by the services I have perform'd in my administration in these parts, I have reapt no other advantage than reproaches and disgrace. And yet I will be bold to say that no man under heaven could have behav'd himself better than I did, by the testimony of all the three Estates of *Guienne*, and had I done such services in the life time of either of the late Kings, *Francis*, or *Henry*, there had not been a Gentleman in *France* under the Title of a Prince, who had been higher preferr'd, or in greater esteem than I had been. But God be praised for all; all the recompence I have had is a great Harquebuz shot in my face, of which I shall never be cur'd so long as I live, which makes me eternally curse the hour that ever I had this Command. Many better men than I would have esteem'd themselves honor'd by it, and so did I, but being to serve a King in his Minority, and in a Country where I foresaw I should have enough to do, and very little means wherewithal to do it, I conceived it might have been more advantageous to me, to have gone further off from my own Dunghil. And I would ever advise any friend of mine rather to accept a remote Command, than one

Considerations
of the Sieur de
Montluc.

near

near home; for *no man is a Prophet in his own Country*. However for the benefit of my Country I was content to take this great burthen upon me.

Now as I thought to have departed from *Bordeaux* to go to *Tholouze* after I had appeased all things here, the Peace came, which was brought by Captain *Fleurdelis*. He had met with Captain *Montluc* hard by *Mussidan*, who was carrying twelve Companies of Foot (the finest Companies, and the best arm'd that ever had been raised in *Guienne*) and one Troop of Lighthorse, to the King; the *Sieur de Lançon* was his Lieutenant, and the *Sieur de Montferran* his Ensign. The City of *Bordeaux* had sent him two pieces of Canon, and one Culverine, which the said Captain *Fleurdelis* met two leagues from *Mussidan*: but Captain *Montluc* would not stop his March till first he heard from me. The Peace being publisht, every one was of opinion that I should countermand him, which I therefore did, brought back the Artillery, and disbanded all the Foot and Horse, that the people might no longer be eaten up: sending in like manner to *Tholouze* to do the same: so that in eight dayes time every one was retir'd to his own home, I making no question of securing *Guienne* without Garison either of Horse or Foot: which I did, and so well, that for the space of five years neither Trooper nor Foot Soldier eat so much as a Hen throughout the whole Province upon the account of arms. I had three pieces of Canon at *Agen*, and with threats and bravadoes kept all the world in awe, making every one lay aside his arms, especially fire arms, so that not a man was seen to wear any arms, the Gentlemen excepted, who were allow'd their Swords and Stilletoes. And for two Catholick Souldiers that I caused to be hang'd for transgressing the Edict, I stroke so great a terror into the whole Countrey, that no one dar'd any more to lay hand to his arms. The Hugonots thinking to escape better cheap, and that I would not offer to punish them; two other Soldiers of the Religion also transgressed the Edict, whom I likewise immediately truss'd up to bear company with the others; so that the two Religions seeing there was no impunity for either of them, and that neither the one nor the other could promise to themselves any assurance of me if they should offend, they began to love one another, and to frequent one anothers houses. Thus did I maintain the Peace for the space of five years betwixt both parties in this Country of *Guienne*, and do believe that if every one would have taken the same course, without partiality to the one side, or the other, and have executed justice indifferently upon those who deserv'd it, we had never seen so many troubles in this Kingdom. And it was no little thing that I perform'd, for I had to do with as capricious and fanatick head-pieces as any in the whole Kingdom of *France*, or peradventure in all *Europe*; and who governs a *Gascon* may assure himself he has done a Masterpiece, who as he is naturally warlike, so is he proud, mutinous, and insolent; nevertheless by playing one while the gentle, and another the austere, I subjected all to me, without any one so much as once daring to lift up his head. In brief the King was acknowledg'd, and his Laws obey'd.

The Peace after the first Troubles concluded.

The Nature of the Gascons.

This was the end of the first Civil War, and the first troubles in those places where I was, with the account of what I did in them, which is in summe, that if God had not inspir'd me with courage to oppose the Hugonots in due time, they would have been so establisht, that it had not been in the power of the King of a long time to have remov'd them: for I am not of the opinion of those, who say it had signified nothing, and that though they had been canton'd here, one might have shut them up: It is a rich and plentiful Country as any in the Kingdom of *France*, abounding in Navigable Rivers, strong Holds, and very good Harbours; how then should such a Country be shut up, considering that the *English*, and other forreign Nations may at all times come to it by Sea? The King has set but too little value upon it; 'tis well if he do not one day repent it. But provided these fine talking Gentlemen, who prate at their ease, may have their own arms at liberty, they care not for any body else, and when one comes to demand of them assistance of money (for of every thing else we have but too much) they cry, *let them raise it upon the Country*, and so the Soldier, not being paid, is necessitated to plunder, and rob, and the King's Lieutenant to endure it. 'Tis all one say they, *a Country spoiled is not lost*. O lewd expression, and unworthy of a Counsellor of the Kings, who has the management of affairs of State! He has not the trouble of it, nor does he bear the reproach; but he who has the charge of the Province, and whom the people load with continual execrations.

Behold then our *Guienne* thus lost, and recover'd, and since maintain'd in peace for the good of the people; and to my particular and great misfortune: for my Son Captain *Montluc* being no more able to live at rest than his Father, seeing himself useles in *France*, as being no Courtier, and knowing of no forreign War wherein to employ his arms, design'd an Enterprize by Sea, to go to make his fortune in *Affrick*, and to this end followed

The Design of Captain Montluc.

by

He is slain.

Commendation of the Montlucs.

by a brave number of Gentlemen Volunteers (for he had above three hundred with him) and by a great many of the best Officers and Soldiers he could cull out, he embarkt at *Bordeaux* in a Fleet of six Men of War, as well equipt as Vessels could possibly be. I shall not insist upon the design of this unfortunate Expedition, wherein he lost his life, being slain with a Musket shot in the Island of *Maderas* going ashore to water, and where being the Islanders would not peaceably permit him to refresh his Ships, he was constrain'd to have recourse to violence, to their loss and ruine; but much more to mine, who there lost my right hand. Had it pleas'd God to have preserv'd him to me, they had not done me those charitable Offices at Court they have since done. In short I lost him in the flower of his age, and then when I expected he should have been both the prop of mine, and the support of his Country; which has very much miss'd him since. I had lost the brave *Mark Anthony* my eldest Son at the Port of *Ostia*, but this that died at the *Maderas* was of such value, that there is not a Gentleman in *Guienne* who did not judge he would surpass his Father. But I leave it to those who knew him, to give an account of his valour and prudence. He could not have fail'd of being a good Captain, had God been pleas'd to preserve him; but he disposes of us all, as seems best to his own wisdom. I think this little *Montluc* that he has left me will endeavour to imitate him both in valour and loyalty to his Prince, which all the *Montluc's* have ever been eminent for, and if he prove not such, I disclaim him. Every one knows, and the Queen more than any other, that I was never the Author of this unfortunate Voyage; and the Admiral knows very well how much I endeavour'd to break the design; not that I had a mind to keep him idle by the fire, but out of the apprehension I had it might occasion a Breach betwixt the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, which though I might perhaps in my own bosom desire, to remove the War from our own doors, I would also have wish'd that some other might have been the occasion of the rupture. My Sons design was not to break any Truce with the *Spaniard*; but I saw very well that it was impossible, but he must do it there, either with him or the King of *Portugal*: For to hear these people talk, a man would think that the Sea was their own. The Admiral lov'd and esteem'd this poor Son of mine but too much, having told the King, that never a Prince nor Lord in *France*, upon his own single account, and without his Majesties assistance, could in so short a time have made ready so great an Equipage. And he said true, for he won the hearts of all that knew him, and that were enamour'd of the practice of arms; and I was so wise as to think that fortune was oblig'd to be as favourable to him as she had been to me. For an old Soldier as I am, I confess I committed a great error, that I did not discover the design to some other (considering that the Vicount d'*Uza*, and *de Pampadour*, and my young Son were of the party) who might have tried their fortune, and pursued the Enterprize projected; which nevertheless I shall not here discover, because the Queen may peradventure another day again set it on foot.

The End of the Fifth Book.

THE

THE
COMMENTARIES
OF
Messire Blaize de Montluc,
M A R E S C H A L of
FRANCE.

The Sixth Book.



Or the space of five years *France* enjoyed this tranquility and repose with the two Religions that divided the Kingdom; nevertheless I still doubted there was some Snake lurking in the grass: though for what concern'd the Province of *Guyenne*, I was in no great apprehension; for I had evermore an eye to all things, sending the Queen notice of every thing I heard, with all the fidelity and care wherewith any man living could give an account of his trust. The King at this time went a Progress to visit the several Provinces of his Kingdom, and being come to *Tholouze*, I went to

The King at
Tholouze.

kiss his Majesties hand, who gave me a more honorable reception than I deserv'd. The Hugonots faild not upon this occasion to make use of their wonted artifices and practices, and made me false fire under hand, for openly they durst not do it; but I did not much regard their malice. The Queen did me the honor to tell me all, wherein she manifested the confidence she repos'd in me, and I by that very well, that she did not love the Hugonots. One day being in her Chamber with Messieurs the Cardinals of *Bourbon* and *Guise*, she repeated to me all her fortune, and the perplexity she had been in. And amongst other things, that the night news was brought her of the loss of the Battel of *Dreux* (for some brave fellow who had not leisure to stay to see what Monsieur de *Guise* did after the Constable was routed and taken, had given her this false Alarm) she was all night in Council with the said Cardinals, to consult what course she should take to save the King; where in the end it was resolv'd, that if in the morning the news should be confirm'd, she should try to retire into *Guienne*, though the Journey was very long, accounting that she should be safer there than in any other part of the Kingdom. May God for ever refuse to assist me, if hearing this sad story, the tears did not start into my eyes, saying to her these very words; *Good God! Madam was your Majesty reduc'd to that necessity?* which she assur'd me, and swore upon her soul, she was, as also did both the Cardinals, and to speak the truth had this Battel been lost, her Majesty had been in a very deplorable condition, and I do believe there had been an end of *France*; for the whole State and Religion had been turn'd topsie-turvy, and with a young King every body does what they will.

The Queens
discourse to the
Sieur de Mont-
luc.

Now their Majesties having passed thorough *Guienne*, found all things in a better posture than had been represented to them: For my good friends the Hugonots had spread a report that all was ruin'd and lost: but their Majesties found it in a much better condition than *Languedoc*. They sojourn'd some time at *Mont-de-Marsan* in expectation of the Queen of *Spains* coming to *Bayonne*; and I will here set down a thing that I discover'd there, to shew that I have ever inviolably kept with the Queen the Promise I made her at *Orleans*, after the death of King *Francis*, that I would never depend upon any other than the King and her, as I have never done, and although I have reapt no great advantage

A League for
on foot in
France.

by it, yet I had rather the default should be on the other side, than that I had fail'd of my word. I heard then some whisper of a League that was forming in *France*, wherein were several very great persons, both Princes and others, whom nevertheless I have nothing to do to name, being engag'd by promise to the contrary. I cannot certainly say to what end this League was contriv'd: but a certain Gentleman named them to me every one, endeavouring at the same time to perswade me to make one in the Association, assuring me it was to a good end: but he perceiv'd by my countenance, that it was not a dish for my palate. I presently gave the Queen private intimation of it; for I could not endure such kind of doings, who seem'd to be very much astonisht at it, telling me it was the first syllable she had ever heard of any such thing; and commanding me to enquire further into the business, which I did, but could get nothing more out of my Gentleman; for he now lay upon his Guard.

The Sieur de
Mouluc's ad-
vice to the
Queen.

Her Majesty then was pleased to ask my advice, how she should behave her self in this business, whereupon I gave her counsel to order it so, that the King himself should say in publick, that he had heard of a League that was forming in his Kingdom, which no one could do without giving him some jealousy and offence: and that therefore he must require every one without exception to break off this League, and that he would make an association in his Kingdom, of which he himself would be the Head; for so for some time it was call'd, though they afterwards chang'd the name, and call'd it the Confederation of the King. The Queen at the time that I gave her this advice did by no means approve of it, objecting, that should the King make one, it was to be feared that others would make another; but I made answer and said, that the King must engage in his own all such as were in any capacity of doing the contrary, which however was a thing that could not be conceal'd, and might well enough be provided against. Two dayes after her Majesty being at Supper called me to her, and told me, that she had consider'd better of the affair I had spoke to her about, and found my counsel to be very good, and that the next day, without further delay, she would make the King propound the business to his Council, which she accordingly did, and sent to enquire for me at my lodging, but I was not within. In the Evening she askt me why I did not come to her, and commanded me not to fail to come the next day, because there were several great difficulties in the Council, of which they had not been able to determine. I came according to her command, and there were several disputes. Monsieur de Nemours made a very elegant Speech, remonstrating "That it would be very convenient to make a League and Association for the good of the King and his Kingdom, to the end, that if affairs should so require, every one with one and the same will might repair to his Majesties person, to stake their lives and fortunes for his service, and also in case any one of what Religion soever, should offer to invade or assault them, or raise any commotion in the State, that they might with one accord unite, and expose their lives in their common defence. The Duke of Montpensier was of the same opinion, and several others, saying, that this could not choose but so much the more secure the peace of the Kingdom when it should be known, that all the Nobility were thus united for the defence of the Crown.

The advice of
Messieurs de
Nemours, and
de Montpensier.

The advice of
the Sieur de
Mouluc.

The Queen then did me the honor to command me to speak; whereupon I began, and said, "That the League propos'd could be no wayes prejudicial to the King, being that it tended to a good end for his Majesties service, the good of his Kingdom, and the peace and security of his People; but that one which should be form'd in private could produce nothing but disorder and mischief: for the good could not answer for the evil dispos'd; and should the Cards once be shuffled betwixt League and League, it would be a hard matter to make of it a good game; that being the most infallible way to open a door to let Strangers into the Kingdom, and to expose all things to spoil and ruine; but that all of us in general, both Princes and others, ought to make an Association, which should bear the Title of the League, or the Confederation of the King, and to take a great and solemn Oath, not to decline or swerve from it upon penalty of being declar'd such as the Oath should import: and that his Majesty having so concluded, ought to dispatch Messengers to all parts of the Kingdom, with Commission to take the Oathes of such as were not there present, by which means it would be known, who were willing to live and die in the service of the King and State. And should any one be so foolish or impudent, as to offer to take arms, let us all Sir swear to fall upon them; I warrant your Majesty I will take such order in these parts, that nothing shall stirre to the prejudice of your royal Authority. And in like manner let us engage by the faith we owe to God, that if any Counter-League shall disclose it self, we will give your Majesty immediate notice of it: and let your Majesties be subscrib'd by all the great men of your Kingdom. The Feast will not be right without them, and they also are easie

"to

“to be perswaded to it, and the fittest to provide against any inconveniency may happen.

This was my Proposition, upon which several disputes ensued; but in the end the King's Association was concluded on, and it was agreed, that all the Princes, great Lords, Governors of Provinces, and Captains of Gens d'arms should renounce all Leagues and Confederacies whatsoever, as well without as within the Kingdom, excepting that of the King, and should take the Oath upon pain of being declar'd Rebels to the Crown; to which there were also other obligations added, which I do not remember. There arose several difficulties about couching the Articles, some saying they were to be couch'd after one manner, and others after another; for in these great, as well as in our inferior Councils there is black and white, and obstinacy and dissimulation, and some perhaps there were, who though they set a good face on the matter, were elsewhere engag'd. So goes the World. O 'tis a miserable thing when a Kingdom falls to a King in minority, had he then had the knowledge that he has had since, I do believe he would have made some people speak good *French*. In the end all was past and concluded, and the Princes began to take the Oath, and to sign the Articles, where though I was but a poor Gentleman, the King would also that I should sign with them, by reason of the charge I had under him, and it was also sent to the Constable at *Bayonne*, who sign'd it there. On the other side they sent to the Prince of *Condé*, to the Admiral, Monsieur d'*Andelot*, and other Lords and Governors of *France*; and at the return of the Messengers the King (as I was told) caus'd an Instrument to be ingross'd of all, and put amongst the Records of the Crown. I do believe it cannot be lost, and that there a man may see in black and white some people forsworn to some purpose. I know not who was the beginning of the War *a la St. Michel*; but whoever it was I know he went contrary to his Oath, and that the King, if he so pleased, might justly declare him perjur'd, forasmuch as he stands obliged by his Oath, and his own hand and seal are against him: neither would he have any wrong done him, because he was consenting to the conditions. And although there was no fighting work in this affair, I do nevertheless conceive, that I did the King and Queen a good piece of service in discovering this practice, which had it not been discover'd, matters might peradventure have gone worse than they did.

The King at his return from *Bayonne* took his way towards *Xaintonge*, and *Rochelle*, to which place I attended him, and there he commanded me to return, giving me instructions to cause the Edicts of Pacification to be inviolably observ'd; which I have ever done; neither can it be said that the War began in my Government: and also if they had begun with me, they would have had no great match on't, neither could they have taken me unprovided: but their design was at the head. The Queen who is yet living may remember what I said to her concerning *Rochelle*; for had this feather been pluckt from the Hugonots wing, and secur'd to his Majesties devotion, as I advis'd her it ought to be, *France* had never seen those many mischiefs that have follow'd since. But she was so timorous and fearful of giving any occasion of new trouble, that she durst attempt to alter nothing, and I know very well, that she one night entertain'd me above two hours, talking of nothing but things that had past during the life-time of the King her Husband my good Master. And yet one, who was none of the least, went and reported that I was contriving something to the prejudice of the Peace. Would to God her Majesty had taken my advice, *Rochelle* should never have dar'd to have mutter'd.

The timorousness of the Queen Mother

Now as the King was going out of *Brittany*, to take his way to *Blois*, I had intelligence from *Reuergue*, *Quercy*, *Perigord*, *Burdellois*, and *Aginois*, that the Hugonots were seen to go up and down with great horses in small parties, carrying Sumpters along with them, wherein 'twas said they carried their Arms and Pistols. Three or four times I gave the Queen notice of it, but she would never give credit to my intelligence. In the end I sent to her *Martineau*, the same who at this present is * Comptroller of the Wars, who was not very welcome to bring such news, and three dayes after his arrival at Court *Boëry* a Secretary of mine arriv'd also with other intelligence from me to the Queen, that they all march't openly day and night, though I think she would hardly have believ'd it, had it not been, that at the same time her Majesty had advertisements from all the other Governments of the Kingdom, which made the King go in all diligence directly to *Montluc*. I know not to what this tended, nor why they march't up and down in Troops after that manner, but it ought to have been known, and it was a sign of no good: for without the knowledge of the King, or his Lieutenant, no one ought to have attempted any such thing: and had it not been that I was afraid of being accused for breaking the Peace, I would soon have sent them to their own houses with a vengeance: for I did not sleep. I went however very well accompanied with a good number of Gentlemen, and

* A kind of Secretary who is to give an account of the charge and expence of the Warre.

my own Company of Gens-d'arms into *Roüergue*, *Quercy*, and all along by the skirts of *Perigord*, to see if any one would openly stir, and sent to the King to tell him, that if his Majesty pleas'd to give me leave to talk with them at their return, I hop'd I should be able to give him a good account of their intention : But the King sent me a positive command not to do it, but let them quietly return every man to his own house, and then it was, that I perceiv'd the League of *Mont de Marsan* would not long be observ'd. I thought fit to write this passage, to the end that every one may see how vigilant in my Government I have ever been, seeing that I who was the furthest off, gave his Majestie the first intelligence. And now I will begin the War of *la St. Michel*, which were the second Troubles.

The Sieur de
Montluc has in-
telligence amongst the
Hugonots.

Though it has been said, and I know it also to be true, that the Hugonots did perfectly hate me, yet was I not so negligent in my administration, but that I had acquir'd some friends amongst them, and even some who were of their Consistory. It was not now as in the former troubles, our Cards were so shuffled, and confused, as nothing could be more, and these people were not now so hot in their Religion, as they had formerly been ; many either out of fear, or for good will, came to us, so that we began to be sociable, and to converse with one another. The fear also they were in of me made some few my friends, or at least seem to be. About two Moneths and a half before *la Saint Michel*, I had notice by a Gentleman, and another rich man in the Country, who knew nothing of one another, that the Prince of *Condé*, and the Admiral, had sent to them all to make themselves ready, with horses and arms, as many as had wherewithal to procure them, and that those who had not, should arm themselves as well as they could ; and also that they should lay in great store of Corn and other provisions of Victual at *Montauban*. I judg'd this intelligence to be very probable, forasmuch as there was not a horse to be bought for money in the whole Country, and some there were who sent to the Passes of *Spain* to furnish themselves from thence, and nothing was too dear, young nor old. I therefore dispatcht away the Sieur de *Luffan* post to the Queen, to give her an account of all these things, but her Majesty would believe nothing, sending me word that I was not to give credit to such informations, and was only to take care, that the Edicts were duly observ'd. In the mean time from day to day I had continual advertisements, that their practise still continued, and that they had a private Assembly at *Montauban*, and another at *Tholonze* in the House of *Dacetat*. I again sent the Queen word of all I had heard ; but her Majesty would never be induc'd to believe any thing, though I sent three or four Messengers one after another. In the end she grew so angry at my frequent and reiterated Advertisements, that she commanded *Araignes Syndic* of *Condomois*, to bid me send her no more, for that she knew the contrary of what I sent her intelligence, and said moreover, it seem'd as if I was afraid, and I had word also sent me by others, that they laugh and jeer'd at me in the Council, calling me Trompeter and make-war, they might have said more because I did not hear them ; but had I been within a Pikes length, I should have made some of them silent that spoke very loud. I except those that ought to be excepted : but these Courtiers, who never handle other Iron than a knife and fork, prate at their own pleasure, and play the Demi-Gods, and keep a clutter, as if nothing could be well but what passes through their learned Coxcombs. Nothing of this kind is strange from such people as those ; but I could not but wonder that the Queen being a woman of so great understanding, and knowing what she said to me, should use me so. There was no remedy ; for I was so far off I could make no reply.

The Hugonots
begin to arm.

About fifteen or twenty dayes before *la Saint Michel*, I went to dine at a Gentlemans house a friend of mine, to which place also came one of those who used to give me intelligence, who told me, that but two dayes before one of the Admiral's Gentlemen passed by *Montauban*, and that he was going post from Church to Church, to give them notice to be all in a readiness to rise at the time, when another Gentleman from the said Admiral, or the Prince of *Condé* should come to call them out, which at the furthest would be within fifteen or twenty dayes. I thereupon entreated him, that if he should be in *Montauban* at the time when the Gentleman should come thither, that he would save all the Catholics that were in it, which he promised he would do ; and so I departed thence and came to *Cassaigne*, where I met with a Letter from a Gentleman, who was at that time at *Tholonze*, wherein he gave me the same advice : but being the Letter was not sign'd, I would not send it to the Queen, doubting she should not believe it. The next day there came to the said *Cassaigne* the Baron de *Gondrin*, whom we now call Monsieur de *Montespan*, who was going post to Court to obtain her Majesties Letters in the behalf of his Father and himself, concerning a Suit they had depending in the Parliament of *Tholonze*. I gave credit to those who gave me intelligence, and they were faithful to me ; forasmuch as of three they

they were; two of them had occaſion to uſe me, in the concern of ſome Eſtates they were in ſuit about, and upon that occaſion it was, that I knew by their complexion they were not ſo zealous in their Religion, but that they had a greater kindneſs for worldly concerns, and would forſake Religion, Miniſters, and all, to gain that for which they were in conteſt. (I believe this Religion is nothing but a meer cheat) and without me they could not do their buſineſs: neither was I wanting to aſſiſt them all I could, that I might have continual intelligence from them: for I had ſome intereſt, and was well belov'd in the Parliaments of *Tholouze* and *Bordeaux*, and by the Kings Officers. They had reaſon to do as they did, and I to requite their kindneſs, forasmuch as I ever found them very affectionate to the Kings ſervice. "I then intreated the Baron *de Gondrin* to preſent my moſt humble and obedient ſervice to the Queen, and to deſire her Maſteſty to remember, that ſhe had never been pleaſed to give any credit to the ſeveral advertisements I had continually given her upon all occaſions; and to tell her that her own eyes would ſhortly weep for her unbelief; that her Maſteſty had ſent me word ſhe thought I was afraid; and that in the Kings Council they had been pleaſed to call me Trompetter, and Make-war; but that I did moſt humbly beſeech her Maſteſty to believe, that I had no other apprehenſion for my ſelf, who God be thanked was born without fear, and knew not what belonged to any other than what an honeſt man ought to have: But that I was afraid of the King, and of her, they being threatned with no leſs than death, or imprifonment; and that therefore ſhe ſhould look to her ſelf for a few dayes, and detain the King from going ſo often a hunting, and appearing ſo much in publick as he uſed to do; eſpecially if ſhe had a mind to ſave his life and his Crown. The Baron *de Gondrin* acquitted himſelf faithfully of his Commiſſion, and told me her Maſteſty had made answer, that ſhe would give ear to no intelligence I ſhould ſend her, and that ſhe better knew the Hugonots intentions than I, and alſo their power how far it could extend; and that they deſir'd nothing but peace. Theſe people purſued their practiſes with great cunning, and a far off, and ſhe was certainly charm'd by ſome of their Agents. The ſaid *Sieur de Montefpan* made ſo great haſte, that he return'd ten or twelve dayes before *la St. Michel*, and told me what answer her Maſteſty had given him. It is impoſſible, but that as I have ſaid, ſhe was either gull'd or bewitch'd by ſome one or other ſhe had about her, who did it either out of malice or ignorance: but it was however a moſt ſtrange thing, that ſhe ſhould be ſo deluded, it being a thing ſo notoriously publick with us, that ſo much as the very Pages and Footmen knew of the Preparation the Hugonots made to riſe, and before the ſaid Baron *de Gondrin* return'd, I had intelligence, that eight dayes before or eight dayes after *la Saint Michel*, the Admirals Gentleman was certainly to come. Upon theſe flight answers of the Queens I had like to have committed a very great error, in laying aſide all ſuſpicion, believing that her Maſteſty was better enform'd than I, and that therefore I ought no more to give credit to thoſe who gave me theſe daily advertisements. Whereupon I made a match with the late Biſhop of *Condom*, and the *Sieurs de Saintorens* and *de Tilladet*, Brothers, to go the Baths at *Barbottan*, as I had been by the Phyſicians appointed to do, for a pain in my hip I got at the taking of *Quieres*, which *Monſieur d'Amale* I know does very well remember, and that I believe I ſhall carry along with me to my Grave.

We went upon the Saturday from *Caffaigne* to go lie at *Monſieur de Panias* his houſe, taking two Taffels of Goſhaws along with us, wherewith to paſs away the time at the Baths: and the very night that we came thither in my firſt ſleep I dreamt a dream, that did more diſcompoſe and weaken me, than if I had four dayes had a continued Fever, which I will here ſet down, becauſe there are many living to whom I told it, for theſe are no tales made for pleaſure. I dreamt that all the Kingdom of *France* was in Rebellion, and that a ſtranger Prince had ſeiz'd upon it, and had kill'd the King, my Lords his Brothers, and the Queen, and that I was flying night and day on every ſide to eſcape; for me thought I had all the world in ſearch of me to take me: ſometimes I fled to one place, and ſometimes to another, till at length I was ſurpriz'd in a houſe, and carried before the new King, who was walking betwixt two great men in a Church. He was low of ſtature, but groſs, and well knit, and had on his head a ſquare velvet Cap, ſuch a one as they wore in former times. The Archers of his Guard were clad in yellow, red, and black, and me-thought as they led me priſoner thorough the Streets, all the people ran after me crying, *kill the Villain*; one preſented a naked Sword to my throat, and another a Piſtol to my breaſt: thoſe that led me, crying out, *do not kill him, for the King will have him hang'd in his own preſence*. And thus they carried me before the new King, who was walking, as I ſaid before. There was in the Church neither Image nor Altar; and ſo ſoon as I came before him, he ſaid to me in Italian; (a) *Veni que forſante, tu m'ai fatto la guerra*,

The Parliaments of *Bordeaux* and *Tholouze* affectionate to the Kings ſervice.

The *Sieur de Montluc* goes to the Baths.

A ſtrange Dream of the *Sieur de Montluc*.

2 Come hither Rogue, thou haſt made war againſt me, and theſe ſervants of mine, for which I will preſently hang thee.

b Sacred Majesty, I have serv'd my King as all honest men are oblig'd to do; your Majesty ought not to take that in evil part.
 c Go go hang this Rascal, who will again make war against me.
 d I beseech your Majesty to save my life, and seeing the King my Lord and Master is dead, together with my Lords his Brothers, I do promise to serve you with the same fidelity I did the King when he was alive.
 e Dost thou promise this from thy heart? Go to, I give thee thy life at the request of these who entreat me, be faithful to me.

E a quelli i quali suono mei servitori, io ti farò apicquar adesso, adesso. To which I made answer in the same language, (for me-thought I spoke Tuscan as well as when I was in Sienna) (b) *Sacra Maesta, io servito al mio Re, si come suono obligati fare tutti gli huomini da bene, su Maesta ne deve pigliar questo a male.* At which, enflamed with fury, he said to the Archers of his Guard, (c) *Andate, andate menate lo apicar quel forfante, que mi farebbe ancora la guerra.* Whereupon they would have led me away; but I stood firm, and said to him, (d) *Io supplico su Maesta voler mi salvar la vita, poi che il Re mio signore è morto insieme gli signori suoi fratelli: Io vi prometto che vi servirò con medesima fedeltà con la quale io servito il re mentre viveva.* Vpon this the Lords who were walking with him, begg'd of him to save my life: upon whose intercession, looking stedfastly upon me, he said to me, (e) *Prometti tu questo del cuore?* or *Su io ti da la vita per le preghiere di quelli che mi pregano, sie mi fidele.* These Lords me-thought spoke French, but we two spoke Italian; whereupon he commanded them to take me a little aside, and that he would by and by talk to me again. They then set me by a Chest that stood hard by the Church door, and those who were to look to me fell to talking with the Archers of the Guard. As I was there standing by this Chest, I began to think of the King, and repented me of the oath of Fidelity I had taken; for that peradventure the King might not be yet dead, and that if I could escape away, I would rather wander alone, and on foot, throughout the world to seek the King if he were yet alive; and thereupon took a resolution to run away. Thus resolv'd I went out of the Church, and being got into the Street began to run, and never thought of my hip, for me-thought I ran faster than I would, when on a sudden I heard a cry behind me, *stop the villain*; whereupon some came out of their houses to take me, and others stood in my way; but still I escap'd both from the one, and the other, and recover'd a pair of stone stairs that went up to the Wall of the Town, where coming to the top, I lookt down, and methought the Precipice was so great, that I could hardly see to the bottom. They mounted the stairs after me, and I had nothing wherewith to defend my self, but three or four stones that I threw at them, and had a great mind to make them kill me; for me-thought they would put me to a cruel death; when having nothing left to defend my self withall, I threw my self headlong from the Battlements, and in falling awaked, and found my self all on a water, as if I had come out of a River, my Shirt, the Sheets, the Counterpain all wringing wet, and I fancied that my head was bigger than a Drum. I call'd my *Valet de Chambre*, who presently made a fire, took off my wet shirt, and gave me another. They went also to Madam de Parias, who commanded another pair of Sheets to be given them, and herself rose and came into my Chamber, and saw the Sheets, Blankets, and Counterpain all wet, and never departed the room till all was dried; which whilst they were in doing, I told her my dream, and the fright I had been in, which had put me into this sweat; She remembers it as well as I. The Dream I dreamt of the death of King Henry my good Master, and this put me into a greater weakness than if I had had a continued Fever for a whole week together. The Physicians told me that it was nothing but force of imagination, my mind being wholly taken up with these thoughts: And I do believe it was so; for I have fancied my self in the night fighting with the Enemy, dreaming of the mishaps, and the successes also I afterwards saw come to pass. I have had that misfortune all my life, that sleeping and waking I have never been at rest, and was alwayes sure when I had any thing working in my head that I was to do, not to fail to dream all that night; which is very troublesome.

Intelligence of the design upon Lestoure.

The next day being Sunday they would needs have had me away to the Baths; but I would never be perswaded to go; for it still ran in my mind, that some disaster would befall the King, ever remembring my dream about King Henry; so that for all they could say upon Monday we return'd. Upon Thursday came a Consul from Lestoure, who told me that Monsieur de Fonterailles, Seneschal of Armagnac, kept himself shut up in his Castle, and stirr'd not out, and that all night they heard a knocking within against some Wall, or Wood, and that the Hugonots of the City were secretly providing arms. I made him to return, assuring him, that the Sieur de Fonterailles would never do any thing prejudicial to the Kings service, which I said, relying upon his word, and a promise he had made me in my House at Agen. But the said Consul would not take this for current pay: wherefore I bad him to pry more narrowly into what the Seneschal was doing. Upon Friday there came to me two Consuls from Moissac, who came to tell me, that two of the Kings Officers of Montauban, and several others were fled to Moissac, upon some apparences they had seen in the said Montauban of the taking of Arms. I made these also to return, giving them in charge that without any bustle, or raising of arms, they should be careful of the preservation of their Town, and that if they should hear, that the others

took

took arms they should betake themselves to arms also, and send me an account of all. Upon Sunday Monsieur de Saintorens came to dine with me, where we made a Match the next day to go see our Hawks fly, and that he should come by break of day in the morning to Cassaigne. At midnight there came to me a Messenger from the Sieur de la Lande, Canon of Agen, who brought me a letter from him, and another that had been sent to him by Monsieur de Lauzun. Monsieur de la Lande's Letter was, *I send you a Letter, which Monsieur de Lauzun has sent me in so great haste, that the man who brought it is able to go no farther. In that of Monsieur de Lauzun there was Monsieur de la Lande I pray send speedy notice to Monsieur de Montluc, that the Hugonots have taken arms at Bergerac, and are gone in all haste to seize upon some horses of the Marquis de Trans, which are kept at Eymet, and that all those of this Country take horses where ever they can find them.* Now because the Marquis de Trans was in suit with his Brother-in-law call'd Monsieur de St. Laurence, it presently came into my fancy, that these might be some of the said St. Laurence his people, who were going to execute some distress for Costs against the said Marquis, and made no other account of it. About break of day I arose, and looking out of the window whilst my man was trussing me, to see if Monsieur de Saintorens came, there comes in a man on horseback, who came from a place upon the River Garonne, whom I will not name, for fear he should be kill'd; for the man that sent him to me is yet living; and as I was opening the Letter my Valet de Chambre saw a Ticket fall down upon the floor. I fell to reading the Letter, the contents whereof were, *that he entreated me to give him leave to sell a Quintal of Pepper to a Portugese,* which made me in a rage tear the Letter to pieces, cursing all the Portugese to the pit of Hell; for it put me in mind of the death of my Son at the *Maderas*. This Letter was only purposely contriv'd to enclose the Ticket, and my Valet de Chambre began to gather up the Ticket, telling me it fell out as I open'd the Letter. I then fell to reading the Ticket, where it was thus written, *Betwixt the twenty eighth and thirtieth of this present September, The King taken, the Queen dead, Rochelle taken, Bergerac taken, Montauban taken, Lectour taken, and Montluc dead.* These were the very words of the Ticket; which put me quite out of the humour of Hawking, and reconcil'd me to the Portugal; so that I immediately sent away Captain Mauries, who had been Lieutenant to the late Captain Montluc in Piedmont, Captain Jean of Agen, and Tibanville Commissaries of the Artillery, commanding them to go directly towards Monsieur de Saintorens his house, whom they would meet by the way, and bid him return home, and send notice to Monsieur de Tilladet his Brother, and the Gentlemen his Neighbours, to come by ten of the clock to Sampoy (a Town in the Kings possession, where I have a house) with their horses and arms, without any noise at all; for we were within a league of one another. I gave them also in charge, that so soon as they had spoke with Monsieur de Saintorens, they should gallop away to Lectoure, which was three leagues from Cassaigne (for what the Consul had told me came into my head, and it was very probable, that to cut out work in Gascony they would begin with this strong place) giving them instructions withal, that so soon as they should come within sight of the Castle, to ride softly, pretending to be Merchants, and enter in by the Gate of the Bulwark (doubting the Seneschal might have taken some people into the Castle by the Postern Gate, who if they perceiv'd themselves once to be suspected, might presently seize upon the Town by the help of the Hugonots who were in it) but that so soon as they should be got in, they should talk privately with the Consul, possessing themselves of the said Gate of the Bulwark, and that dead or alive I might find them within it; for I would soon be with them; which they accordingly did. I sent Dispatches also to Monsieur de Verdizan, Seneschal of Bazadois, and to several other Gentlemen his Neighbours assigning them all to repair to Sampoy by ten of the clock; to which place according to appointment I went my self, but found no body there but Monsieur de Saintorens, who by misfortune had found none of the Gentlemen his Neighbours at home, and Monsieur de Tilladet had been let blood that morning, so that no body came but an Archer of my Company call'd Seridos, and two Sons of Monsieur de Beraud, who were also of my Company, their Father being sick, and a Kinsman of mine call'd Monsieur de la Vit. I staid there for Monsieur de Verdizan till twelve a clock, when seeing no body come, I resolv'd to go to Lectoure without expecting any longer, where also I doubted I should come with the latest. Those who were in my company remonstrated to me, that if the Seneschal was crafty, and that he had men in the Castle he would easily defeat me in the Town; to which I made answer, that should I longer deferre going, he would have notice of the three Gentlemen I had sent before, and would so secure the Gates, that I should not be able to enter, and that it was better for us to venture our lives in the Town, than to keep out, and suffer the Town to be lost. We then mounted to horse, being no more than six

Light-

The Sieur de Lauzun sends notice of the Hugonots taking arms.

Advertisement to the Sieur de Montluc.

Diligence of the Sieur de Montluc to preserve Lectoure.

The Sieur de
Montluc in
Lectoure.

Light-horse, and we might be in all (the Servants compriz'd) thirty horse. I commanded fourteen Harquebuzers to follow after me, under the conduct of a Priest called *Maubere*, commanding them to follow at a good shog trot, and so we marcht with these mighty Forces. When we came near unto *Terraube*, a little league from *Lectoure*, there came a man on horseback, dispatht away by the Consul and Captain *Mauriez*, by whom they sent me word, that they had possessed themselves of the Gates, and that the City was all in arms, desiring to know by which Gate I would enter, I told him by the Gate of the Castle; whereupon he return'd upon the spur as he came. By good fortune there hapned to be in the Town the Sieur de *Luffan*, and the Captain his Brother, who came out to meet me, knowing nothing of all this business, they being come thither by appointment of Process, and so we entered into the Town. So soon as we were come into Monsieur de *Poisegurs* house, I entreated the Sieur de *Luffan* to go bid Monsieur de *Fonterailles* come and speak with me, for I had something to say to him that concerned his Majesties service. He sent me word back, *that he would not come, and that he was in the Castle in the behalf of the Queen of Navarre, Lady and Mistress of the said Castle and Town.* Whereupon I sent him word again, *that if he did not come I would assault the said Castle, and at the ringing of the Tocquesaint call in all the neighbouring Towns to my assistance:* which I think startled him, for he came. At his coming I told him, *that I would have the Castle to put people into it, who were of the Religion of the King, and a Gentleman to command them, till I should see to what the beginning of this Commotion tended;* to which he made answer, *that he was a faithful Servant of the Kings, and that he would rather die than do any thing contrary to his Majesties pleasure.* To which I replied again, *that I did believe him to be so, but that notwithstanding I would in the mean time secure the Castle, and that I had a greater confidence in my self than in him;* and after some disputes Monsieur de *Saintorens* put in, and said something, to which the other replied briskly upon him: but he did not go without his answer; and had he not suddenly resolv'd, I was about to have taken him prisoner. Monsieur de *Luffan* then took him aside, remonstrating to him, *that he was highly to blame not to obey, and that it was as much as his life was worth;* for I would die there but I would have it, and that he himself knew well enough what a kind a man I was. Monsieur de *Fonterailles* thereupon came to me, and told me, *that he was ready to deliver up the Castle into my hands, but that he earnestly begg'd of me, that I would permit him to reenter into it, and sleep there that night, that he might pack up all the goods he had there, ready to go away in the morning.* I desir'd him on the contrary, *that he would not offer to stir out of the Town, and that I would deliver the Guard of the Castle to such Catholick Gentlemen as he should name.* He therefore nam'd several, but I would like of none of them, when seeing I would not put in those he desir'd, he nam'd Monsieur de *Cassaigne* (a neighbour to the Town, who since has been Lieutenant to Monsieur d'*Arnes* Company) with whom I was content, and sent presently for him. However I plaid the Novice in one thing, for I let the said Sieur de *Fonterailles* go in again upon his word into the Castle, which was not discreetly done; for a man should alwayes in such cases take all things at the worst.

Order given to
the Captains.

The Sieur de
Fonterailles
delivers up the
Castle of Le-
ctoure to Mon-
sieur de Mont-
luc.

In the mean time Monsieur de *Verduzan* arriv'd with four or five Gentlemen in Company with him, and presently after Monsieur de *Maignas*, and every hour some or other came in to us. After Supper we went out of the Castle, where I fell to view and consider the Postern of the false Bray, and began to remonstrate to those friends who were with me, that in case the Seneschal should have made an appointment for those of his Party to come that night to the Portal, the Guards and Centinels of the Town could not possibly hinder him from letting in whom he pleased, wherefore I was resolv'd to lodge *Theanville* Commissary of the Artillery, and the Priest with the fourteen Harquebuzers in the false Bray, betwixt the two Portals; and it was well for me I did so, for otherwise they had trapp'd us, and cut all our throats that night. See how a man may fall into danger thorough his own fault: for I thought my self wonderful wise and circumspect; and yet notwithstanding I put a place of so great importance, together with the whole Country in danger to be lost. I was not yet satisfied with this Guard, but I moreover order'd all the Gentlemen and their Servants to lie down in their Cloaths, and sent a command to all those of the Town to do the same. In the morning by Sun-rise the said Seneschal came to me again, to entreat me to leave him the Castle, and that he would give me security, with a great many other fine good-morrows; but I told him he did but lose time in such proposals; for I was resolv'd to put men into it: so that seeing no other remedy, he receiv'd the Sieur de *la Cassaigne* with twenty Soldiers into the place, and then came to take his leave of me. I did what I could to perswade him to stay in the Town; but he made answer, *that he would not trust himself with the Inhabitants,* beginning to tell me, *that I*

pat

put a very great affront upon him, in not confiding in his Loyalty; that he was a man of a race too remarkable for their services, and fidelity to the Crown of France, to be suspected, and that his Ancestors had sav'd the Kingdom. To which I made answer, that his Grandfather, of whom he intended to speak, did never save the Kingdom, and that in his time reigned Lewis the twelfth, in whose Reign the Kingdom had never been in any such danger, and that if it was of the time that King Charles retir'd to Bourges, that he intended to speak, that honor was to be attributed to Potton, and la Hire, of whose valour all the Chronicles are full. For la Hire and Potton, two Gascon Gentlemen, were indeed cause of the recovery of the Kingdom of France: yet would I not deny but that his Grand father was a great and valiant Captain, who having fifty Gens-d'armes des Ordonnances, and being General of twelve hundred Light-horse, the most of which were Albanois, perform'd great services for the Crown. In recompence whereof the King also married him to the Inheritrix of Chattillon, by whom he had seven or eight thousand Livres yearly revenue: but that the House from which his Father descended, which was that of Fonterailles, was as mean a Family as mine; At which he broke out into a sudden passion, saying, would to God, would to God I might die at this instant, provided the Prince of Navarre was at age to command! why said I? what reason have you to wish your own death for the Prince of Navarre, seeing that neither you, nor any of your Race, have ever receiv'd any benefit or honor from the House of Navarre, nor other, than from the King? to which he replied, that it was true, but that he did so love the Prince of Navarre, that he would be content to die upon that condition. I then began to suspect there was some knavery in the wind, and so he bad me farewell. Monsieur de la Cassaigne, who was present at all this discourse, waited upon him to his Horse, where, as he was going to put foot in the stirrup, he cried out like a man in despair, O unfortunate man that I am, I shall never again have the confidence to shew my face amongst men of honor! Whereupon Monsieur de la Cassaigne took occasion to tell him, that he was too blame to complain of me, who had treated him with all the civility he could himself expect, or desire, and that perhaps another would not have used him with so great respect, as I had done; to which he replied in these words, but you do not know all; this day the Kingdom is set to sail, farewell France; and so mounting to horse, he went directly to la Garde, the House of Monsieur de Firmacon his Uncle.

Before the Sieur de la Cassaigne could return back to me there came fifteen or sixteen Peasants loaden with Harquebuzes, Halberts, and Cross-bows, leading a boy prisoner along with them, whom they brought into my Chamber, in the presence of all the Gentlemen that were there, telling me they were of la Masquere, within a quarter of a league of Lectoure (which is a little Hamlet consisting of seven or eight Tenements) and that at midnight there came a great company of armed men, both horse and foot, and drew themselves into a great Meadow close by the houses, where they laid them down upon the ground. The poor people saw them, and durst not stir out of their houses: but they saw them send six horse-men as far as the Suburbs of Lectoure, where they met intelligence, that I with a great number of Gentlemen was entred into the Town; and had also sent to discover those whom I had planted without to hinder the relief: by which seeing their enterprise was defeated, and concluding that the Seneschal was taken prisoner, they return'd full speed to their Troops, telling them that I was entred into the Town, and had taken the Seneschal prisoner, wherefore they must retire before it was day, that they might not be known. And (as the night has no shame) they took so great a fright at the news, that they began to throw away their arms in flying, and by break of day passed by Plioux, where the common people began to pursue them, and they running away to abandon their arms, which the Inhabitants of Plioux had almost all, excepting some few that fell into the hands of those of la Masquere. The horse ran straight to their other Troop that had made a halt at St. Rose, till they should be commanded to march: who also took a terrible fright in retiring, running every man as fast as his horse would carry him to his own house. The chief Leaders of these two Parties of Horse and Foot were the Sieur de Montamat, brother to the Seneschal, the Sieurs de Castelnau, d'Andax, de Popas, and de Peyrecave. I knew nothing as yet of the Troop at St. Rose, for neither the Boy nor the Boors of la Masquere had heard of any other than that they had seen. All the Gentlemen hereupon advis'd me to go take the Seneschal, and clap him up prisoner, which nevertheless I would not do out of respect to the House of Firmacon, to which he was a Nephew, remonstrating to them, that should I take him prisoner, the Court of Parliament of Tholouze would immediately send to demand him of me, whom I could not justly deny, and if they once got him, he would not be two hours alive, and I would by no means be the occasion of his ruine.

* The ordinary men at arms in France first reduc'd by Charles the 7th in the year 1444 into certain Companies, and under particular orders, one whereof was that the Gendarm must at the youngest be twenty, and one and twenty years of age, and must have been one year at least an Archer, which no man was to be but a Gentleman born, or one that had been a Captain, Lieutenant, Ensign, or Serjeant-Major of a Foot Company six years. Who was also by the order of his admission to keep three Horses, two for service, and one for his Baggage, in regard whereof he had 400 Livres Tournois yearly entertainment. These Gens-d'arms were at first but 1500 in all: but they have since been encreased to a hundred Companies.

The Hugonors come too late to relieve Lectoure.

Design upon
the King.

Whilst we were in these disputes, Monsieur de la Cassaigne came, and told me the words he had said to him at his going away, no body being by; whereupon I entreated him to go into the Town to seek out some Hugonot, who was a friend to the Seneschal, and to give him all assurance that he should receive no manner of injury, nor displeasure, provided he would reveal the Enterprize. He went then to speak with one who was a very intimate friend of his, telling him what words the Seneschal had cast out at his departure, and that it was as much as his life was worth, if he did not discover all he knew: who after he had given him all the assurance he desir'd, made him this reply. *What did the Seneschal mean to enter into so many disputes with Monsieur de Montluc, I was behind him when he contested so highly with the said Sieur, and do wonder that he did not seize him prisoner, which had he done all we of the Religion had been dead men: I pray be faithful, and take care, that we may have no harm done us; for there is not a person of the Religion, who knows any thing of the Enterprize of France, and of this Town, but those who are gone out with him, my self excepted, who durst not go. This day or to-morrow the King or the Queen shall be taken or dead, and all the whole Kingdom of France revolted.*

I pray consider a little how closely these people could carry on such an Enterprize as this: I was told that in their Consistory they made them swear to renounce Paradise, if they ever reveal'd any thing. Monsieur de la Cassaigne returned presently to me, and talking me aside told me all that the other had said to him, and then I remembred my self of the Advertisements in the Ticket, and of my unfortunate Dream, and began with tears in my eyes to declare all I had heard to Messieurs the Seneschal of Bazadois, de Saintorens, and to all the Gentlemen who were present, who all began to cry out, *that we ought to mount presently to horse; and gallop after the Seneschal*, which nevertheless I would not do for the aforementioned reasons, remonstrating to them, *that though he should be taken, the evil would not be prevented by the seizing of his person, and that the mischief was sufficiently discover'd by the words he had cast out to Monsieur de la Cassaigne: which also this other had confirm'd to him: but that I would presently send away to all the Gentlemen, to give notice to all the other Gentry, and their Neighbours, to assemble together for the common safety*, which I did, and was very glad within my self, in this ill aspect of affairs, to have pluckt so considerable a feather from their wing.

I sent immediately post to Tholouze to advertize the Court and the Capitouls, that they must forthwith betake themselves to arms, and employ all they could wrap and wring, either to succour the King, if he was living; or to revenge his death, if he were dead. I caused some provisions immediately to be put into the Castle, and left the fourteen Harquebuzers with Monsieur de la Cassaigne, sending to the Soldiers of Florence and Pancillac forthwith to come, and put themselves into the Town, and that they were to obey Monsieur de la Cassaigne. Whilst I was about these dispatches there arriv'd Monsieur de la Chappelle, Vice-Seneschal, and Monsieur de Romgas (the same who has so signaliz'd himself against the Turk at Malta) who had both of them been all night on horse-back, by reason that a Hugonot (whose life Monsieur de la Chappelle had sav'd) came ad midnight to give them notice that we were marching directly to Lectoure, where the Seneschal was by the Postern to let them in. Upon this intelligence they had mounted to horse (for they were near Neighbours) and put themselves into a little Wood, where they discover'd these people, who were retiring in great fear, but durst not stir out of the Wood, having no more than seven or eight horse; but so soon as it was day took their way towards Lectoure, though they fear'd it was already taken, and as they came to the Town were inform'd, that I was within it, where they told me of the disorder they had seen in the Troop of St. Rose, and then we knew that they had been in two Troops. Monsieur de la Chappelle then began to enform himself on his part, and the Court of Parliament sent in all dilligence to enform themselves on theirs. The Indictment was drawn up, and a hundred or more Witnesses examin'd, the most of which were of the new Religion, and who had actually been in those forenamed Troops, who all depos'd one and the same thing, of a Conspiracy plotted against the King and State.

In the progress of the Tryal the Witnesses gave evidence of the Enterprize, which was, That that very night de la St. Michel the Seneschal was to let in the two Companies of Foot into the Town by the Postern of the False-Bray, and afterwards into the Castle by the Postern belonging to it. Of these the Consuls of the Town kept one key, and the Seneschal another, and so soon as he was gone the Enterprize being discover'd, they went to examine the two Locks, and found that those of the Consuls were broke open, and put again into their place, with nails that were not clencht. (All this is couch'd in the Process) and that after the two Foot Companies should be Masters of the Town, the Horse were to come at a good round trot before Cassaigne where I was, which was but three leagues

leagues from *Lectoure*, and shut me up in the Castle; and that at the same time all their Churches of *Nerac*, *Castelgeloux*, *Thoneins*, *Cleirac*, *Mourejan*, *Condom*, *Moncrabeau*, and other adjacent places were to come flocking about the Castle. These were the fruits of the good prayers of their Godly Ministers; and being the Castle had no Flanckers, they made sure to have me in four and twenty hours by sapping. *Rapin* the same day came with four hundred men to *Grenade*, being come from *Montauban*, who so soon as ever he should have notice that I was shut up, was to march day and night to come before the said *Cassaigne*, they making account that I could not be reliev'd in eight dayes, there being no place of any strength to which any one could repair, they having possessed themselves of *Lectoure*. The Enterprize was so laid, as it had been certain, and would infallibly have taken effect, had I been asleep in the business; or if to move in State like the Kings Lieutenant, I had staid till morning, that those I had sent for had come in.

The Kings Lieutenants may here take a good example by me, both as to the good intelligence I was careful to keep, in my judgment to provide against the present extremity, and in my prompt resolution (not regarding whether I was weak or strong) to go, as I did, to put my self into the Town: for all these things together preserv'd the place in the Kings obedience, together with my own life, and consequently the whole Country, which had been absolutely lost had I been kill'd, and *Lectoure* taken: for that being surpriz'd, there had been no place of safety, but within the Gates of *Tholouze* and *Bordeaux*: and when all *France* had heard that *Guienne* was lost, I leave men of understanding to judge how the Kings affairs would have been discountenanced, and the ardour of those who stood for him cool'd at the news. I believe the greatest part of them would have closed with the Enemy. Therefore do not you who are the Kings Lieutenants propose to your selves; I must stay for the Nobles, I must go well attended; for if you be such as you ought to be, that is to say, fear'd, and belov'd, you your self alone are worth a hundred. Every one that sees you march will come in to your assistance, and take courage by your example, and your Enemies for one man that you have will say you have a hundred. It is no time to dally, and stand upon punctillio's in such affairs, for whilest yo deferre time, to Lord it in greater state, you lose your place. And take warning by the error I had like to have committed in permitting the Seneschal to go again into the Castle upon his word; we live in a time wherein it is the fashion with many to dispencc with the breach of their faith; and a man shall excuse himself that his promise was extracted from him by force, and in the mean time you are shut out of your Fort. Never deferre that till to morrow that you can do to day, for it failed but very little that I was not lost; and had I not set those people without, the Succours had entred, and the Seneschal had had good reason to laugh at my easiness. This was the Enterprize upon *Guienne*; and I dare be bold to say, that *Bordeaux* it self had not been very secure had my throat been cut: for a Country without a head is in very great danger, and the Hugonots had very great intelligence, and a very strong party in that City.

After I had left order with Monsieur de la Cassaigne about *Lectoure*; the same Tuesday (being *Michaelmas* day) I went in all diligence to *Agen*, where so soon as I arriv'd, I immediately sent for the Sieurs de Nort the Kings Counsellor, and Delas the Kings Advocate to come to me, who were assisting to me in all my dispatches, and were ever my Counsel in all affairs. We sent then for two Clerks of the Town, and two Secretaries of mine, and of all night long we did nothing but write Letters to all the Lords and Gentlemen of the Country, and I do believe amongst us we writ above two hundred. The Elder Brother of the Counsellor call'd de Navy was Consul, who did nothing all night long but run up and down to seek out Messengers to send every way. I gave notice in my Letters to every one, as well of the attempt upon *Lectoure*, as of the words the Seneschal had cast out, and of the other who had confirmed them. I gave them "likewise to understand, that now the Kings good and faithful Subjects would be known, "as also who were good Frenchmen, and that since there had been a King in *France*, so "fair an occasion had never presented it self, wherein to manifest the fidelity we owe to "the Crown of *France*; for at that very time the life of the King was in apparent danger, if not already raken from him, which should it prove so, we were all bound by "the Law of God, Nature, and Nations to revenge his death: or at the least he was "threatned with Captivity, and in such an extremity, those who should sit at home, "ought to be branded for disloyalty, and mark'd for Traitors to their Prince and his "Crown for ever: that the *Gascons* had never hitherto been branded, with those Characters, "and that therefore I begged of them we might not leave such an obloquy upon our own "Posterity, nor our Childrens Children, that should succeed them. In short I omitted nothing I could think of that might excite or encline them to betake themselves to arms,

Diligence of
the Sieur de
Montluc.

The Sieur de
Montluc's hu-
mour.

and to succour the King ; assigning them all to meet at *Agen* by the tenth of *October* following. The forementioned persons and I continued five dayes and five nights, sending away dispatches to all parts, insomuch that I do not think any one of us had ever of all that while an hour in four and twenty to sleep in, which put all three of us into so great a distemper, that we verily believ'd we should fall sick. I have all my life hated writing, having ever much rather pass over a whole night with my arms on my back, than to spend half so much time in writing ; for I was never cut out for that employment, though perhaps there might be some fault in my self, as I have observ'd in some others, who have been on the contrary so over-addicted to it, that they had rather be in their Cabinets, than in the Trenches. News came to me from every side, that every one prepar'd to march, and I dispatch'd forty Captains of Foot, four Companies of Gens-d'arms, which had been those of the Sieurs de *Gondrin*, de *Masses*, d' *Arne*, and de *Bardozan*, and eight or ten Cornets of Harquebuzers on horseback. Of these I gave the Command of the Foot to Monsieur de *Saintlorens*, who was Colonel of the Legionaries, that is to say, fifteen Ensigns for him, and fifteen for my Son the Knight of *Malta*, who was in *Piedmont*, and to whom I writ to come away to the Army. After I had heard what had past at the fine business of *Meaux*, I sent him to the King, beseeching his Majesty to conferre upon him the Command of the fifteen Ensigns ; which also he did with a very good will.

The King sends
to the Sieur
de Montluc.

The ninth day after *la Saint Michel*, as I was walking upon the Sands of *Agen* to see the Horse and Foot come in from all parts, which I quarter'd on both sides the River *Garonne*, there came to me Captain *Burée*, who had been eight dayes in coming, and escap'd narrowly four or five times of being taken, having come most part of the way on foot, not daring to shew himself at the Post-houses, most of the Post-masters being Hugonots. He brought me a Letter from the King, and another from the Queen, wherein their Majesties acquainted me with their fortunes, and how they had been very near being taken, his Majesty exhorting me once more to preserve for him the Province of *Guienne*, as I had done in the former troubles. His Majesty in these Letters did not send to me for any Succours, fearing I should have enough to do to secure the Country with all the forces I could make in it. The said Captain de *Burie* staid but two hours with me, I sending him back in all diligence (for so I was to proceed, and had alwayes done so) to assure their Majesties of the Succours I was about to send into *France*, and to tell them that I hoped to secure *Guienne* with the Gentlemen only who were Natives of the Province, and the People of the Country. But I did not fail to write to the Queen, that she should no more be so incredulous, nor deaf to my advertisements ; and that had she pleased to have begun the game, and got the start of her Enemies, she had put them quite out of their play. I then presently dispatch'd away new Messengers to *Tholouze* and *Bordeaux*, and to all the Gentlemen of that part of the Country, with Copies of the King and Queens Letters, desiring them to march with all possible expedition to relieve the King, whom the Enemy had besieg'd in *Paris*, and one thing I can affirm with truth, that I never in my life either saw, or read in any History of so wonderful a diligence, as every one made both Horse and Foot to this effect. There is not in the whole world so good a People,

The People of
France very
good and loy-
al.

nor a Gentry so affectionate to their Prince, had not this new Religion corrupted them ; for in truth that has spoil'd all ; I do not know who will save it. I was in *Limoges* in nine and twenty dayes (accounting from the thirtieth of *September*, that I wrote my dispatches) with a thousand or twelve hundred Horse, and thirty Ensigns of Foot, whom I there muster'd together with the Gens-d'armes, the Treasurer-General de la *Gourgues* having brought along some money he had taken up for that purpose ; for I for my own part was never accustomed to finger the Kings money. Being at *Limoges* I assembled all the Lords and Captains of Gens-d'armes in my Chamber, and there deliver'd my self to them after this manner.

The Sieur de
Montluc's Ha-
rangue to the
Lords and
Gentlemen of
Gascony at
their going to
the King.

" Gentlemen and fellows in arms, of all the good fortunes I have had since I came into the world (and I have been blest with as many perhaps as any Captain in *France*) nor of all the services I have perform'd for the Crown (which have been no inconsiderable ones, as you your selves know, and have also therein had all of you a part, and stak't your lives and fortunes in the Quarrel) I never met with any that gave me so great satisfaction as this occasion that now presents it self, of manifesting our loyalty and courage. And you ought to feel the same joy in your bosoms that I do : for what greater blessing could God Almighty have conferr'd upon you, than to see your selves assembled together in so brave and so spritely a body in so short a time on horse-back to go to the relief of your Prince, for whose defence God has given you life, and made you men, and me also ; I say for the defence of his Person : for, as you very well know, the Masque is now taken

away,

“away, and there is no more question of the *Mafs*, or the * *Presche*, but it is immedi-
 “ately and directly against his person, that this Rebellion is set on foot, and those who
 “were engag’d in the wicked Enterprize of *Meaux*, as you your selves very well know,
 “directed the attempt immediately against his Majesties sacred person. How great a
 “good fortune is it then to see, that God has reserv’d you to revenge so great an injury,
 “and to assist your King, and natural Prince in so great a necessity? O my Companions!
 “how much ought you to esteem your selves happy, how highly ought you to be satisf-
 “fied with your fortune? How will the King be ravish’d with joy to see such a Nobles
 “from the extreamest part of his Kingdom, in so short a time, and in so brave an equi-
 “page come in to his relief? He will never forget so great, and so timely a service, but for
 “ever acknowledge it to you and yours. Believe me Gentlemen, though I am infinitely
 “pleased to think, that I have some share in this service, yet I am very sensibly afflicted,
 “that I am like to have no hand in the main stroke of the business, and that I cannot
 “have the honor to lead you to this glorious work, that we might go together to lay down
 “our lives at his Majesties feet for the defence of his life and Crown. May God never
 “prosper me, if I do not desire it more than ever I did any thing in this world, but you
 “see it cannot be without putting the whole Province into manifest hazard, which I hope
 “to preserve with those few Forces are left me in despite of the Enemies practices. It only
 “then, Gentlemen, remains that you make the haste requir’d, remember what you have
 “seen me do, and how often you have heard me say, that *diligence is the best part of a*
 “*Soldier*. You know not what condition the Kings affairs may be in, nor how pressing
 “his danger may be; therefore do not delay time I beseech you. I know there are ma-
 “ny amongst you, not only worthy to lead a Troop, but to command an Army: but let
 “me intreat you to approve the choice I have made in the person of Monsieur de Terride
 “for the leading of this, to whom Monsieur de Gondrin shall be assisting. He is the old-
 “est Captain, and of greatest experience amongst you, and will, I am confident, acquit
 “himself worthy of his charge; and rest you assur’d, that I will remember to have a care
 “to preserve your Houses in your absence. Do me the favour also to think of me when
 “you come to the work we have often been employ’d in together, and then make it known
 “that you are Gentlemen, and *Gascons*, and that there is not a Nation in the world to be
 “compar’d to ours for feats of arms. I have been conversant with all the Soldiers of the
 “world, but have never seen the like to ours, and in all engagements and exploits of war,
 “whether little or great, that I have been an eye-witness of, the *Gascons* have ever carried
 “away the Prize. Maintain I beseech you this reputation, you will never have such an
 “opportunity again wherein to manifest your valour, and the zeal and affection you bear
 “to your natural King and Sovereign.

* So they use
to call the Hu-
gonot Assem-
blyes,

They all return’d me thanks, assuring me, that they would not stay longer than was
 necessary to bait, in any place till they came to the King, and Monsieur de Terride made
 me a particular acknowledgment for the honor I had done him. After, they fell into con-
 sultation, which way they should go, where every one advis’d what he thought best, for
 in matter of Counsel, it has evermore been my custom, to make every one deliver his opi-
 nion; I have found advantages by it: but after many disputes, it was at last determin’d
 that they should take the way directly to *Moulins*. For me, Monsieur de Monsalles had
 like to have made me a little angry; for he would needs have been going before, as if he
 had had more desire, and a greater affection than the rest: but I told him, that it was
 neither safe nor fit to leave the Party; and it was after such a manner that he saw very
 well he had displeased me. I deliver’d to him the leading of the Vant-Guard, and to
 Monsieur de Saintorens the Command of the Foot, and before my departure from *Limoges*,
 I saw them all march away. I shall say nothing of this Enterprize of *St. Michel*, it
 was so foul and unworthy a Frenchman, and worse than the business of *Amboise*, where-
 in I perfectly discern’d the effects of the League, or Counter-league I had heard whis-
 per’d at *Mont-de-Marsan*. I know not what use was made of those Succours I sent, but
 I dare be bold to say, that never any Lieutenant of *Guienne* drew so many Gentlemen,
 and so great a number of Foot, all on a sudden out of the Country as I did: nor so many
 men of singular note for their parts and valour; of whom I had so good an opinion,
 that had I met the Prince of *Condé* without the Traitors, I would not have given our Vi-
 ctory for his; and as I return’d back I still met several parties who were coming in to joyn
 with the rest. Neither shall I meddle to set down how these Succours behav’d them-
 selves in the occasions presented, forasmuch as the Monsieur himself was there, and all
 the Princes and great Captains of *France*.

Monsieur de
Monsalles leads
the Vanguard
of the Gascon
Succours.

Now

Now when I thought to have this great diligence of mine very kindly taken, and expected to receive a return of thanks from their Majesties for so opportune a service, I was quite contrary presented with a Patent, that one *Dragon*, Deputy to the receiver of *Gulenne* brought from Court, and that was sent by the King to Monsieur de *Candalle*, by virtue whereof his Majesty made the said *Sieur de Candalle* his Lieutenant General in the City of *Bordeaux* and *Bourdillois*, with as ample commission, and full power, as if I was there. I was very much surpriz'd at this, and knew very well that some one or another had given me a Traverse at Court, and that the King and Queen would never have put such a trick upon me, had it not been for some back friend of mine; and thanks be to God the Kings of *France* have ever such kind of Vermin to spare, who have evermore lent their Charities to the best and most faithful servants our Kings have had, which made me not so much wonder at this last kindness of theirs. It was not the first office of that kind I had receiv'd at their hands, Monsieur de *la Malassize*, who is yet living, did me one in *Romania* to Monsieur de *Guise*, endeavouring by that means to make me be put out of the Government of *Tuscany*, to make way for Monsieur de *la Molle*, making the Duke believe that I had spoke unhandsomely of him, which the said Duke gave credit to, and for a time bore me ill will upon that account. Since in the presence of Monsieur d'*Aumale*, Monsieur de *Montpezat*, Messieurs de *Cipierre* and de *Randan* (which two first are dead, and the other two living) at *Macherate*, I acquitted myself; yet could I not so far dispossess him of his ill conceiv'd opinion, but that some seeds of it remain'd, so that he was never absolutely reconcil'd till the business of *Thionville*. At my return to *Montalsin* it fail'd but very little that I did not cut the throat of him that was the cause, and therefore 'tis no wonder if he continue to do me all the ill offices he can: yet I will not here insert the reasons for several considerations. I shall still let him proceed to do as he has hitherto done, managing the Queen, though I hope her Majesty will one day alter her opinion, as did Monsieur de *Guise*.

Of the Siege
of *Vulpian*.

Charity lent to
Monsieur de
Termes,
and
to Monsieur
d'*Aumale*.

I had another good office done me when King *Henry* sent me into *Piedmont* after my return from *Sienna*, at the taking of *Vulpian*, only because I kept about Monsieur d'*Aumale*, not sparing my life no more than the meanest Soldier in the Army, and I think they had no mind that Monsieur d'*Aumale* should have the honor to take it, nor other places that he took; I had there a Letter brought me from the Constable, wherein he writ me word, that the King had commanded him to write to me, that I should retire to my own house till further order, charging me, that I had said I would not obey Monsieur de *Termes*, as if I had not alwayes been accustomed to obey him; for I have all my life preferr'd him before my self in all things; and he did deserve it. Not long before, some body had done him such another courtesie, saying, that by reason of his Marriage in *Piedmont*, and the friendship he had contracted with the *Biragues*, he might easily seize *Piedmont* into his own hands; as if either the one or the other had ever so much as thought of any such thing: however this was sufficient to make him to be call'd back out of *Piedmont*: but he was too honest a man, and that was not a fit recompence for so many services as he had done. Monsieur d'*Aumale* also had the same piece of service done him, it being reported to the King, that the Princes would not obey him, and that therefore his Majesty must send Monsieur de *Termes* to command; as if Monsieur d'*Aumale* was not of a better Family than Monsieur de *Termes*, and that the Princes would sooner obey a private Gentleman, than one who was a Prince, though he was not of the Royal blood; I can affirm, as having been an eye-witness, and no man can give a better testimony than my self, that the said Princes no more spar'd themselves than the meanest Gentleman in the Army, and perform'd a piece of bravery worthy the noble Families from whence they descended; for they went on in their own persons to the assault, and mounted the breach at *Vulpian*, scrambling up with the help of their Pikes, and some few Ladders of Ropes, for the Breach was not reasonable, as I have said elsewhere before.

St. *Blanzay*
hang'd.

And since I am entred upon the discourse of the good offices honest men have done them at Court, I will reckon up some others that I have seen in my time, as also some that I have read of in the Roman Histories. And of these I will first mention that which had like to have cost Monsieur de *Lautrec* so dear; which was, that a certain person detein'd from him a hundred thousand Crowns, which the King had commanded St. *Blanzay* to send him, wherewith to pay the *Swiss*, which summe had it accordingly been sent, the *Swiss* had not retir'd into their own Country; for they only return'd for want of pay, and by that means the Dutchy of *Millan* was lost. Upon which occasion this poor Lord Monsieur de *Lautrec* was hardly thought good enough for the Dogs, for a certain time, and could never obtain the favour to be heard to justifie himself: but in the end the King was pleas'd to hear him, and thereupon caused St. *Blanzay* to be hang'd, though the fault

was

was none of his; but the poor man paid for't. I know who was the cause of all this disorder: but I have nothing to do to write it. Oh 'tis a tickle thing to serve these great ones, and the paths are very slippery men are to walk in, but we must thorough. God has ordain'd them to command, and us to obey, and others also obey us, and yet we are all of one Father and Mother; but it is too cold fled to derive our Pedegrees.

I saw also the trick that was playd Monsieur de Bourbon, by which he was reduc'd to that despair, that he was constrain'd to do many things unworthy of a Prince; for they would take his Estate from him, and reduce him to his Childs part only of the inheritance of the House of Bourbon, of which he was a younger Brother. At the Camp of Messieres, and in the Expedition of Valentiennes, they made him swallow two injuries at once; if Monsieur Bonivet, who was Admiral, was or no the cause I am not able to say, but it was so reported; some one or other must alwayes bear the blame. I think had not the King of himself been dispos'd to use him ill, neither his Majesty, nor the Queen his Mother would have driven this brave Prince into such extremes. However it was, the foul play that was offer'd him was the cause of a great mischief to France, and the King repented him of it more than once afterward. The Prince of Aurange, who commanded the Emperors Army after the death of the said Seigneur de Bourbon, had also a little before quitted the King's service by reason his Majesty had commanded the Marechal de Logis to dislodge him for the King of Poland's Embassador. The occasion indeed was very light, but it is nevertheless very true, that a brave heart disdains to be despis'd.

There was another good office also done to Andrea Auria, who was Admiral of his Majesties Gallies, at the time when he accounted the Kingdom of Naples as good as sure; and that was by giving the Gallies to Monsieur de Barbezienx, which for any default on his part could not justly be done, for Count Philippin d'Auria his Nephew had won the Battel by Naples, which I have already writ of, against the Viceroy Don Hugues de Moncalde, who was there slain, and the Marquis de Guast, with several other great persons taken prisoners. The said Count was so careful and vigilant, that so much as a Cat could not enter into the City of Naples; those within were reduc'd to the last extremity, the Viceroy dead, many of the Grandees prisoners, and the rest revolted to the King; it must therefore of necessity be confest, that the Kingdom had been the Kings in despite of all the world, when the just spite and indignation of the said Andrea Auria depriv'd him of it. When the King was taken prisoner at the Battel of Pavie, and that they carried him by Sea into Spain, Andrea Auria went out to meet the Gallies that convoy'd him, to fight them to deliver the King out of their hands; which he had done, and put it to hazard; but the King sent to advise him not to do it, for if he did he was a dead man; and they had determin'd to put him to death, should Andrea Auria present himself to fight them; which was the reason that the said Andrea Auria returned to Genoa, which at that time was the Kings. See here another great misfortune, and an unfortunate Traverse, which brought as great an inconvenience along with it, as that of Monsieur de Bourbon; upon which occasion we not only lost all we had got in the Kingdom of Naples, but Genoa also; for all the losses as well of the Kingdom of Naples, as of Genoa, hapned by reason of the revolt of the said Andrea Auria, who took offence at the wrong and dishonor had been done him, in taking from him the Command of the Gallies to give it to another, without having any way misdeemean'd himself, or having receiv'd any disadvantage in his Charge, and also for that they would make him give up his Prisoners of war without any recompence. Now the said Andrea Auria kept the sea in so great awe, that the King durst never offer to pass into Italy till such time as he had won him into his own service; and the Emperor having heard how he had been used, sent him a Blank to write his own conditions, provided he would come over to his service. After which the said Andrea Auria sent to Count Philippin his Nephew to retire from before Naples, and abandoning the Kings service to come to him at Gajetta, which he did, and before he went, put all the provision he suddenly could into the City, that it might not be lost, and so he that had done them the mischief did them the good, without which they must within eight dayes have been necessitated to capitulate. O that such a man as this ought to have been husbanded, for I think that he alone ruin'd the affairs of King Francis. Kings and Princes ought not to use Strangers at that rate; nor their own Subjects neither, when they know them to be men of service: and if our Master was ill advis'd, the Emperor was very discreet to put in in time, to win the said Auria over to his side, that the King might not have leisure to reconcile himself to him, and to reestablish him in his service. Wherein Princes ought to take good example, and learn to be wise at anothers expence, and should have a care of disoblighing a generous heart, and a man of employment, especially

Of how great importance it was to the Kingdom of France to discontent Andrea as one who alone ruin'd the Kings affairs.

cially when you have no such tye upon him, as upon a natural Subject of your own, who has his Wife and Children and Estate at your mercy. The King had none of all these ties upon *Andrea Auria*, and it was one of the greatest incongruities I have seen in my time, and also of far greater importance than that of the Duke of *Bourbon*.

The Prior of
Capua

I saw another done to the Prior of *Capua*, who was one of the bravest men that these hundred years has put to sea, and as much feared both by Turks and Christians, whom they unjustly accus'd of Piracy, so that he was constrain'd to go put himself and his two Gallies into the protection of the *Malteses*. O how invincible a wrong did the King there do this worthy person, to be so facile of belief to the prejudice of his honor! how great a disadvantage was it to himself, and how great a loss to the Kingdom of *France*? for this Signior was a man of service, and one that very well understood his Trade, for he

The Marechal
de Bies

was a very able Seaman. I saw another trick also put upon the Marechal de *Bies*. I dare pawn my soul that the Gentleman never thought of doing any unhandsome act against the King, and yet he was highly slander'd a little after the death of King *Francis* the Great, it being laid to his charge, that he was the cause that Monsieur de *Vervin* his Son in Law had surrendred *Bullen*, and one *Cortel* appointed to try him, the most infamous Judge that ever was in *France*. Was it ever seen, or heard of, that one man should be punisht for the treachery or cowardize of another? When he came to his tryal they confronted him with three great Rogues, who all of them depos'd, that the day he had the Encounter with the *English* he was mounted upon a great Courser, bearing a plume of white Feathers for a mark, that the *English* might not fall upon him, as if it had been an easie mark to be discern'd: when men are mixt in a Battel, the dust, the smoak and the cries confound a man's judgment; and besides 'tis usual with gallant men to appear in their greatest bravery, that they may be known in a day of Battel, especially in a War with Strangers, which is for honor, and not upon the account of animosity: but in a Civil War 'tis not so proper, Monsieur de *Guise* being very much endanger'd by so distinguishing his person at the Battel of *Drenx*. Thus did they calumniate this poor Lord, though he that very day defeated eight hundred *English*: I do believe had the King sent such a Judge, and that he would have hearkned to the Hugonots, he would have found Witnesses enow that would have been depos'd. I had promised *Guienne* to the King of *Spain*, though I never lov'd that Nation, nor ever shall, I am too good a *Frenchman* for that. But to return to the said Marechal, when those who had given him this Traverse, saw that they could no way ensnare him, and that he was likely to be set at liberty, to the great dishonor of those who had brought this trouble upon him; they then accused him, that he made certain Skip-Jack hirelings pass muster in his Company of Gens-d'armes, to get so many Pays, which (as it was said) was prov'd to be true, but it was to pay men withal he had in *Flanders*, to send him continual intelligence of all that passed in the Enemies Country; for we are sometimes necessitated to make use of such shifts for the Kings service: but I leave any one to judg, if this was sufficient to bring him upon a Scaffold, and to degrade him from his Nobility, his Arms, and Marechalcy, and to condemn him to the loss of his head. Nevertheless as they were proceeding to execution, King *Henry* calling to mind, that he had made him Knight of the Order, sent him his pardon, so that five or six moneths after, what of old age, and what of grief, he died a natural death, and who would have liv'd after such an injury and disgrace? The Judicature of *France* is not without *Cortels*, for there are enow, who should the King put into their hands the honestest man of his Kingdom, would find out enough against him, as *Cortel* boasted, who said, that deliver up to him the most upright Lieutenant in the Kingdom of *France* (provided he had been but a year or two in that employment) and he doubted not, but to find matter enough to put him to death. This poor Lord had perform'd a Soldier-like action if ever man did, at the Fort of *Montrean*, when the *English* sallied out of *Bullen* to give him Battel; he had with him the Count *Rhinegraves* Regiment (and as I think the Count himself was there) that of the *French* commanded by Monsieur de *Tais*, and seven Ensigns of *Italians*. So soon as the Enemy charg'd our Horse, they were immediately put to rout, and fled, when the said Sieur seeing the disorder of the Cavalry, he ran to the Battaillon of Foot, and said, *Oh my friends, it was not with the Horse that I expected to win the Battel, but it is with you*, and thereupon alighted, where taking a Pike from one of the Soldiers, to whom he deliver'd his Horse, and causing his Spurs to be pull'd off, he began his retreat towards *Andelot*. The Enemy after they had a great way pursued the Cavalry, return'd upon him, who was four hours or more upon his retreat, having the Enemies horse, sometimes in his Front, and sometimes in his Flanks, and their Foot continually in his Rear, without their ever daring to break into him, and I was told by the Captains who were present in the Action, that he never advanc'd fifty paces without facing about upon the Enemy; by

A brave Re-
treat.

by which this may be call'd one of the bravest retreats that has been made these hundred years. I should be glad any one could name me such another, having upon him the whole power both of Foot and Horse, and his own Cavalry all run off the Field. Behold what this poor Lord did for a parting blow, at above threescore and ten years of age, and yet he was used after this manner. Let any one ask the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, who it was that did him this courtesie, for at the Assembly of the Knights of the Order before King *Francis* the second, he reproach'd him with this business, and they grew into very high words upon it; for my part I am too little a Companion to name it, though I was present there, and also there were some Ladies who had a hand in the business.

A year after I saw another prance plaid Monsieur de *Tais*, wherein he was accused to have spoken unhandisomely of a Court Lady; 'tis a misfortune *France* has ever had, that they meddle too much in all affairs, and have too great credit and interest: for upon this the command of the Artillery was taken from him, and he never after return'd into fa-

Monsieur de
Tais banisht
the Court.

vour. The King of *Navarre* entreated the King not to take it ill, if he made use of him in the taking of *Hedin*, which his Majesty gave him leave to do, and he was kill'd in the Trenches of the said *Hedin*, doing service for him to whom his service was not accep-

He is slain.

table, which is a great heart-breaking, and the greatest of all vexations, to die for a Prince that has no regard for a mans service; wherein our condition is of all others most miserable: notwithstanding I believe the King would in the end have made use of him again, for in truth he was a man of service: and I moreover believe that his Majesty was sorry he had banisht him the Court: but very often those of both Sexes, who govern Princes, make them do things against their own natures and inclinations, and afterwards they are sorry for it; but it is too late to repent, when their Traverses have brought upon a Prince such an inconvenience as is irreparable, and those who would afterwards seem to excuse them, endeavour to make the matter worse by contriving new accusations, and laying other aspersions upon them. I shall not mention the Constables business, which drove him also from Court, and all, as it was said, about women; nor that of the late Monsieur de *Guise*, we have seen them sometimes out, and sometimes in. The King would do well to stop the mouths of such Ladies as tattle in his Court; for thence proceed all the reports and slanders; a prating Gossip was cause of the death of Monsieur de la *Chastaigneray*, who would he have taken my advice, and that of five or six more of his friends, he had done his business with Monsieur *dr Farnac* after another manner; for he fought against his conscience, and lost both his honor and his life. The King ought therefore to command them to meddle with their own affairs (I except those that are to be excepted) for their tittle tattle has done a great deal of mischief, and after, as I said, it is too late. These are the good offices that in my time I have seen done several great persons, and also such poor Gentlemen as my self, all which proceed from the jealousy and envy they bear to one another, who are near unto the persons of Princes. In the time that I have been at Court I have seen great dissimulations, and several carry it very fair to one another in shew, who would have eaten one another if they could, and yet outwardly who so great as they, embracing and caressing one another, as if they had been the greatest friends in the world. I was never skill'd in that Trade, for every one might read my heart in my face.

The death of
Monsieur de la
Chastaigneray.

Dissimulation
at Court.

By this one may judg, that the misfortune into which this Kingdom is fallen, is not come upon it through any default of courage, or wisdom in our Kings, nor for want of valiant Captains and Soldiers; for never Kings of *France* had so many both of Horse and Foot, as *Francis*, *Henry*, and *Charles*; who had they been employed in foreign Conquests would have carried the War far enough from our own doors, and it was a great misfortune both to them and the whole Kingdome, that they were not so employed, and yet can we not lay the blame thereof, either to the Church, or the third Estate, for all that have by the Kings been demanded of them, have been freely granted. Every Child then may judg where the fault lay, and from whence sprung the Civil Wars; I mean from the great ones; for they are not wont to make themselves parties for the word of God, If the Queen and the Admiral were together in a Cabine, and the late Prince of *Condé*, and Monsieur de *Guise* together with them, I could make them confess, that something else than Religion mov'd them to make three hundred thousand men cut one anothers throats, and I know not if we have yet made an end; for I have heard there is a Prophecy (I know not whether in *Nostradamus* or no) that their Children shall shew their Mothers as a wonder when they see a man, so few shall be left, having kill'd one another. But let us say no more of it, it goers my heart to think on't, mine who have the least interest, and who am shortly going into the other world.

Should I repeat all the Traverſes and Charities that I have read of in the *Roman* Hiſtories, I ſhould never have done ; which Hiſtories I have formerly delighted to read, wondering why, and what ſhould be the reaſon, that we are not as valiant as they. I ſhall only reckon one or two, and begin with that I have read in I know not what Book, of *Camillus* a great *Roman* Captain, who after he had won many Battels, and enlarg'd the *Roman* Empire, with the addition of a large extent of Dominion, was in the end call'd to judgment, for having dedicated the ſpoil of his Conqueſts to the foundation of Temples, wherein to ſacrifice to their Gods, of which ſpoil the one half belong'd of right to the Soldier : but that the Gods might aſſiſt them in their Battels and Conqueſts, he preſented them this gift, ſaying, *That the Soldiers ſtood as much in need of the aſſiſtance of the Gods as he.* So that upon his return to *Rome*, for the reward of the great ſervices he had perform'd, and the famous Victories he had obtain'd for the Common-wealth, they brought him to his Tryal : yet did they not nevertheleſs put him to death, but ſent him into exile to a City the name whereof I do not remember, for it is long ago ſince I read *Livie*, not in Latin (of which I have no more than my *Pater Noſter*) but in French. Now when he had remain'd ſometime in this City, there came two or three *Gauliſh* Kings with a mighty Army, and took *Rome*, killing almoſt all the Citizens, ſaving ſome few who retir'd into the Capitol, and there held out for ſome time. *Livie* reports, that one night thoſe who were thus retir'd into the Capitol were all aſleep, and the Enemy had already gain'd a part of the Capitol, when a Goole begining to cackle awak'd the Guards, who thereupon enter'd into a combat with the Enemy, and repell'd them. At this time the ſaid *Camillus*, gathering together all the men he could, took the field, where the Enemy finding nothing more to plunder, nor provisions to maintain their pleaſures in *Rome*, having diſperſed themſelves all over the Country ten or twelve leagues diſtant from the City, he ſlew in the fields ſeven or eight thouſand of them. (When I was at *Rome* in the time of Pope *Marcellinus*, I cauſed thoſe fields to be ſhew'd me, taking great delight in viewing the ground where ſo many brave Battels had been fought ; for me-thought I ſaw before my eyes the things I had heard of, and read ; but notwithstanding I ſaw nothing, either like, or any way reſembling the great *Camillus*.) The rumour of this defeat having run thorough all the neighbouring Cities, cauſed ſeveral gallant men to repair to *Camillus's* Camp ; by which means finding himſelf ſtrong enough he march'd directly to *Rome*, poſſeſſed by an infinite number of *Gauls*, whom he defeated, and ſav'd a vaſt ſumme of money, which thoſe who were retir'd into the Capitol had promiſed to give, and was afterward call'd the ſecond Founder of *Rome*. The Hiſtorians can give a better account of this ſtory than I, who perhaps miſtake it ; it being above thirty years ſince I have ſo much as taken a book in hand ; and much leſs dare to read now by reaſon of my ill eyes, and the wound in my face.

The two
Scipio's.

In *Spain* the two *Scipio's* were defeated by *Aſdrubal* in thirty dayes time, and within thirty leagues of one another, to wit *Pub. Scipio* the firſt, and his Brother *Cornelius Scipio* afterwards, and of both the one Army, and the other ſome eſcap'd away, who all retir'd to the Garrifons where they had lain all Winter, where being come they found that all their Colonels were ſlain, and were therefore neceſſitated to chooſe one, whom they call'd the New Captain. *Aſdrubal* having intelligence that this new General had rallied the *Roman* Soldiers who were eſcap'd from the two defeats, went immediately to aſſault them ; but was ſtoutly repul'd, and conſtrain'd to retire himſelf to a certain place, where this valiant Captain fell upon him by night, and not only defeated the Army he had there with him but another alſo that lay in another place hard by ; inſomuch, that by his valour he not only ſav'd thoſe few *Romans* who were eſcaped from the two loſt Battails, but moreover both the *Spaynes* for the people of *Rome*, which but for him had been loſt to *Rome* for ever. Now the Senate in the mean time continued a great while without hearing any news of the *Scipioes*, or of their affaires : but had at length intelligence brought of the loſs of the two *Scipio's*, together with the victories of this new Captaine (I do not remember his name before he was created, and call'd the new Captain, the Hiſtorians will better remember it than I who have not ſeen the book of ſo many years) which ſo ſoon as the Senate had notice of, they ſent away *Scipio* the younger to command the Army (I think ſon to the firſt *Scipio* who had been ſlain) and withall commanded the new Captain to *Rome*, whom, ſo ſoon as he came, inſtead of rewarding his ſervice, they call'd to judgment, accusing him that he had accepted the Soldiers Election, and taken upon him the command of the Army from them, and not by Commiſſion from the Senate, and I think put him to death, at leaſt I find no more mention of him in *Livy*.

* His name
was *Lucius*
Marcus.

Oh how many other great Captains have been recompenced with such rewards in the time of the *Romans*, the Historians are full of such examples, and the Judicature of *France* being rul'd and govern'd by the Laws of the *Romans*, 'tis to be expected that the Kings of *France* should govern themselves by their Customs. Would to God the King would perpetuate his own glory, and leave such a memorial of his prudence as should for ever be commended; that is, that he would burn all the Books of the Laws by which his Judicature determines of affairs, and erect a new, equal, and upright Judicature (for I dare be bold to say, there is not a Monarch in Christendom, who is govern'd by his Laws, the Kings of *France* excepted, all the rest have Laws made by themselves to cut off all tedious Suits; so much as even in *Bearn* and *Lorrain*, which are in two Corners of the Kingdom) that no Suit might be above two years depending. If his Majesty would please to do this he might boast to have a world of Soldiers, who would be necessitated to take arms, having nothing to do in the * Palace: for this Profession being taken away, to what would you that a brave and generous heart should apply it self, but to arms? what is it that so much encreases the Power, and enlarges the Empire of the Grand Signior but this, he thinks of nothing but arms? O how many brave Captains would this Kingdom then supply the world withal, whereas I do believe that two Thirds of the Nation are taken up in these Courts, and pleadings, and in the mean time, though they are naturally brave, by degrees degenerate into Poltrons and Rascals. This Kingdom would then be formidable to Strangers, and besides how rich and opulent? for the whole ruine of the Gentry proceeds from no other cause, but those pestiferous Counsels wherewith the Advocates seduce their Clients; and set them together by the ears. I remember I once read in the window of a house at *Tholouze*, which one of the most eminent Advocates of that Court call'd *Mainery*, had caused to be written there these words,

* Courts of Law.
The greatness of the Turk.

*Faux conseils, & mauvaises Testes,
M'ont fait bastir ces Fenestres.
Evil advice, and idle brains
Have helpt me to erect these pains.*

and since they themselves record it, I may well say after them, that we are very great fools to destroy one another to enrich them: it being equally ruinous to him that prevails, with him that is baffell'd, for they spin out the Suits in such length, that when he who has got the better of his adversary comes to reckon the money he has spent, he will find himself still a great deal out of purse, besides the loss of his time. And if the King would do this perhaps the custom of Traverses, and ill offices men now practice upon one another would be laid aside with the Laws; and his Majesties good Subjects, who meditate no other thing, but how loyally and faithfully to serve him, would either be mainrain'd about his Majesties person, or elsewhere employ'd in his service.

Now seeing I have the honor in my disgraces to be rancked with so many great Personages, both of former ages, and those whom I my self have known in my own time, I shall the better enjoy my retirement, and be proud of being associated with so many illustrious persons, being assur'd of two things, one whereof is my fidelity, which no one can by any means deprive me of, and the other that I have to do with a gracious King, who in time will (I doubt not) acknowledg the services I have perform'd for him, and for his Crown. And if I am retir'd into my own house, it is with no great regret, it being a thing I have long desir'd, provided it might be with the good favour of the King and Queen, which also they cannot justly take from me, for which I praise God, who has guided me so well through all my several Employments, that I never gave them any just cause of offence, and am in this privacy of mine more happy, and better satisfied, than they who have given me these Traverses: for I laugh at the anxiety they are in, both how to wound and defend themselves from one another. I think the Souls in Purgatory are not in so great pain, whilst I live here in repose in my Family, with my kindred and friends about me, passing away my time, in causing to be writ down before me the things that I have seen; so that were it not for the great Harquebuz shot in my face, which I am constrain'd to keep open, I should be very well content, and think my self exceeding happy. For concerning the loss of my Sons, I comfort my self that they all died like men of honor with their swords in their hands for the service of my Prince, and as to the rest, I should be a man void of sense and understanding, if I did not look upon them as tricks that are commonly practised in the world, and consider my self in a happy estate, who have no more occasion to do harm to any one, which continuing in such, and so great an employment, as that wherein I was before, I could not sometimes possibly avoid.

But I shall leave this discourse, which has half made me angry, to return to what became of me after I had taken my leave of all those Lords and Captains who went into *France*. I return'd thorough *Perigueux*, where I gave the Seneschal of *Perigord* Commission to make head against whatever Insurrection should stir on that side : and so soon as I came to *Agen*, I sent a Patent to Monsieur de *Bellegarde* at *Tholouze*, in my absence to command in the Country of *Cominge* and *Bigorre*, and as far as the Frontiers of *Bearn* : another to Monsieur de *Negrepelice* to command in the Jurisdictions of *Verdun* and *Riviere*, and a third to Monsieur de *Cornuillon* the Elder to command in *Roüergue* ; which being done, I left yet fourteen or fifteen Ensigns more of Foot, whereof part I quarter'd in *Quercy* to make head against the Vicounts (who never stirr'd out of the Country, and were evermore stirring new Commotions) and the rest towards *Bourdellois*, and not long after the King sent me a Command to go and besiege *Rochelle*, in order whereunto he would send me a Commission to raise money wherewith to defray the expence of the War.

Preparation
for the Siege
of *Rochelle*.

First he would that those of *Tholouze* should deliver me twenty thousand Francs of the money rais'd upon the Confiscation of the Hugonots Goods, wherewith to pay the Foot, and for the charge of the Artillery that I should take fifteen thousand Francs upon some Revenues the King has in *Xaintonge*, whereof his Majesty never himself made above nine thousand, and that his said Majesty would send order to the Governor of *Nantes* to send me four pieces of Canon, and some Culverine. These were my assignments, wonderful certain, and very proper for such an Enterprize, which seem'd rather a Mockery, and a Farce than any thing else ; and that they would send me before *Rochelle*, either to be thrown away, or to suffer some notable disgrace. However I would try alwayes to execute his Majesties Command, to which end I immediately dispatcht away a Courier with his Majesties Letters to the Parliament, and Capitouls of *Tholouze*, to which they return'd me answer, that the few goods of the Hugonots which had been found in their City had long ago been sold, and the money dispos'd of for the charge they had been at in several occasions. Upon this answer I went forthwith to *Bordeaux* to try if I could perswade the Court of Parliament, and the Jurats there to furnish me with some money for the Enterprize, but could never prevail with them to advance one Denier, they telling me, *that they would reserve the Stock they had to employ it for the defence of their City, if occasion should be, and not lay it out upon Rochelle, which was no member of their Jurisdiction*. I then dispatcht away to their Majesties to give them an account of the answers I had receiv'd ; but notwithstanding did not for all that forbear to march into *Xaintonge*, beseeching them to send me other more certain assignments, or that otherwise I could not engage my self before *Rochelle*, without losing their Majesties reputation, and my own, and peradventure the whole Army : for to besiege a place of that importance without paying the Soldiers to keep them in their Trenches, were to force them abroad to pillage, and to leave my Artillery in the mean time engag'd ; neither was I to learn in those affairs. I writ moreover to his Majesty that he would please to command the Governor of *Nantes* to send me the Artillery with all possible speed, and cause it to be brought to *Broüage*, hoping that I should soon gain the Isles. Having sent away this dispatch, I return'd into *Aginois* to march away twelve or thirteen Ensigns, as also to take the Gentlemen of the Country along with me, when being come to *St. Macaire*, I there found Monsieur de *Lauzun*, and the Muster-Masters, who was mustring his Company, whom I entreated that immediately after the Muster he would send away Monsieur de *Madaillan*, who carried his Ensign directly to *Xaintes* to which Sieur de *Madaillan* I gave a Cornet of *Argoulets* belonging to the Sieur de *Verdun* Seneschal of *Bazadois* my Kinsman, together with the Companies of *Malruin*, *Thodias*, and *la Mothe Mongauzy*, giving him in charge to make extreme haste without staying till he came to *Xaintes*, and that in case the *Marennois* should be at *St. Seurin*, so soon as ever he had baited his men, he should immediately go to fight them, and if they got the victory be sure to ply their hands, for they were only a pack of Rascals, and when the others should hear of the defeat of their Companions, they would take such a fright at the news, that they would never make head again, and that the fear would run as far as *Rochelle* : but that he must above all things be sure to make a great slaughter to strike a terror into the whole Party. I writ also to Monsieur de *Pons* an account of the whole design, ordering him to send some of his Forces to *Xaintes*, to the end they might jointly fall upon this execution. I had already sent to the Ensigns that they should move towards *Aginois*, and to the Gentry also, and the said Seneschal de *Bazadois* took upon him the Charge of our Marechal de Camp of Gens-d'armes. I had no more but the Company of Monsieur de *Lauzun*, my own, and that of Monsieur de *Merville* Grand Seneschal of *Guien*, for of that of Monsieur de *Jarnac*, which the King had appointed to come to me, the fourth part was not to be found, most of them being with the Prince of *Condé* : notwithstanding which

which, I ſtaid three daies only at *Agen* : but return'd ſtraight into *Bourdelois* with the few Forces I could get together, giving the Command of the Foot to my Nephew the *Sieur de Leberon*. In my ſecond dayes march from *Agen* I receiv'd letters from *Monſieur de Madaillan*, wherein he gave me to underſtand, that he had made ſo good haſte, as that the third night after I departed from them they arriv'd at *Xaintes*, where having intelligence that there were three Enſigns of Foot at *St. Seurin*, who had there lodg'd and fortified themſelves, they had fallen upon them, and brought away three Colours. Five or ſix daies after I came to *Marennas*, where I found *Monſieur de Pons*, to whom his Maſteſty had writtē, as alſo to *Monſieur de Jarnac*, to come to me to the Siege of *Rochelle*. Soon after I received a letter from the Governor of *Nantes*, wherein he ſent me word, that I was not to wait in expectation of his Artillery, for that he had one piece of Canon only mounted upon an old rotten Carriage, and that all the reſt were on ground, without poſſibility of being made ready in leſs than three months time. See how our Frontier Cities and places of importance were provided and fortified ! *Rochelle* was not ſo. I then fell to ſpinning out the time about *St. Jean* and *Xaintes*, in expectation of an answer from their Maſteſties, and money to bring the Artillery from *Bourdeaux*, very ſorry that I had advanc'd ſo far. Day by day I ſent new diſpatches to them to that effect ; but could never obtain any answer. The laſt I ſent to Court was *Dragon*, who had retir'd himſelf to *Monſieur de Pons*, and in the mean time *Monſieur de Lude* came near unto *St. Jean*, where at a privat Gentleman's houſe we had ſome conference. He there ſhewed me the letters the King had writ to him, wherein his Maſteſty commanded him to joyn with me in the Enterprize of *Rochelle*, telling me that he would as cheerfully obey me as the proper perſon of the King himſelf, as being the oldeſt Captain in *France*, that he would bring me ſix or ſeven Enſigns of Foot, and three or four hundred horſe. It did not then ſtick at me, nor at thoſe Gentlemen the King had commanded to aſſiſt me, neither at the Forces of Foot or Horſe ; but only at the want of means to bring up the Artillery, and a little money to pay the Foot, that this Siege of *Rochelle* did not ſucceed. I will not ſay I ſhould have carried it, but I ſhould have frighted them at the leaſt, and perhaps have done them no good.

In this interval *Monſieur de Pons* had reduc'd the Iſles of *Oleron* and *Alvert* ; for they are for the moſt part his own, and Captain *Gombaudiere* was in them, having his houſe there, and commanded as well in *Alvert* as *Oleron*. There only then remain'd the Iſle of *Ré*, where they had erected a Fort near unto a Church, and ſeveral others at the places of landing. I cauſed five hundred Harquebuzers to be choſen out of all our Companies, with all the Captains, Lieutenants, and Enſigns, the one half of *Mongauzy* the elders Company excepted, who ſtaid aſhore to command thoſe that were left behind, making my Nephew *de Leberon* with the ſaid five hundred to embark at the Port of *Broûage*. *Guillet*, the Kings receiver in thoſe parts took great pains to victual and prepare the Veſſels, whom the Queen of *Navarre* put to death in the late troubles, but I could never learn for what, I ever knew him to be a good ſervant of the Kings, and believe his diligence upon this occaſion of our mens putting to ſea did him more harm than good, and perhaps might be the cauſe of his death, for the Queen of *Navarre* did by no means love thoſe people. My ſaid Nephew was a day and a night hindred by foul weather from landing, as alſo the Enemy defended the landing places from the Forts they had made : but in the end he unbethought him in the night to ſend away all the leſſer boats he had brought along with him full of Soldiers to land amongſt the Rocks on the back of the Iſland, where the Enemy kept no Guard, who ſo ſoon as part of them were got on ſhore, the Enemy diſcovering the ſtratagem, ran to that part, and fought them ; but ours remain'd Maſters of the place. My Nephew who was one that was engag'd in the fight, thereupon preſently diſpatcht a Skiff to the Captains and Soldiers who were aboard the greater Veſſels, to bid them come away, which being ſuddenly done, ſo ſoon as they were all landed, they marcht directly to the great Fort by the Church, a long league and a half from thence, which they aſſaulted on two or three ſides at once ; ſo that they carried the place, putting all they found within it to the ſword, whiſt the reſt who guarded the landings put themſelves into little boats, and fled away towards *Rochelle*. We imagin'd them to be the people inhabitants of the Iſland, who eſcaped away, and that our people had gotten the victory ; and two dayes after my ſaid Nephew ſent me an account of the whole action, which ſooner he could not do, the wind being ſo contrary that they could not poſſibly get to *Marennas*, where the aforeſaid *Sieur* and I lay : upon which news we call'd back my ſaid Nephew, leaving two Foot Companies in the Iſle. I then left *Monſieur de Pons* at *Marennas*, and went away to *St. Jean*, where *Monſieur de Jarnac* came to me, to take order for all things neceſſary for me in order to the Siege. I cauſed great proviſion of vi-

The taking of the Iſles.

ſuals

Provision for
the Siege of
Rochelle.

etuals to be made ready, wherein the Providore of the late Monsieur de *Burie* was very assisting to me, for he was of that Country.

In the mean time I still expected to hear from the King, but could never obtain the favour of one syllable, neither did any of my Messengers ever return; and in truth there was very great danger by the way, the Enemy being possesst of all the great Roads, by which they were to return into *Xaintonge*. The first that came was *Dragon*, who brought news that the Peace was as good as concluded, and that the King would suddenly send me word what I was to do. I think that having seen the Prince and the Admiral with their Forces at the Gates of *Paris*, ready to fight a Battel, and afterwards at liberty to overrun all *France*, they more thought of that than they consider'd the affairs of *Guienne*. This was the success of my expedition into *Xaintonge*; and seeing I have been reproacht, that for three years I had done nothing considerable, I could wish that such as propose Enterprizes to the King would be as prompt to provide things necessary for such designs, as they are ready to give assignments that signifie nothing, like those they sent me, and then perhaps some good might be done: but as they order it, a man must be a God to work miracles. Oh the happy time that these men have who are about the Kings person, and never come within danger of a Battel! they cut out work, and very good cheap for others, that the King may think them wise and politicke; but they never care to offer his Majesty, that if *Montluc* or another shall refuse to go upon such an Enterprize, they themselves will undertake it. It is enough for them that they can talk well, and such perhaps there are, who propound a design which they would be glad should miscarry, for generally there is nothing but dissimulation, jealousy, and treachery amongst them, and this is to betray ones Master like a good Frenchman. I am confident by the chearfulness I saw in the Gentlemen who were with me, and by the astonishment I discover'd in the people we had to do withal, that had I been supplied with necessaries requisite for such an Enterprize, I should have set hard to have carried this City, which has since so fortified it self, that if the King permit them to take surer footing, 'tis to be fear'd they will withdraw themselves from his obedience: but I was at this time so ill assisted, and his Majesty so ill serv'd, that I could do no more than I did.

The impor-
tance of *Rochelle*.

The Sieur de
Montluc judg-
ment of the
Commotion of
St. Michel.

A few dayes after the King sent me the Peace to cause it to be proclaim'd at *Bordeaux*, commanding me to disband the Foot, and to dismiss them every man to his own house; which I accordingly did, and sent the Proclamation to the Court of Parliament, and the Jurats to cause it to be publisht: but for my own part I would not be present at it, knowing very well, that it was only a Truce to get breath, and a Peace to gain time to provide themselves better for a War to come, and not intended to be kept, for the King who had been taken unprovided I was confident would never put up the affront had been put upon him, who though he was very young, was notwithstanding a Prince of great spirit, and that bore this audacious Enterprize with very great impatience, as I have since been told by some who were then about him. He gave sufficient testimony of a generous courage, and truly worthy of a King, when he put himself in the head of the *Swiss* to escape to *Paris*; and do you think, Gentlemen, you who were the Leaders of those mutinous Troops, that he will ever forget that insolence? you would hardly endure it from your equal, what then would you do with a Servant? for my part I never saw, nor ever read of so strange a thing, which made me alwayes think it would stick in the Kings stomach. The Prince and the Admiral committed a great oversight in this Peace; for they had by much the better of the Game, and might doubtless have carried *Chartres*, so that those who mediated, and procur'd this accommodation, perform'd a very signal service for the King and Kingdom.

This was all I did in the second Troubles, and me-thinks it was no contemptible service, to send the King a recruit of eleven or twelve hundred Horse, thirty Ensigns of Foot, and to preserve for him the Province of *Guienne*, conquer him the Isles, and not to be wanting on my part, that I did not try my fortune at *Rochelle*, and send him all the money the Rebels had amassed together in that part of his Kingdom. But I must do miracles forsooth, those who are about the Kings person have ever done me one good office or another, and on my conscience would his Majesty hearken to them now, that I have nothing at all to do, they would find out one thing or another to lay to my charge; for the customs of the Court must not be lost, which is to do all ill offices, and invent slanders against those who have a desire to do well. Was I near them I could quickly give some of them their answer, but the distance is too great betwixt *Gascony* and *Paris*; besides I have lost my Children, and an old Beast has no resource.

The short
Peace, 1567.

This accommodation of the Second Troubles concluded at *Chartres* continued but eight or nine moneths at most, and was therefore called the *Short Peace*. In this interval I went

to

to *Bordeaux* in the beginning of *May* to see how all things went, where, by the news that was ordinarily brought from Court, by such as came from thence, I very well perceiv'd that this Peace would not long continue : For one while I was told, that the Prince of *Condé*, and the Admiral liv'd contentedly in their own houses; but for the most part was assur'd to the contrary, and also that the King had sent no order to disband his own Forces, as at the Peace of the former Troubles, and that those of the new Religion went and came to and fro from place to place, and frequently met at Conventicles. It was moreover bruited that *Rochelle* would not surrender, nor *Montauban*, *Millan*, and other places, insomuch that it seem'd to be rather a Truce, than a Peace concluded. On the other side I was entred into some jealousy of the Governor of *Blaye* call'd *Des-Rois*, wherefore I went to *Blaye*, taking the Attorney General of the Parliament, called *Laket* along with me, where being come, *Des-Rois* began to fall into a long discourse of the Court of Parliament, and the Jurats of *Bordeaux*, complaining to me, that they had conceiv'd an unjust suspicion against him, which made him afraid to go into the City. To which I made answer, *that this jealousy did not originally proceed from any diffetion that either the Court of Parliament, or the Jurats had to his person, but that himself was the cause he was suspected, forasmuch as all those of his Garrison were Hugonots, whom he protected and favour'd in the City, and who not far from thence had defac'd a Church in his own presence : but that if he desir'd no one should suspect or censure him, he would do well to new-model his Garrison, and form (the greater part of it at least) of Catholick Soldiers : That notwithstanding I very well knew the contrary, and thereupon like a true friend remonstrated to him, that he should call to mind from what Father he descended, and remember that in recompence of the good services he had perform'd for the Kings Francis and Henry, they had first given him the Command of that place, and since continued it to him his Son ; with several other Remonstrances, which I thought proper to wean him from an ill-conceiv'd opinion, in case he should peradventure really have entertain'd any such thing in his fancy. I had formerly evermore taken his part, and having ever known him (as I thought at least) very affectionate to the King's service, had writ to his Majesty, that if I was to be responsible for any man, it should be for him (see how a man may be deceiv'd in judging of men by their own fair speeches) but so soon as I was return'd to *Bordeaux*, and saw some signs that did not much please me, I had no more the same opinion of him that before ; of which I also gave their Majesties present notice ; but it was seven or eight dayes after I had parted from him. I heard since that a few dayes after I had been with him he had been at *Estauliers* to conferre with Monsieur *Mirabeau*, and the Baron de *Pardaillan*, where they had been five or six hours shut up together in a Chamber, that they had another meeting three dayes after that, and I had further intelligence, that he was determin'd to go to Court to present himself to the King, to give his Majesty more ample assurance of his faith. Whereupon I dispatched away to the King, giving him an account of all I had heard, and telling him that I had formerly given his Majesty assurance of the said *Des-Rois*, but that I would now revoke that engagement, and no more stand caution for him, considering the conference he had held at *Estauliers*, and that if his Majesty would please to take my humble advice, he should remove him from his Government, substituting some one of his Majesties own Religion, which if his Majesty should be pleased to think fit to do, it would then be convenient to detain the said *Des-Rois* till such time as I should have put in him whom his Majesty should appoint into his place, and chang'd the Garrison. Humbly beseeching his Majesty, that he would please to take my poor advice in this affair, or that otherwise himself would be the first that should repent it.*

The practices of the Hugonots to win *Des-Rois* over to their Party.

The Sieur de *Montluc*'s advice to the King.

Des-Rois fail'd not to begin his Journey the same day that I sent away my dispatch to the King, which was upon a Monday, and being come to Court, as I was told, address'd himself to Monsieur de *Lansac*, to whom I believe he made his complaint, perswading the said Sieur de *Lansac* that all these jealousies proceeded from no other cause than the desire I had to preferre some Gentleman who was at my devotion, to the Command of that place, which how true it was God then knew, and time has since discover'd : but I conceive that the said Sieur de *Lansac*, as well upon the account of neighbourhood, as out of consideration of the good repute of the Father and Family of the said *Des-Rois*, was willing to embrace his interest, and consequently spoke to his Majesty in his behalf, wherein he was himself first deceiv'd, and afterward asham'd of his mediation. It was however hard to judg a man who had never been blemish'd before, nor ever committed any fault, but rather behav'd himself well than ill, as this Gentleman had done. *Men are not to be discover'd by the sight, like counterfeit money ;* and God alone can dive into the hearts of men. So it was, that he return'd back very well satisfied with the King, to whom, that he might be more affectionate to his service, his Majesty gave a thousand Crowns, where-

in

in his Majesty did not perhaps consider, that he was of an ill hair, of which there are very few good men; but, however it was, another might have been as well deceiv'd as he, for he had a smooth tongue, and knew very well how to disguise the rancour of his heart.

Advice to
Princes.

See here how cautious a Prince ought to be, whether the King ought not to have taken more notice of this conference of one of his Governors with the Hugonots, and in a case of suspicion like this, to have inclined to the safest counsels. There are wayes to satisfie such as we would rid our hands of, without driving them to despair, whereas we run a very great hazard in leaving a place of importance in the hands of a suspected person, as his Majesty did in the power of *Des-Rois*, and a very good place too. When a woman once hearkens to unlawful solicitation farewell vertue, and also when a Governor of a Town enters into such secret Parlies as these, there is some knavery a brewing, and in such a case the King or Prince ought to be as jealous as the Husband, that knows his Wife has an ear open to Courtship, if at the same time he who engages in such conferences, do not underhand give his Majesty or his Lieutenant notice of it; in which case there is still some danger, and it is hard to be subtle enough for a Traitor.

A discourse
touching the
designes of the
Prince of Con-
de.

Before I departed from *Bordeaux* I in the morning assembled the Attorney General, the General de *Gourgues*, Captain *Verre*, and my Nephew the *Sieur de Leberon*, to whom I would communicate what I had fancied with my self upon the news that daily came from Court of the diffidence and discontent the Prince of *Condé* was in, and what I should do if I were in his place. In which discourse they may remember I told them, *that if the Prince could pass, he would infallibly come into Xaintonge, having Rochelle, and almost all the Country at his devotion; that the Isles when they should see Forces in Xaintonge, and at Rochelle, and Monsieur de la Rochefoucault so near them, would presently revolt, and that then the said Prince and the Hugonots would resolutely turn all their designs this way; for in France Roan was no longer theirs, which being gone, they had not one Port-Town at their devotion; and that it would be in them a ridiculous and a senseless thing, to begin a third War, without first having a Sea-Port in their power. Now they could not possibly make choice of one of greater advantage to them, than that of Rochelle, on which depends that of Brouage, which is absolutely the fairest, and the most commodious Haven in all the Kingdom; for being there they might have succours out of Germany, Flanders, England, Scotland, Brittany, and Normandy, all of them Countries abounding in people of their own Religion, so that in truth should the King give them their choice to Canton themselves in any Port of the Kingdom, they could not possibly choose a more advantageous nor a more commodious place.* They all approv'd of my discourse as being near the truth, which I had fram'd in the Night as I lay considering the state of our affairs, for so I used to pass part of the time in bed; and this waking fancy of mine seem'd to presage almost as much disaster and misfortune, as the dreams I had dreamt of King *Henry* and King *Charles*.

Brouage the
fairest Haven
in France.

Having entertain'd them with this discourse, I then proceeded to tell them, *that it would be convenient to find out some fit remedies against the evil before it should arrive; for to communicate this conceipt to their Majesties, without proposing at the same time some way to frustrate the Enemies designs, were, I thought, to make them neglect my intelligence, and to slight my advice.* We therefore fell to considering, that to prevent the mishaps which seem'd to threaten us, there was no other way, than by making Forts upon the sea, and betimes to secure the Ports, which with four Ships, and as many Shalops to lie at *Chedebois*, *la Palice*, and the mouth of the Harbour at *Brouage*, might sufficiently be provided for; and that the Ports being once our own, neither English, nor any other of their Party, could or would attempt to come into their assistance, knowing they were to land at places where they are almost always certain to meet with very tempestuous weather; and that Seamen will never venture out to sea to go to any place, unless they are first sure of a free and a secure Harbour to lie in: and on the other side, that our Ships lying about the Isles would so awe the Inhabitants, that they would never dare to revolt, and our men of War would so keep *Rochelle*, as it were besieged, that it must of necessity in a little time either wholly submit to the Kings devotion, or at least contain themselves quiet, without attempting any thing of commotion. All which being remonstrated to them we unanimously concluded, that I ought to send an account thereof to the King and Queen.

The design of a
Naval Army.

Now the next thing we were to consider of, was, which way the money was to be raised to equip these Vessels, and to pay the men; and as to that we made account that with ten thousand *Francs*, and two thousand sacks of Corn, which I offer'd of my own for the making of Biscuit, we should set them out to sea. General *Gourgues* would undertake also to cause Cattel to be sent from the upper Country upon the account of his own credit, and all upon the confidence we had, that his Majesty would in time reimburse us: The

Attor-

Attorney General then dealt very earnestly with the said *Sieur de Gorgues* to perswade the Jurats monethly to advance something towards the charge, and moreover to levy the Custom (which the present Treasurer had obtain'd from the Privy Council, and snipt from the Kings Revenue, though the Graunt had not yet been executed, by reason that the Receiver of *Bordeaux* had oppos'd him in his claim; pretending it to be a Member of his Farm, insomuch that the Treasurer out of spite had forbore to execute his Warrant) which when the Jurats should see was to be laid out for the publick good, not only in the behalf of his Majesties particular interest, but moreover for the benefit of their own City, every one would lay to his helping hand, so that what with this, and what with the foremention'd advance, it would not for the future cost the King a penny. The Attorney General, and the said *Sieur de Gorgues* then with Captain *Verre* cast up the account before me, which being done, we concluded that the *Sieur de Leberon* should go carry an account of all to the Queen, very well knowing that her Majesty would better understand the business than any of the Council; whereupon I accordingly dispatcht away the said *Sieur de Leberon* post to Court.

The Queen hearkned to all my said Nephew had to deliver with very great patience, returning him answer thereupon, *that she would propound it to the Council*, which she did, and three dayes after told him, *that the Council did by no means approve of the motion*, which I believe was occasion'd by some ones buzzing into their ears, that I made this Proposition more out of a desire to range along the Coast, than out of any reason there was to suspect any such thing, as I fancied should fall out. I remember very well that I gave my said Nephew further in charge to tell the Queen, *that I had been so unfortunate in all the advices I had presum'd to offer to her Majesty, that she had never been pleas'd to give any credit to any of them, notwithstanding that her Majesty had so often been convinc'd, that they had been alwayes good, and my intelligences continually true: but that I did most humbly beseech her to give credit to me once in her life only, which if she did not, she would I doubted repent it, and that it would be too late to be remedied, when the misfortune should be once arriv'd*: but all these remonstrances signified nothing, and she sent me back my said Nephew without any other answer but this, *that the Kings Council had not approv'd of the thing*. Which prov'd very ill; I believe had her Majesty been pleas'd to follow my counsel the Hugonots affairs would not have been in so good a condition as they now are: but *God disposes all things as best pleases him*. I know very well, that had I wrought every day a miracle, the Court would never have believed me to be a Saint, especially those about the Kings person, who would be sorry their Majesties should believe that any in the Nation should be so vigilant, so intent upon the affairs of the Kingdom, or so wise as they, and yet I have often heard that those who presume so much upon their own wisdom, are often the veriest fools of all.

Oh how vigilant ought a wise and prudent King to be, to discover these Court Cheats, I was too far off to dispute it with them face to face, and letters have no reply; one Enemy also in the Kings Council is able to do a man more mischief, than thirty friends can do him good, of which I have had woful experience, and in the mean time all things go backwards, without any hopes of amendment, for any thing we can do or say. I may here aptly enough bring in the story of *Marco de Bresse* an Italian, who had perform'd some signal services for the Signiory of *Venice*, for which having long solicited a recompence, but still in vain; it hapned at last that the Duke of *Venice* died, which so soon as ever Signior *Marco* heard of, he presently prefer'd a Petition to the Senate, wherein he entreated the Signiory to choose him Duke for the reward of his service. The Senate equally astonish'd, and scandaliz'd at the ridiculous, and yet the audacious pretence of this man, sent some of their Senators to him to check him for his insolence, and to remonstrate to him the offence he had given to, and the affront he had put upon the Republique by his impudent demand; which being accordingly laid home to him, he return'd this answer, ** Pardonate mi, voi havete fatto tante coionerie, che io pensave che faretti anchora questa, ma basta son contento*. And so may we say to those Gentlemen that govern all, that we ought not to wonder at any thing they do, nor hope for any better from them. The Kingdom at the long run will find the effects of their doings. In the mean time I return to my Subject.

* Pardon me, you have done to many ridiculous things, that I thought you would have done this also: but 'tis sufficient, I am satisfied.

I then return'd towards *Aginois*, where upon my arrival at *Agen*, I so bruised one of my legs, that it constrain'd me three moneths to keep my bed, after which when I thought my self cur'd, I was surpriz'd with so sharp and violent a Catharre, as I thought verily would have cut my throat, which had it not vented it self at one of my ears, the Physitians told me would intallibly have done my business. So soon as I was a little recover'd, I remov'd my self to *Cassaigne* for change of air, which was about the end of July. I had

The *Sieur de Montluc* falls sick.

The Queen of
Navarre de-
parteth out of
Bearn.

there intelligence sent me out of *Bearn*, that the Queen of *Navarre* was departed from *Pau* to go into *Feix*, to take some order about her affairs : soon after I receiv'd news that she staid at *Vic Bigorre*, and immediately after I had another advertisement, that on Wednesday night there was a Gentleman came to her from Monsieur de la Rochefoucault, who had above four hours been shut up with her in her Cabinet. What Peace soever had been concluded I was evermore at watch, and alwayes maintain'd spies to give me an account of what they did in *Bearn*, for I very well knew, that no goodnes was hatching there. I had further notice given me, that upon Thursday she was departed from *Vic Bigorre* in all haste, and was gone towards *Nerac*, as it was true, for she arrived there upon Sunday morning. Her arrival at this place filled many with expectation of novelty, and posselt the wiser sort with an opinion that the Peace would not long continue. The next day I sent my Nephew de Leberon to wait upon her, by whom I did humbly beseech her, *that her coming into these parts might turn to our advantage, and produce some good effects for the better establishment of the Peace concluded, assuring her upon my honor, that I on my part wou'd take such care, that it should not be violated on the Catholicks side* : in answer whereunto she sent me word, *that she was come to Nerac to no other end, but to see the Peace inviolably observ'd, and to suppress any evill inclinations that some of her Church might unadvisedly nourish to the perturbation of the publick quiet, as very well knowing that there were some both of the one Perswasion and the other, who desired nothing but war ; and that seeing I was so well disposed to the conservation of the publick repose, I should soon see that her desire and intention was the same ; in concurrence to which common benefit I was only to communicate to her such things as I should hear, and that she would take order concerning all things that depended upon those of her Religion.*

Two things oblig'd me to believe that this Queen spoke from her heart, although the Court was pleased to censure me for that credulity, of which the first was, that the King had never given her occasion to act any thing against him, but on the contrary both formerly maintain'd her interest against the Pope, and more lately against her own Subjects of *Bearn*, which I conceived ought in reason to oblige her : and the other the great promises which both by Letters and expresse Messengers she ordinarily made to the King never to be against him, of which I do believe his Majesty has no less than a whole hundred to produce. All which consider'd, together with the near relation she has to the King, what must he have been, who durst have manifested a suspicion against her. Had I done it she would have said, and have accused me to have been the cause that she had altered the good inclination she had ever had to his Majesties service. Wherein she would have wanted no seconds at Court against me, *to load me with the Pack instead of the Saddle.* I am much better satisfied that she has persecuted me as she has done without any cause than that she had done it with any just pretence : *but the weakest alwayes goes to the walls.* If the King or Queen had a mind to have had me done otherwise, why did they not order me to do it ; I should then have fear'd nothing ; but I must be a Prophet. I had evermore an eye to what they did in *Bearn*, because it is a Country very much infected with the new Religion, that is crept in amongst them I know not how, nor I know not who will root it out. They had amongst them, 'tis true, a pack of Godly Ministers, who with all their seeming humility, and pretended sanctity, breath'd nothing in their Pulpits but War and Rebellion : but as to the Queen of *Navarre*, I could never have imagin'd that she would have committed such an error, and have hazarded her State, which the King had maintain'd her in, as she did. But I think those virtuous Ministers under shew of holiness inveigled her over to their party ; for to that end they would omit nothing, and

The Queen of
Navarre de-
parts from Ne-
rac.

would promise wondersto whoever would hearken to them. The Queen departed from *Nerac* on Sunday morning, the very same day that my Wife intended to have gone thither to have kissed her hand, and Monsieur de Saintorens and my Sons were to have gone along with her, to run at the Ring, and to divert the Prince where they made account to have staid eight or ten dayes. I sent my Wife thither on purpose to entertain the Queen with reiterated assurances of me and the Catholicks, that we would not offer so much as once to think of taking arms, but the same Sunday morning by break of day came a Comptroller of hers, by whom she sent me word, that my Wife should not come thither, for that she was going away to *Castelgeloux*, upon some intelligence she had receiv'd, that certain incendiaries of her Religion had a mind to raise some commotion ; but that she would not fail to prevent them. I then perceiv'd that it was something else than to suppress those pretended Mutineers that carried her away ; for had that been all, she might have done the business at *Nerac* without going to *Castelgeloux* : yet could I not penetrate into the bottom of her designe. The next morning I went to *Agen*, from thence I dispatcht away to Monsieur de Madaillan, that he should in all secrecy gather together those of my Company on the other

other ſide the River *Garonne*, at *la Sarvetat*, where his own houſe was : I ſent another diſpatch alſo to the Chevalier my Son, who was a Colonel in *Guienne*, that he ſhould give notice to all his Captains that day and night, in all diligence they ſhould march to Port *St, Marie* with fifteen or twenty Harquebuzers on horſeback each, without ſtaying for any more. I likewiſe ſent to *Monſieur de Fontenilles*, who lay in Garriſon at *Moiffac* to do the ſame, and to ſend to thoſe of his Company who were not in the Garriſon with him to follow after with all poſſible ſpeed.

The Queen of *Navarre* ſtaid two daies only at *Caſtelgeloux*, but took her way thence directly to *Thonens* and *Aymett*. Her departure was ſo ſudden, that the Chevalier my Son fell four hours ſhort of being able to joyn with *Monſieur de Madaillon*, by reaſon of the paſſage over the River of *Aiguillon*, where there were no more than two little Boats only, and yet when our people came to *Aymett*, it was not above three or four hours that ſhe had been parted thence, and gone in all haſte ſtraight to *Bergerac*; where the *Sieur de Piles* with three or fourſcore Horſe was come out to meet her, and ſo ſhe paſſed over the *Dordogne*. I had taken ſo extraordinary pains night and day to ſend away my diſpatches to give notice to all the Captains and Gentlemen of the Country to betake themſelves to arms, that being not yet perfectly cur'd of my *Catbarre* I relapſ'd into an extreme and dangerous ſickneſs. Every one concluded I could not poſſibly eſcape it, and I my ſelf thought no leſs; for I now made my will, which before for any ſickneſs I had had, or for any wounds I had receiv'd, I had never done. In all the ſickneſſes and wounds I had lain under before, I had never had other care than of my arms, and my horſes; but at this time, believing I ſhould certainly die, I thought of every thing, though that which moſt afflicted me, was to leave my Prince and Country in ſo critical a time, and in ſo dangerous a condition. However during the time of my ſickneſs I made the Knight my Son raiſe thirty Enſigns of Foot, wherein the Levy was ſo ſudden, that the Captains could not get Soldiers to make up a third part of their Companies, by reaſon that almoſt all thoſe that *Monſieur de Saintorens* had carried to the King in the ſecond troubles were left behind in *France*, and had liſted themſelves into the old ſtanding Regiments there, and alſo ſome of the Captains.

The *Sieur de Montluc* again dangerously ſick.

Being yet in the extremity of my ſickneſs, *Monſieur de Joyeuſe*, who was about *Montpellier*, ſent me word that the *Provençals* had paſſed the *Rosne*, and that *Monſieur d'Acier* was gone towards *Uſez* to meet and receive them; that they were only five or fix thouſand *Ragamuffian* Rascals (which was his own expreſſion) who carried their Wives and Children along with them, and that I might eaſily hinder their paſſage into *Xaintonge*, whether they were going to offer their ſervice to the Prince, and the Admiral, who were already arriv'd in thoſe parts. The Queen of *Navarre* had alſo taken the ſame way, as to a place of the greateſt ſafety, where they had ſo many advantages to proſecute the War, and the whole Country at their devotion. I had likewiſe news ſent me from Court, that the King had ſent away *Monſieur de Montpenſier* to come head the Forces of *Guienne* and *Poitou*; of which I was exceeding glad, being aſſur'd that if we were to ſerve under him, we ſhould be ſure to fight. The very day therefore that I firſt got out of my bed from my dangerous ſickneſs I went towards *Cahors*, taking a Phyſician and a Litter along with me, of which I had more need than of a *Spaniſh* Horſe, and after that manner made a ſhift to crawl as far as *Caſtelnaud de Monrattier* within five leagues of *Cahors*, there to aſſemble our Forces together.

Monſieur de Joyeuſe ſends the *Sieur de Montluc* intelligence of the coming of the *Provençals*.

To this place came *Meſſieurs de Gondrin, de la Valette, de Saint Colombe* (who brought five and twenty men at Arms of the *Monſieurs* Company that were of this Country) the Lieutenant, and Enſign of *Monſieur de Montpezat* (who had ſome of the *Marquis de Villars* his men) and *Monſieur du Maſſes* with his own Company, and mine, which at that time conſiſted of threeſcore men at Arms. I ſtayd four or five dayes at *Caſtelnaud*, where I began to gather a little ſtrength, and there received Letters from *Monſieur d'Eſcars*, that he was coming to joyn with me with his own Company, and a Company of Light-horſe that he had newly raiſed, as alſo the Vicount de *Limevil* with his Company, and another of Light-horſe, together with ſome Gentlemen of *Lemoſin* and *Perigord* he had with him, and I alſo had ſome. What betwixt the Forces that *Monſieur d'Eſcars* was to bring, and thoſe of ours, we made account by the report of our Mareſchal de Camp, which was *Monſieur de la Chappelle Louſſeres*, Lieutenant to *Monſieur de Biron*, that we might be in all four hundred Light-horſe, and as to the Foot in all the thirty Enſigns there was not good and bad above eighteen hundred fighting men; for my Son having taken a review of them at his paſſing over the Bridge at *Cahors*, had caſheer'd three or four hundred that were good for nothing but to pilfer and rob the Country, ſo that in all his enſigns he had no more remaining but eighteen hundred men. 'Tis true he had daily ſome or other ſtill

Number of the Catholick Forces.

coming in to him, for the Captains had left their Lieutenants behind, who every day pickt up some. With these then we marcht directly to *Cahors*, where I lay twelve dayes, and the Camp in the adjacent places, and there again receiv'd letters from Monsieur d'*Escar*s, who staid for me about *Souillac*, and also from Monsieur de *Joyeuse*, wherein he advertised me, that the Enemy still march't on along the Mountain toward *Rhodes*, and so we departed thence, and in two dayes came to *Souillac*.

The Sieur de
Montluc's dis-
course touching
the coming of
the Proven-
çaux.

Consultation
concerning the
Commission of
the Sieur de
Monsales.

At *Souillac* I receiv'd letters from the Bishop of *Rodes*, and from Messieurs de l'*Estant* (eldest Son of Monsieur de *Cornuillon*) and de *Saint Benja*, all of one and the same tenor, which was, that they had discover'd the Enemy, who were no other than five or six thousand *Rascals* with their Wives and Children with them, exactly after the same manner that Monsieur de *Joyeuse* had describ'd them before. Now seeing this account of the Enemy came from men of honor, especially from Monsieur de *Joyeuse*, who sent me word he had caused them to be discover'd by men of worth and understanding in those affairs, and that the others had themselves view'd them in person, we all concluded it to be so. See here the difference betwixt causing an Enemy to be discover'd, and discovering a mans self in his own person the posture of an Enemy; for this advertisement had like to have been the ruine of us all: and we were so near being all lost, that it was the work of God, and not of men that preserv'd us; and yet we were all of us of one opinion, and could hardly let it sink into our heads, that Messieurs the Count de *Tande*, de *Gordes*, de *Mangiron*, and de *Suze* having all the Forces of *Provence* and *Dauphiné* with them (for they were all joyn'd together, as Monsieur de *Joyeuse* had writ me word) would have suffer'd so few people in so evil equipage to pass the *Rosne* without fighting them; or the said Sieur de *Joyeuse* himself, who had a Force sufficient in *Languedoc* to hinder them from passing the River on his side: neither could I imagine that such a handful of men should be so hardy, as to march thorough the Kingdom of *France*; which made me alwayes cry, *these are brave bold Rascals, we must see them, if they be such as we are made to believe they are, we shall have a good bargain of them.* On the other side the desire we had to fight them made us more apt to believe, that the intelligence had been sent us was true, for oftentimes men are apt to deceive themselves, and inclin'd to believe what they desire. In this resolution we made account to go and fight them so soon as ever they should approach the River of *Dordogne*; to which purpose being remov'd to *Gourdon*, Monsieur de *Monsales* arriv'd at our Camp, who brought me Letters from the King, and to Monsieur d'*Escar*s also, wherein his Majesty commanded us forthwith to repair to Monsieur de *Montpensier* (who was about *Poitou*) to fight with the Prince of *Condé*, and the Admiral. He came in a very great heat to make us instantly depart, which made us immediately enter into Council upon the place, in which was Messieurs d'*Escar*s, and de *Bories*, St. *Genies* the elder, with two or three other Knights of the order, who were come with Monsieur d'*Escar*s, and on our side Messieurs de *Gondrin*, de la *Vallette*, du *Masses*, de *Fontenilles*, de *Giversac*, de *Saint Colombe*, de *Cançon*, de *Brassac*, de la *Chapelle Losieres*, *Cassanueil*, and my self, with some other Knights of the Order. I had sent back Monsieur de *Saintorens* toward *Moissac* (forasmuch as I had been enformed that the Vicomptes were gathering together to go joyn with Monsieur d'*Acier*, and the Provençals) to the end that I might have continual intelligence, making account to fight these fellows with so many of us as we were together, seeing they were no more than five or six thousand pitiful *Rascals*, as we had been made to believe. There was not one Captain, nor Knight of the Order, who was present at the Council that did not concur in the same opinion, which was, "that the Prince of *Condé* and the Admiral were no such Novices in War, nor so young Captains, but that they very well knew how to avoid fighting, unless when themselves thought fit to do it, wherein also they would find the less difficulty now, considering that they had already a River in their favour, which was the *Charante*, and over that the Bridges of *Xaintes* and *Cognac* in their own hands: and on the other side they would never venture to fight without Foot, which they had not, being come thither naked, with no more than thirty or forty Horse: but that doubtless before they took the field to fight, they would stay for the Provençals which Monsieur d'*Acier* was bringing up to them, who since they were coming upon us, it would be much better to fight them our selves, than to go joyn with Monsieur de *Montpensier*, who was a great way off, and leave the Provençals behind at full liberty to march in all security along the banks of the *Dordogne* directly to *Cognac*, now that there remain'd no Forces in *Guienne* to oppose their way. So then we all resolv'd, that it was necessary to stay and fight them, hoping in God that the Victory would be our own, seeing they were so few, and so inconsiderable people. It was moreover alledg'd in the Council, that the said Provençals, when they should see themselves at large, would take their way towards the *Vicontes*, for all the Rivers were fordable

fordable, and that the Prince and the Admiral would come and joyn with them about *Libourne* and *Fronsac*, forasmuch as at *Bordeaux* there would be none to hinder them: and others said, that whilst we were meditating to defend the Cities of *Xaintonge* we should lose our own. In fine there was not one Captain, or Knight of the Order, that was of any other opinion, but that we ought to fight, Monsieur de *Montsales* excepted, who was almost at his wits end, seeing he could not carry away the Succours, as he promised to himself he should do; so that seeing our resolution to be otherwise he departed from us. Whether he went I am not able to say, but one thing I know, that he went away in very great wrath. He immediately dispatcht away his Brother to the King, and, as I have since been told, said my errand to their Majesties, saying, *that I had perswaded all the Captains to return this answer*, an answer that in truth went very much against his stomach; for he had a mighty ambition to have shew'd the King and Queen what a wonderful authority he had in *Guienne*, that could carry in so considerable succours, and wherein were so many brave Captains; only to gain still more favour and esteem with their Majesties, to the end they might grant him his demands, which came so thick, that the King never fill'd him one hand, but that at the same time he put out the other to beg something more. And this I dare be bold to affirm, that never any King of *France* conferr'd so many benefits upon any one Gentleman of *Guienne* as the King had bestowed upon him: for he gave him two Bishopricks, two Abbies, and above a hundred thousand Francs in money at one time, and yet notwithstanding he was never content. And I will be bold to say another thing, that although upon this debate all the Captains had concluded to go to Monsieur de *Montpensier*, the Devil a one of them would have gone along with him, as they afterwards made it sufficiently appear, for nobody would follow him when he was with the Monsieur, but chose to follow Monsieur de *la Vallette*, who was not half so much a Favourite as he; but he was by much a better Soldier. Yet will I not say but that the Sieur de *Montsales* was a very brave Gentleman in his own person, but a man ought to take measure of his own abilities, to moderate his ambition and to sweat a long while under his arms, before he take upon him to play the great Captain, and to Lord it in Command.

After this Consultation held at *Gourdon* the said Sieur de *Montsales* being departed from us, there came news from the Bishop of *Cahors* his Uncle, who sent us word, that the Provençals Camp was come within three or fours leagues of *Cahors*, and that therefore he conjur'd us for the honor of God to come speedily and relieve the City; for they expected the Enemy the next morning; and before we departed from *Souillac* there past by one whom I will forbear to name, lest should he be yet living, it might cause him to be kill'd, who brought a Letter from the Queen to Monsieur d'*Escars*, wherein she writ to him to let the bearer pass with all the secrecy he could, for that she had sent him to the Provençals Camp to discover what number they might be. Monsieur d'*Escars* thereupon came to acquaint me with the business, and carried me to his Lodging, and there into a Cabinet, where he had conceal'd this man, who, so soon as I came in to him acquainted me with the Command he had from the Queen, telling me, that if I would give him a man in whom I durst confide, and that was good at the numbring of men, he would undertake to shew him all the Army; for he himself was not to stand upon computing of men, he being to play another kind of person; but that he would nevertheless order it so, that the man I should send should view the whole Army at his ease. Whereupon I deliver'd a Soldier to him, whom I knew I might trust, who also was to counterfeit himself a Hugonot, and so they went away together.

Now to return to the advertisement we had from the Bishop of *Cahors*, upon his Letter we immediately turn'd that way to go fight with the Enemy. Monsieur de *la Vallette* went before with his own Company, and took Monsieur de *Fontenilles* along with him, who at that time was my Lieutenant, with the one half of mine. I every day expected an answer from the King, to a request I had made to him to give the one half of my Company to the said Monsieur de *Fontenilles*, and the other half to the Knight my Son, believing I should not live long, both by reason of the long sickness I had had, of which I was not yet recover'd, and also by reason of the violence wherewith I daily forc'd my self to do more than I was able.

Monsieur de *la Vallette* made so long a march to go to discover these people, that of two dayes we could not meet again, their horses being almost all unshod. He was as diligent a Captain as any I ever knew, but by this means he was constrain'd to stay a day at *Cahors* to get his horses new shoos, for the way they had gone was so stony, as had left half his party barefoot; and Monsieur d'*Escars* having heard that the Enemy took the way towards *Limosin*, would needs go to defend his own Government: but he was not long

long before he repented his so doing; for the Enemy marcht towards *Acier* and *Gramat*, which the said *Sieur d'Escars* having understood, and that they were got before him, he return'd back to us in all diligence, and we rallied at *Gourdon*, a Town belonging to *Monsieur de Saint Supplice*. I then dispatcht away in all haste to my Son, who was advanc'd a great way towards *Cabars*, that he should immediately face about towards us, and to *Monsieur de la Vallette*, to advance with all possible speed, and not fail to come the next day to *Gramat*, that we might fight that day; or however the next morning. *Monsieur d'Escars* and I, *Monsieur de Gondrin*, *Messieurs le Vicompte de Lemvil*, and *du Masses*, so soon as ever we had baited, immediately departed, and marcht straight towards *Gramat*, sending *Monsieur du Masses*, and the *Vicount de Limevil* with the Company of Light-horse, and the *Mareschal de Camp* before directly to *Gramat*; when being advanc'd as far as the Gallows of *Gramat*, within betwixt three and four Harquebuz shot of the Town, we there made a halt to stay for *Monsieur de la Vallette* and his Party, in which he had *Monsieur de Saint Colombe*, and the rest before-nam'd, and also for our Foot. I divided our thirty Ensigns into three Regiments, although the Chevalier my Son commanded them all, of which *Monsieur de Leberon* commanded ten, and *Captain Sendat* other ten, besides the third ten, which was immediately to be commanded by my Son himself. Which because the Country thereabout was very barren, we were constrain'd to quarter at some distance from one another, by which means, what by reason of the long way they had to return back, as also that the Quarters of the thirty Ensigns were separated, and that *Monsieur de la Vallette* could not come up to *Gramat* that day, we there stayd till it was so late, that the Sun was almost going down, where still from hour to hour *Monsieur du Masses* sent continually word that the Enemy still marcht towards the *Dordogne*, and intended to take up their Quarters in certain Villages betwixt *Gramat* and the *Dordogne*.

The *Sieur d'Acier's* *Mareschal de Camp* taken prisoner.

Monsieur d'Acier very well knew whereabouts we lay, insomuch that it was put to the question, whether or no they should come to attaque us, and their intelligence was so good, that they knew how many we were almost to fifty men. All his Captains were of opinion that he ought to do it; but he shewed them a Letter from the Prince of *Condé*, wherein the Prince conjur'd him by no means to engage, if he could possibly avoid it, forasmuch as upon those Forces he had with him, he said, depended his good or evil fortune. Now as we thus stai'd in expectation of our own people to come up to us, *Captain Pierre Moreau* the Enemies *Mareschal de Camp* hapned to come to *Gramat*, to view the Quarters, not thinking that we were so near, where by three or four Light-horse belonging to the *Vicount de Limevil*, he was taken, and brought prisoner to us to the forementioned Gallows, where we all were. Immediately upon his being brought before us, being I was well acquainted with the said *Captain Moreau*, he having been formerly of my Company in *Piedmont*, *Monsieur d'Escars* and I took him aside, where I bid him to tell me the truth upon pain of death how many men they were; for you know *Captain Moreau*, said I, that I am not a man to be dallied withall, and you must not tell me a lie. To which he made answer, that he would forfeit his head if he did not tell the truth. We very well perceiv'd that he was damnably afraid, for at the very first he had desir'd me to remember, that he had once been of my Company, and had serv'd me upon several very good occasions, wherein I had ever seen him behave himself like a man of honor. I then gave him assurance of his life; whereupon he told us, that they were betwixt sixteen and eighteen thousand Foot, and betwixt five and six thousand Horse, of which there might be three hundred Cuirassiers well arm'd, and well mounted; and the other two or three hundred Harquebuzers and Argoulets, of which they made no very great account. And as to the Foot, that there were six thousand Harquebuzers old Soldiers all, of which he had never seen so great a number in any Army of the Kings, that they had other six thousand, of whom they did not make altogether so much reckoning as of the first, but that nevertheless there was good men amongst them, and such as he believ'd, under favour of the first six thousand, would fight tollerably well, and that the remainder to seventeen or eighteen thousand were for the most part Harquebuzers also, and the rest Halberteers, and some Pikes. *Monsieur d'Escars* and I lookt upon one another, very much astonisht at the account had been given us; whereupon *Monsieur d'Escars* said to him these words, *Captain Moreau* instead of saving your life you will throw it away, for you are oblig'd to speak the truth upon pain of hanging, and *Monsieur de Montluc* has very good intelligence, that you are not above five or six thousand, and of those the greater part are women, children, and servants. He then made answer, Sir, we know very well you have been told so, but let me die if I lie to you fifty men, but said I, we are advertised by *Monsieur de Joyeuse*, who has caused you to be discover'd to a man, that you are no more than five or six thousand, as also by several Gentlemen. who have

The number of the Provençals.

have all taken a view of you near unto Rodes; we know very well, said he, that Monsieur Captain Moreau de Joyeuse, the Bishop of Rodes, and others have advertis'd you so: but seeing we were so near's answer, few, why did they not then intercept us, and hinder us from passing the Rhone? let me perish if they ever gave us so much as any one Alarm, judg you then how they could come to discover us. Monsieur de Montluc, my life lies at stake, I will not deceive you, and since you are pleased to secure it if I speak the truth, I will not forfeit it by telling a lye: of which to give you further proof, see here the Muster Roll of our whole Army, Regiment by Regiment, for unworthy as I am, they have made me their Marechal de Camp. Monsieur d'Escars then took the Rolles, and read them before me, when seeing the Sun was about to go down, we were of advice not to quarter at Gramat, but to retire from thence to the Quarters from whence we rose in the morning, and there to receive Monsieur de la Vallette, and our Foot, and all of us together to deliberate what we had to do. We accordingly then began to put ourselves upon our march, entreating Monsieur de Cassaneuil to go draw off Monsieur du Masses, and our Marechal de Camp; for from Gramat to the place where the Enemy were sitting down in their Quarters, was at the farthest not above a quarter of a league, and it was well for the Sieur du Masses that we did so; for as he was intently observing the order of their Camp to see if he could muster their Forces, and dismounted with two others only with him looking upon them against the Sun, which was then just upon setting, the said de Cassaneuil was aware of all their Cavalry coming full drive to intercept their retreat, which made him gallop upon the spur to give them notice of their danger, who thereupon, as time it was, retir'd in all haste towards us. Thus then we began to retreat toward Gourdon, when being about the mid way, the Queens Spy overtook us, who knew nothing of the taking of Captain Moreau, and drawing Monsieur d'Escars, Monsieur de Gondrin, and me apart, the Soldier there told us, that the said Spy had given him opportunity to see, and to number all the Enemies Camp in the Plain of Figere, where they were all drawn up into Battalia to give an assault to the Town; but that the Inhabitants had sent Monsieur d'Acier a Present, which had qualified their fury, and prevail'd with them to forbear. He told us that he had there counted a hundred, fifty, and two Ensigns of Foot, and being the Cavalry were a little at a distance, he could not so exactly number them, as he had done the Foot: but that he thought they might be betwixt six and seven hundred Horse, and that he had numbred the Foot to be betwixt three and four and twenty thousand men. Monsieur d'Escars and I then took the Spy aside by himself, who gave us the same account that the Soldier had done; the Spy was in bodily fear lest Captain Moreau should peradventure have discover'd him, for so soon as ever he saw him he slunk out of the Troop, and before we were settled every man in his quarters, it was after midnight. The next day we all met together again, and all the Captains came to my lodging to consult what we had to do, having found that we had to deal with other kind of people than with five or six thousand scoundrils with their wives and children. At night the aforesaid Captain Moreau told me in private, that in case we should attempt to fight them in the place where they were encamp'd, we should infallibly be defeated, were we four times as many Horse and Foot as we were; by reason that Monsieur d'Acier who was of this Country, had purposely chosen this place not to stir from thence of eight or ten dayes, but there to lie in expectation of the return of a Messenger he had sent to the Prince and the Admiral, to tell them, that he would go no farther; and that they all humbly entreated the Prince to come and make Guienne the Scean of the War, which they were confidently assur'd they should make their own, before the King could draw sufficient Forces together to fight them: that to this end they would march before him towards Libourne, and would try to carry Bourdeaux, for they fear'd nothing but our Horse, and therefore it was that they had made choice of those Quarters, it being a stony Country, and the stones so sharp that they cut like knives, insomuch that a horse dares not gallop, or indeed almost tread upon them, and moreover all the Country, and all High-ways are enclosed with dry stone walls of the height of a man, and the lowest as high as a mans girdle, under favour of which they made account to enclose all their Harquebuzers, and the Horse in their Rear, so that we could not possibly go to fight them, without exposing our selves to the mercy of their shot.

The Spy's report.

All these things consider'd, as also the situation of the place, and the number of men, made us maturely to deliberate of the condition we were in, and with the best discretion we had to provide against the odds against us, and to supply the weakness of our Forces with the best resolutions founded upon the best rules of War. Upon which consultation it was in the end agreed, that Monsieur d'Escars should send a Gens-d'arme of his, an intelligent person, to sound the Pass of the Dordogne leading to Figeac, wherein if the Foard should prove to be good, we should then encamp our selves there, and cause our provisions

provisions to be brought in to us from the said *Figeac*, for that there we should be out of the stones, where the Cavalry could not come to fight, and that finding the Foards such as we believ'd they were, we might at any time pass over, either to fight the first that should attempt the Foard from the other side, or the last that were to pass, we being no more than a little league from one another. With this resolution we dispatch away the said Gens-d'arms to go sound the Foard, and the Commissaries to make ready the provisions, concluding to depart the day following, and not before, because we would give the Commissaries time to prepare the provisions, and the Gentlemen leisure to sound the Foard.

A second command from the King.

The next day about ten of the clock in the morning there arriv'd the Brother of Monsieur de Villagnie (who had been no more than six or seven dayes at most in posting too and again from Court) bringing a Letter from the King, wherein his Majesty commanded us, that whether we had already fought, or were upon the point of fighting, immediately upon sight thereof, leaving all things in order, or disorder as to the affairs of the place, we should march away to Monsieur de Montpensier. We very well understood by the stile, that these Letters were of Monsieur de Montsales his contriving; forasmuch as he had told us at his coming to call us away, that the King and Queen did not care though *Guienne* was lost, provided we fought with the Prince of Condé; for he being once defeated, all the rest would be recover'd of course: at which time I remember there were some who in my presence reproacht him, that he talk'd at his ease; for although his house should be burnt, he was very well assur'd the King and Queen would give him three times as much as he could possibly lose, and that hitherto it had never been known, that ever the King had conferr'd so many benefits upon all the Captains of *Guienne*, put them all together, as upon him alone: and this was the thing that made us believe he had sent this Letter ready drawn to the King, that his Majesty might write to us after that manner. For in the Cabinets of Princes such tricks have been usually playd, and such extraordinary favours granted, with much less difficulty than men of our trade can obtain the least justice. The above-named Captains who were present at the Consultation are able to testify what a dispute there was amongst us, before we began to march, as seeing the apparent loss and ruine of the Country, should the Prince transfer the Scean of the War into *Guienne*, as we did confidently believe he would, seeing these people refuse to advance any further, and also knowing Monsieur d'Acier to be of that opinion; and that the Queen of Navarre being with the Prince would eternally sollicit him so to do, if but to secure her own estate: for having once *Guienne* at her devotion, she might very well assure the State of her Son, and moreover pretend to a great deal more.

Resolution.

But after all the disputes that have been concerning that affair, I call all the Captains to witness, whether I did not propose to obey the Kings pleasure, and to march away to Monsieur de Montpensier in what part soever he might be; telling them withal, that indeed by reason of my indisposition I could not engage my self in field service in the beginning of a turbulent winter, as being altogether useless in an Army: but that they might boldly proceed, without fearing their houses should be burnt: for that with the Gentlemen and the Common people who would be left in the Country, I did not doubt to secure them, or at least to cut out so much work for the Enemy, that they should pay dear for what they got. There was then a debate about marching the Infantry, all the Captains saying, that it was to send them to the slaughter they being no way able to match the Enemies Foot, and were therefore generally of opinion, that I ought to place them in Garrison towards *St. Foy*, *Libourne*, and *Bergerac* along the River *Dordogne*, and that in the mean time they should see which way the Enemy would take; who should they march into *Xaintonge*, the Chevalier my Son might afterwards go thorough *Limousin*, and joyn himself with the King.

Thus then I return'd towards *Cabors*, and to *Castelnau de Monrartier*, expecting news of the Enemies march, where at the said *Castelnau* I was surpriz'd with a Dissentery, that put my Physitian almost to the end of his lesson, and me of my life: and seeing there are some, who to do me a good office, have said, that I might have fought the Enemy if I would; and others, that seeing I would not fight them, I ought speedily to have sent away the Forces to Monsieur de Montpensier, I have here to a syllable set down the truth of the story, from the beginning to the end, and all upon the testimony of the Captains who were present, excepting those who are since dead; and I think they are all, saving Monsieur du Masses, yet alive: so that if there was a fault any where, it ought to be charg'd upon the Governors, who first of all suffer'd them to assemble in their Governments, and afterwards to pass the Rivers without offering to oppose them; and truly as to them, if any one have a mind to accuse them, that they did not do well, I think they may do it with

with colour enough. But they must evermore lay the blame upon me, who would never depend upon the favour of any but the King and Queen alone; and because I had no Idol that I ador'd at Court, (which I never had, nor never will have) to defend me from the charities of those vertuous Court-worms. It has not been my custom to avoid fighting, I have been too much bred to that from my childhood; neither was I ever in place where we were near the Enemy, that I was not evermore of opinion we ought to fight; and if I commanded in chief have ever fought, though almost alwayes the weaker; and had I at this time had my own will, I had tried a better or a worse, and would have brought away a leg or a wing, either from Front or Rear; by which means we might have given Monsieur de Montpensier time to have come and have joyn'd with us: but these Letters of Monsales his invention must carry it against what we saw with our own eyes was best to be done. To hear these men talk who are pleased to accuse me, a man would say I ought to kill all before me with my nails, and take Rochelle and Montauban with my teeth: but I am no such fool as to throw stones against the wind, and in a disadvantageous Country with three thousand to fight with twenty thousand men, and by my overthrow to draw after me the ruine of the Country. But I shall leave this discourse, as not willing to enter into excuses, for I was not in fault in the least, and shall not learn my Trade of those Musk-Cats that prate by the fire-side, far enough from blows, and the while we are engag'd in action, give the King (about whose person they have the honor to be) unprofitable counsels. But it is the business of a Lieutenant of the King, to take his own way, and do as he himself best sees cause: for it is not alwayes necessary to do as the King commands, he is far off, and relies upon your conduct: it is therefore your part, if you have any discretion at all, to judg what is best to be done. No man living can deny but that had I fought a Battel, I had manifestly expos'd the Province of Guienne to ruine, for I must have fought against the odds of ten to one; and had I done as the King, at the importunity of the Sieur de Monsales, commanded me, I had left all the Country at the Enemies dispose, as I refer to any indifferent person to judg.

I then return'd back to Agen, where I recover'd a little health, and upon that recovery immediately resolv'd to go seek out Monsieur de Montpensier; which determination I signified accordingly to Monsieur de Terride, and to Monsieur de Gondrin, who was come back from Gourdon by reason of a sickness that had there seiz'd him; and we had enough to do to perswade him to return, for sick as he was he would have gone along with his Company, in case they were to go with me. We appointed to meet at Ville-neuf d'Ageinois, to which place I brought ten Ensigns of Foot conducted by the Knight my Son, leaving the other two Tertias of his Regiment to be commanded by the aforementioned Captains, when, as we were all joyn'd together ready to march, I receiv'd a Letter from Monsieur de Montpensier, wherein he sent me word, that all affairs set apart I should forthwith put my self into Bourdeaux, if I was not already there; for he had intelligence that the Enemy had a design upon that City, and was afraid I could hardly come time enough to save it. At the same time also there came to me one of the Ushers of the Court of Parliament of Bourdeaux, by whom the Court desir'd me to make haste to their succour, and that they gave the City for lost, if I did not put my self immediately into it. I was strangely astonisht whence these enterprizes should proceed, and was constrain'd to send to Messieurs de Terride and de Gondrin to Castillon, to gather together the said Companies of Horse and Foot that came along with us, and there stay to expect my further order, for I hop'd soon to provide against the present danger, and taking fifteen or twenty Gentlemen only along with me, went away in all diligence, causing our great horses and arms to follow after. Being come betwixt Marmanda, and la Reolle, I there met with Monsieur de Lignerolles returning from Spain, and Monsieur de Lansac the younger, who both of them entreated me to make all the haste I could, for that they doubted the next day (being Wednesday) the City would be taken, which they had left so strangely divided, that they did not confide in one another. The said Sieur de Lansac had receiv'd two Letters, by which it was evident enough that there was some conspiracy in the City it self. I scarce stayd to embrace them, but went away to lie all night at Langon, and the next day by noon came to Bourdeaux, having first sent away the Usher post before, to give the Parliament notice of my coming, to the end, that if there was really a design in hand that might hold them a little in suspence: I was there constrain'd to stay five or six dayes. The next morning I enter'd into the Court, where I made them a speech the best I could to assure them, and put them out of all doubt; which the Parliament took exceeding kindly from me, and return'd me their thanks. After dinner I went to the Town-house, where I made another to the Jurats, in conclusion whereof I gave them order the next day to put all the City into armes; which was accordingly done, and I found them to

Divisions in
Bourdeaux.

The Sieur de
Montluc's
Speech to the
Parliament of
Bordeaux.

Commendati-
on of the two
Parliaments of
Tholouze and
Bordeaux.

amount to two thousand and four or five hundred men, well arm'd. I found also that the two Companies of Monsieur de Tilladet (who as yet was Governor) were there, and three others. The next day I again went to the Court of Parliament, where I gave them an account of the Forces I had found in the City, remonstrating to them the little occasion they had to apprehend any danger, and the good disposition I had observ'd, as well in the Citizens as the Soldiers, exhorting them to do their endeavour in the defence of their City: after which having made them all hold up their hands to live and die together in the defence of their City, and that if they should discover any one who should go about to betray it they would all fall upon him, they all swore to me so to do, which greatly joyc'd the whole Assembly, to whom I further remonstrated, "That themselves also ought to take up arms, if occasion should so require, and remember that the most valiant Captains the Romans had were men of Letters, who had they not been qualified with learning would have been lookt upon as unworthy of great commands, and that their knowledge ought by no means to hinder them from the use of arms, and from fighting, but rather encourage them to do like those antient Romans, being men as well as they, who had no more than two arms, and one heart, as they had. Gentlemen, said I, I see by your countenances, that you are not men that will suffer your selves to be beaten, those who have gray beards and heads shall be for the Council, but a good number that I see here are fit to trail a pike, and how much think you will it encourage the people, when they shall see those who have power over their lives and estates take arms for their defence? Not a man will dare to mutter, and your Enemies will tremble when they shall hear, that the Parliament it self is taking arms to suppress them, by which they will understand you are in earnest; and moreover all the young men whom I have seen enter this place, and who are more fit for a Corslet than a Gown, will then do the same. To this end I entreated them to shut up the Palace for eight dayes, that in those eight dayes time every one of them might be acquainted with the arms he intended to make use of in time of need, and that they might divide themselves into two and two, to stand at the Gattes with their arms, that in so doing the whole City would take exemple; and on the other side should there be any Treason in the said City, this good order would be a means to put a stop to their proceeding, and put them out of hopes of executing their design; wherefore seeing so great a good was to be expected from this prudent order in affairs, as the preservation of their City, their lives and fortunes, they ought to spare nothing to that end. After which I told them for the conclusion of all: *Gentlemen, consider I beseech you what I have said to you, and I make you here a tender of my own life, and the lives of these Gentlemen my friends to do you service, and to establish you in the peace and security you your selves desire.* The President Rossignac, who at that time had the Chair (for Monsieur de Legabaston was retir'd, his service not being agreeable to this King) made answer in the behalf of the whole Court, giving me very many thanks for the Remonstrance I had made to them, for which they would for ever be my servants, and telling me withall, *that there was not a man amongst them young or old who would not take arms for his Majesties service in the defence of the City.* In earnest the King owes a great deal to this Society, as also to that of Tholouze, for if either the one or the other had fail'd Guienne had had much to suffer; forasmuch as the loss of one of these two Cities carries a long train after it, to wit the ruine of the whole Province. In four dayes time I had clear'd all the jealousy and apprehension that was before in the City.

You Gentlemen that are Governors, it is a fine thing to know the humour and complexion of the Nation over which you command, and one thing I will say for this people, that if their Governor have once gain'd a reputation among them, and can so pertinently deliver himself, as to demonstrate to them any kind of probability in the thing he would perswade, he shall not only engage the Gentry, the Soldiery, and the Magistrates themselves, but also the Monks, Priests, Labourers, and even the very women to fight. For they are a Nation that want no courage, but a good Chief, that knows how to command; and you ought to believe, that seeing the Antients made so much use of Orations before all their Battels, and found so great a benefit to accrue thereby, that we in these times should not lay aside that kind of encouragement. They found it of so considerable advantage, that they have not thought fit to omit the several Orations in their Histories and Records, and we likewise ought to believe that in using the same means, and in following their exemple, we shall find as great advantage by it as they did, and I look upon it as a great and necessary quality in a Captain to speak well. I was not brought up to this, and yet have ever been so happy as in Soldierlike terms to express what I had to say tollerably well, though with a vehemency a little relishing of the Country from whence I came. I would therefore advise all persons of condition, who have the means to do it, and

and design to advance their Children by Arms, the rather to bestow some Learning upon them, for if they be call'd to Commands, they will often stand in need of it, and will find it of infinite use to them; and I believe a man who has read much, and retain'd what he has read, is much more capable of executing great and noble Enterprizes than another. Had I made the best out of my little reading, it had been much better for me; and yet I have naturally enough to perswade the Soldiers to fight.

The fifth day then I return'd, and being that Monsieur de Merville, Grand Seneschal of *Guienne*, by reason of a late sickness, was not able to go carry his Company to the Army, we came together as far as *St. Foy*, where I receiv'd Letters from Monsieur de Montpensier, wherein he sent me order, that I should lie about the *Dordogne*, and above all things have an eye to *Bordeaux* and *Libourne*, for that he was not yet able to guess, whether the Enemy would fall back again into *Guienne*, or continue on their march. Which was the reason that I stay'd about *St. Foy*, and Monsieur de Terriade at *Castillonnes*, expecting what the Enemy would do, and also further orders from Monsieur de Montpensier, being certain that in two or three dayes march we should at any time be able to joyn with him from thence. Soon after we heard that he was gone in all haste towards *Poitiers*, to meet the Monsieur Brother to the King, and that the Enemy marcht along the River *Loire* towards *la Charité*, there to meet and joyn with the Duke of *Deuxponts*: so that seeing it impossible to overtake the Army, that we might ease the Country along the Banks of the *Dordogne*, I left two Ensigns of Foot only at *Castillonnes*, and three at *St. Foy*, and sent away the Sieur de *Sainctorens* with his Company of Gens-d'arms into *Libourne*, and the Sieur de *Leberon* remain'd at *St. Foy*, having three Companies with him, with whom I left order that in case the Enemy should approach *Guienne*, he with the said three Foot Companies should go put himself into *Libourne*. The remainder of our Forces the Chevalier my Son kept together about *Quercy* and *Agenois*, and we others retir'd every one to his own Quarter. This was all that was done hitherto, from the beginning of these troubles in these parts of *Guienne*.

So soon as the Monsieur came up to the Army he spun out the time for a certain space about *Poitiers*, and along the River *Loire*. In the mean time nothing stirr'd in our parts; for the Vicomtes kept about *Castres*, *Puy-Laurens*, *Millan*, *St. Antonin*, and *Montauban*, making only some slight inroads to pilfer and steal, which I did not think considerable enough, that therefore I should set an Army on foot, for the little harm they were able to do; and besides I was willing to save money, for no other end but only to send it to the Monsieur, which made me averse to all kind of unnecessary expence. The Captains of the Gens d'armes, and some Captains of foot belonging to the Royal Army came, or else sent their inferiour Officers to raise men in our parts to fill up their Companies, and others only to refresh themselves, and immediately to return; when after a little space I receiv'd Letters from the Monsieur, wherein he commanded me to go into *Rouergue* to fight the Vicomtes, if possibly I could. Whereupon I sent away for my Nephew de *Leberon* at *St. Foy* with his three Companies; and although I was certain before hand that I should do no good, immediately began to march. That which made me doubt my expedition would signifie very little, was that I knew so soon as ever the Vicomtes should hear I had taken the field, they would certainly retire into the holds and lurking holes they held by the right of War, where they were so wise as to save themselves upon every rumour of an enemy; and the least place that was dispos'd to resist me had been sufficient to stop my progress, and for any hopes to find them in the field I had none: So that I knew I should do nothing but eat upon the Publick, and devour the people, should I stay long about Towns and Castles, to bolt them out of their Burrows; especially considering that I could take no Artillery along with me, which I could not do for want of money to defray the charge: neither indeed did I raise much, because I would have it all go to the Monsieurs Camp; for there it was that the main Game was to be play'd, and therefore it was reason that the main provision should be reserv'd for that use, all the rest of the War being nothing but petty skirmishes in comparison of what was done, and was expected to be done there. As I was preparing for my expedition there arriv'd Monsieur de *Pilles*, and with him the Sieurs de *Bonneval*, de *Moriens*, and a great number of other Gentlemen, who were come from the Enemies Camp, either to levy men, or in reference to the design they had upon *Libourne*; which nevertheless they fail'd in; after which the said de *Pilles* put himself into *St. Foy*, which he made his place of Rendez-vous, forasmuch as I had drawn from thence my Nephew de *Leberon* with the three Companies, to take them along with me into *Rouergue*.

So soon as I came to *Cahors* I sent my said Nephew before with five Ensigns of Foot, and part of the Company of Gens-d'armes belonging to Monsieur de *Gramont*, which

The inconveniences ensuing the Edict in favour of the Hugonots who liv'd peaceably at home.

Overights in the King.

Captain *Mausen* Quarter-master to the said Company commanded, and made him depart in all haste to surprize some of the Enemy that lay about *Ville-Franche de Rouergue*, who accordingly made so good haste, that they marcht eight long leagues, and came to the place by one of the Clock in the night, thinking an hour before day in the morning to surprize them: but they were no sooner in the Town but that the Enemy had immediate intelligence sent them, and were all retir'd into their Forts. Neither is it to be thought strange; for I wonder that either the Monsieur himself, or any other who commanded the Kings Armies, did any thing of moment, by reason the Ordonnance and Edict his Majesty had made, that no one was to demand any thing of the Hugonots, provided they abstain'd from arms, and liv'd peaceably in their own houses. From whence proceeded the ruine of the King, of his Armies, and all his Affairs, and of the People also: for those furnisht out money, and were the occasion that the women who had their husbands in the Prince of *Conde's* Army, by their means and intelligence could at all times furnish their Husbands or Sons with money, and so serv'd for spies to the Enemy, that they needed not be at the charge of maintaining intelligence, nor trouble themselves to know what we did, those people giving them continual notice when and where any of our men were at any time to be surpriz'd and taken, and dividing the spoil when it was accordingly effected; which made me evermore maintain before the King, that that Edict alone was the cause his Majesty was not victorious, and that this new Religion was not totally rooted out. It had been a hundred times better, that they had all been with the Prince, than at home in their own houses; for being with him in his Army, they could have done no great matters that would have been of any significant advantage to them, your Town-bred people being men of no great performance in War, but on the contrary would soon have famisht his Camp; and then we might have prosecuted the War without being spied, or without their being advertis'd of our designs; neither could they have been able to get money, or any other necessities; nay we should have made our advantage of their Estates, by which means they must of necessity either have retir'd with the pardon the King was pleas'd to grant them, or have been starv'd for want of bread. I am sure that in this Province of *Guienne* there would not one of them have been left alive, unless they had abjur'd this new Religion, as they did in the first Troubles; for I knew very well how to handle them, and seeing I had found the way to do it so cheap, as with two yards of Match in the first troubles, I should not have been much to seek in these last. But by means of this vertuous Edict no one durst speak to them, but we were oblig'd to endure them amongst us. It is not therefore (as I said) to be wondred at, if they have perform'd so many notable exploits, considering that at all hours they were continually advertis'd of what we did, and design'd to do. 'Tis very well known that an Army can do no great matters without good Spies; for it is upon their report that a Council of War is to determine what they have to do; but we had none amongst those people, for there was not a Catholick, let him be otherwise as brave as brave could be, that durst venture his person amongst them, it being to throw away himself, no man escaping that fell into their hands; thorough which defect we could know nothing of their affairs, and they were enform'd of all ours. O poor King how have you been gull'd and abus'd, and are yet daily impos'd upon in the Edicts that you have, and do publish in these mens favour? I will not deny but that in some occasions you have not been so well serv'd by your Soldiers and Captains as you ought to have been: but whoever will look narrowly into it, will find that the Edicts and Ordonnances you have been made to sign, have been more the cause of your Majesties and our misfortunes, than any defect in your Soldiers or Governors. Believe me (Sir) believe me, with this clemency and moderation you will never reclaim these people. The best man amongst them would be glad to kiss you dead, and yet you forbid us doing them any harm. It is better then to be of their party than of yours; for being in their houses, let what reports will be abroad they shall be secure at home. Sir, Sir, there are some about you, who corrupted by these people, perswade you to sign these Edicts in their favour. Severity makes them tremble. At the time when without the Ceremony of Tryal, or Indictment I brancht them upon every Tree in the high-ways, and truss'd them up wherever I found them, not a man of them durst quitch. Consider then, Sir, I beseech you of what importance these fine Edicts are to your Majesties affairs; and yet they have moreover made you sign an Ordonnance to send Commissioners throughout the whole Kingdom, to compel us to make restitution to the Hugonots of all whatever we have taken from them, and not to cause them to restore that they have pilfer'd and purloin'd from us. Which, under correction Sir, is a Law imprudently made, and without consideration of the mischiefs will ensue; or else by clandestine malice contriv'd to make you hated by us who are faithful to you, who acknowledge you for our lawful Sovereign,

raign, and have ever maintain'd your cause, to the end that when another War shall hereafter break out, you may not find one Catholick who will take up arms in your quarrel. But had your Majesty and the Queen call'd to mind what I propounded to your Majesties before your Council at *Tholouze*, you would never have consented to send Commissioners to cause restitution to the Hugonots, till first you had sent others to do us right also, for the plunders and rapines they have made upon your Catholick Subjects. They have a great excuse. The Commissioners say, that we do not complain as the Hugonots do. How should we complain, for in the first place they say, that those of theirs who were in arms only, plunderd us who were in arms also; but that we plunder'd those who never stir'd from their own houses. A pretty pretence, when there was not one Hugonot who went into arms, that did not first secure his goods in the Houses of those who stayd at home. And on the other side by the peace the King has granted them, he has given them an Indemnity for whatsoever they have done, not only against himself, but against us also, who have born arms for his Majesties service. Seeing then that his Majesty has been so gracious to them as to pardon them all, is it not reasonable that the same Indemnity should extend to us also? Notwithstanding it is quite contrary. What they have acted against us is approv'd, and what we have done against them censur'd and condemn'd, yea, and moreover we are deliver'd up into the hands of justice. To counsel the King then to make a Law for the one, and not for the other, I do say, and will affirm it whilst I live, that it was barbarously done, and that it is the most unjust Law that ever Prince in the world was advis'd to make,

All this was disputed at *Tholouze*, and the Commissioners, and Commissions, Ordonnances, and Edicts were all revok'd, and his Majesty pardon'd all in general, as knowing very well that those Commissioners would do no other good, but ruine both the one and the other, to beget a perpetual hatred amongst us, which would prompt us eternally to distrust, and invade one another, from whence a new War would infallibly proceed. His Majesty found the benefit of this prudent Act, for the Peace has continued five years since. I know not whom to accuse for the cause that it is again renew'd; but I know very well, that I am no way guilty of it. Of whom shall a man demand satisfaction for the houses of Monsieur de *Sarlabous*, Monsieur de *Saintlorens*, the Captains *Parron*, *Campagnes*, *Lartigue*, and an infinite number of others; all which have been burnt to the ground, whilst they were abroad in the Kings service, and their Wives forc'd to retire into the houses of their kindred and friends; and to this day neither they, nor their Husbands have a house to put their heads in of their own; and when satisfaction is demanded, they say the men are beggars, and worth nothing. They say true, for the rich men never stir'd from their houses, and so preserv'd them; and yet we must be call'd to an account, and not they, because those who committed the outrage are beggars, and have nothing: but if his Majesty would have approv'd our doings, those who continue of their Religion should another time have taken heed how any of their Party had done any injury to any of ours: But I return to my Subject.

Complaints of
the Catholicks.

I dispatcht away another Courier to Monsieur de *Leberon*, and to Monsieur de *Gramonts* Company, that they should return in as great diligence as they went, especially if they desir'd to be present at the fight. The Courier found that they were risen and departed from their Quarters an hour before day, thinking yet to find the Enemy, and not meeting with them for the aforementioned reasons, burnt all the Boats in which they had passed the River, wherein they did a great mischief to the Country. So soon as ever they receiv'd my letters, they turn'd immediately back, and made more haste in their return, than when they went; for they came before *St. Foy* as soon as we; so that had Monsieur de *Savignac* and his companions made half the haste they did, we had trap'd Captain *Pilles*, and not a man of them had escap'd. Monsieur de *Chemeraut* saw all the dispatches I writ. I came with the five Companies that remain'd with the Knight my Son, my own Company, and some forty or fifty Gentlemen that rode under my Corner, in two dayes to *Monflanquin*, where I receiv'd an answer from Messieurs de *Terride* and de *Bellegarde* dated at *Moissac*, wherein they advertis'd me of the difficulty they had found in passing the Rivers, and the ill wayes the Infantry had met withal in their march, and that they could not abandon their Foot, telling me withal, that I ought not to engage the Enemy till we had all our Forces of Horse and Foot together; but that they would make all the haste they possibly could. Immediately after my arrival at *Monflanquin*, which might be about two of the clock in the afternoon, I sent away three Messengers, one to Monsieur de *Lanzun*, entreating him to send me word night and day where Monsieur de *Pilles* and his Forces were; for that I was resolv'd to go and attaque him. I sent another to Monsieur de *Saintlorens*, that he should not fail to be with me by Sun-rise at a Village call'd *Monbahus*,
belonging

belonging to Monsieur de *Lauzun*, and in the last place I sent away the Sieur de *Las* the Kings Advocate at *Agen*, to hasten away the Sieurs de *Bellegarde* and de *Terride*, who were yet three leagues behind, and could not perswade their Foot to march till break of day; and being come to *Ville-neufue*, which was after one of the clock in the afternoon, could by no means prevail to go any further, by reason of the extraordinary foulness of the wayes, wherein though there was I confess some excuse, and that they had reason on their side, I did not nevertheless take it for current pay; for methought every one ought to march as I would have them. After all these dispatches, having baited our horses, and the five Foot Ensigns, I marcht directly towards the Village where I had appointed Monsieur de *Saintorens* to meet me, and by the way found Monsieur de *Fontenilles*, and Captain *Montluc* my Son lodg'd in four or five houses they had met with there, where I told them they would do well to bait their horses (for they had made a very long march in the night to overtake me) and that I would go bait at the forementioned Village. I thought I should there find Monsieur de *Saintorens*, and that they might follow after, and therefore commanded Monsieur de *Madaillan* my Lieutenant, that he should stay and bait my Company with them, and after follow me to the Village: to which I went, but at my coming thither heard no news either of Monsieur de *Saintorens*, or of Monsieur de *Lauzun*; for the Messengers I had sent to them, and who had been recommended to me by the Consuls of *Monflanquin* for the most trusty fellows they had in their Town, did not go away with my Letters by night as they had promised, so that it was past Noon before the said Sieurs de *Saintorens* and de *Lauzun* receiv'd my Letters, as they told me after; and to mend the matter, so soon as ever we were alighted, thinking to bait, we had an Alarm that came fromwards *Miremont*, which made us remount to horse, and advance a good quarter of a league upon the Road towards the said *Miremont*, from whence the Alarm came, wherein I committed a great folly in advancing so far with so few men with me, I having no more than five and forty Gentlemen only in the Party, for my own Foot Company was not yet come up. I could not there learn any certain news, where either Monsieur de *Pilles*, or any of his Forces were, only I was told by the honest people that he was on the other side the River *Lot* towards *St. Vens* and *Aymett*, *Marmanda* and *Toneins*, and that they were all Horse. After I had staid about two hours upon the Road, Messieurs de *Fontenilles*, and de *Madaillan*, and the young *Montluc* my Son came up to me, where I gave them order that Monsieur de *Madaillan* should go with my Company before, that Monsieur de *Fontenilles* and Captain *Montluc* should follow after at a convenient distance to be ready to second him, and that I with my Gentlemen would sustain them; and that after this manner they should march till they came within half a league of *Miremont*, where they should send out Scouts to enquire where the Enemy was, which should they happen to be in *Miremont*, that then they should give the word back from Party to Party, for I would immediately put my self upon the Trot to come up to them, which they accordingly did. Now I had caus'd my Foot to march without beat of Drum to avoid being discover'd, who after that silent manner arriv'd at *Monbahus*, where my Son finding me departed thence, marcht after, and Monsieur de *Madaillan* being advanc'd within half a league of *Miremont* made a halt according to the order he had receiv'd, and sent out to discover, where it was told him, that the Enemy were all on the other side of the *Lot*, and that there was not any one at *Miremont*, of which he gave notice to Monsieur de *Fontenilles*, desiring him to acquaint me with it, that he might know what I would further command him to do. Monsieur de *Fontenilles* accordingly dispatcht away an Archer to me, by whom hearing there was no Enemy on this side the *Lot*, I sent back word, that Monsieur de *Madaillan* should further advance as far as *Miremont*, to enform himself more certainly of the place where the Enemy was, to the end that the next morning Messieurs de *Terride*, de *Bellegarde*, and I being united together might go to attaque them, and that in the mean time I would fall back to *Monbahus*, where we had left our Baggage to bait and refresh my men. I accordingly did so, having first plac'd my Son and his five Companies in five or six houses near unto the place from whence I retreated, sending an account of all to Monsieur de *Fontenilles*, to the end that should they receive an unexpected charge from the Enemy, they might know where our Foot lay. So soon as I alighted from my horse, and before I entred into my Lodging, I dispatcht away to Messieurs de *Terride* and de *Bellegarde*, entreating them not to fail to be with the Cavalry at *Monbahus* by midnight; for that Monsieur de *Pilles* had nothing but Horse, of which there were not above three hundred that were good, the rest to the number of fifteen or sixteen hundred, being all mounted upon pitiful Jades that were worth nothing. The Messenger was with them within an hour and a half after day-light, for it is no more than two leagues from *Monbahus* to *Villeneuve*, by whom they return'd me answer, and assur'd me that by break of day

The Sieur de
Montluc's dili-
gence to fight
with Monsieur
de *Pilles*.

day they would not fail to be with me. But I must return to Messieurs de Fontenilles and de Madaillan, and Captain Montluc, and must here in the first place set down Monsieur de Pilles his design. Immediately upon my arrival at Monflanquin, which might be about two of the clock in the afternoon, the Hugonots of the said Monflanquin advertis'd Monsieur de Pilles, who was newly departed from Cahors, that the next day I was determin'd to draw nearer to him, expecting in the mean time Messieurs de Terride and de Bellegarde to come up to me, which notwithstanding they could not do yet these two dayes, and that I had not above fifty or threescore good Horse with me in all. Upon this intelligence the said Sieur de Pilles dispatcht away all night to six Cornets he had about Marmanda and Thoneins, that they should not fail to be the next day (which was the same that I arriv'd at St. Pastour) at a place the name whereof I have forgot; and that he would come and bring the rest of his Forces to joyn with them, before I could be rallied with Messieurs de Terride and de Bellegarde. They who had sent him this intelligence believ'd that I would stay the next day at Monflanquin, or at least if I departed thence, I would not march above a league or two at most. Monsieur de Pilles had appointed his General Rendezvouz at a convenient distance from their Quarters, and immediately the six Cornets departed one after the other, by reason they were quarter'd in several places, and the Rendezvouz for those six was appointed to be at Miremont, there to refresh themselves till midnight only, and after to go to the other Rendezvouz to Monsieur de Pilles.

In the mean time Monsieur de Madaillan went directly to Miremont, when being come within view of the entrance into the Village where there was no wall, he was aware of a great number of white Cassacks going to and fro in the great street: whereupon he immediately dispatcht away to Monsieur de Fontenilles, and my Son Captain Montluc, that they should with all speed advance, for that he was so engag'd he must of necessity fight, and that they should give me speedy notice of it also. It is a good league from Miremont to Monbahus, and the Sieur de Fontenilles sent me word with all imaginable diligence. There were at Miremont two Cornets, who were first come, and already alighted, and their horses in the Stables, and the other two which were yet on horseback were but just arriv'd, and seeking for accommodation to bait and refresh themselves. Monsieur de Madaillan, who saw himself discover'd, charg'd these two Cornets that were on horseback, and beat them out of the Village in rout and confusion, so that they fled with might and main towards la Sauvetat, the other two that were already lodg'd, hereupon run to their horses, and just as they were mounting, Monsieur de Fontenilles and Captain Montluc arriv'd, and charg'd them, and they fled as many as escap'd towards Aymet. In less than half a quarter of an hour arriv'd the other two Cornets, who seeing their fellows defeated fac'd about towards Ponens from whence they came. It was ill luck; for had not Monsieur de Madaillan sent me word that he could hear no news of the Enemy, I had still marcht on in the same order we began, and had not turn'd back again to bait. I came up at the same time that the last two Cornets did arrive, where I thought to have had as good a prize of them, as the rest of our people had had of the other four; but when I came up to our Foot, an Archer came to tell me they had fought, and pursued the Enemy half a league, and that some prisoners they had taken assur'd them, that Pilles and all his Forces were at St. Bensat and Aymet, not above a league and a half from thence: wherefore they were retreating towards me, not being strong enough to withstand the Enemies Forces should they come upon them. This is the truth of what passed in this Engagement. They brought me two Cornets, but in running away they had torn off the Colours.

Four Cornets
of Horse of de
Pilles defeated.

Could we thus keep spies amongst them, as they do amongst us of such as the King has given liberty to live quietly in their own houses, our affairs would prosper better than they do; and if I had been advertiz'd by some friends of ours, as they were by theirs of Monsieur de Pilles his retreat, I had easily defeated him; for Monsieur de Saint-Elorens had been joyn'd with me, who was coming very well accompanied to seek me out the very same way the Enemy fled, when seeing night coming upon him he drew into Monsegur, to expect further intelligence which way I was gone, and in pursuing them by night I had means to send a man or two to him to give him an account of all that had pass'd. We lay upon our Guard, and kept very strict watch, suspecting lest the said de Pilles should come upon us for his revenge: but he was quite otherwise dispos'd, for he marcht all the night as fast as ever he could directly to St. Foy, where he arriv'd, as we were inform'd by break of day, though it be the worst way imaginable, for the Country is marvelously dirty, and the night was so dark, that men could not discern a yard from one another. Thus we see how the affairs of War do oft miscarry for want of good intelligence, for Monsieur de Saint-Elorens his answer came not to our hands till the next day,

The Retreat of
Monsieur de
Pilles.

nor

A saying of
Monsieur de
Bellegarde.

nor that of Monsieur de *Lanzun*; and the Messengers they sent to me had like to have fall'n in amongst the Enemy, which put them into such a fright, that they hid themselves till the day appear'd. In the morning by Sun-rise Messieurs de *Terride* and de *Bellegarde* came up to us, who, when they heard of the Engagement had pass'd, were ready to tear their own flesh, cursing the Foot to all the Devils of Hell, and the hour that ever they came from about *Thoulouze*; for they might easily have been at *Monbahus* as soon as we, had it not been for the Foot, the staying for them being the only reason they came up so late, and the belief they had we would not offer to fight till we were first joyn'd all together, had made them careful not to leave the Foot behind them, and I heard Monsieur de *Bellegarde* say a notable thing upon this occasion, *That he now perceiv'd it was not alwayes good to proceed with too much discretion in matters of warre.* He said very true; for who ever will alwayes confine himself to the ordinary Rules of war, oft-times loses more than he gets.

We marcht straight to *Miremont*, and by the way met with one of Monsieur de *Madaillan*'s Archers, who came to bring us news of the disorder of Monsieur de *Pilles* his people, that the news of their defeat had reacht as far as his head Quarter, that thereupon the said Monsieur de *Pilles*, and the remainder of his Forces had taken their way directly to *St. Foy*; that twelve Soldiers Monsieur de *Madaillan* kept in his house near unto *la Sauvetat*, had kill'd two and twenty of them at the Gates of the said house being mounted upon pittiful Jades: that the Inhabitants of *la Sauvetat* had also sallied out upon them, and had kill'd three or fourscore, and taken their horses; and had Monsieur de *Saintorens* staid a quarter of an hour only in one place by which he pass'd, the most of them had fall'n into his hands; which alafs he knew not till the next day no more than I, and had then his share of vexation as well as the rest of us. But a man cannot prophecy things, which makes the *Italian* say *Fa me indivino Ti daro denari.*

Monsieur de
Pilles his For-
ces.

We were constrain'd to lodg at *la Sauvetat*, *St. Vensa*, and *Aymet*, from whence the Enemy wese departed, by reason there were no Quarters to be had from *la Sauvetat* till one comes to *St. Foy*, and left Monsieur de *Saignac* with his two Ensigns at *Miremont*, because there were no Quarters for him beyond it, for the Cavalry took up all; and at the said *Miremont* there were above twenty men found hid in the houses, whom they kill'd every Mothers Son, and got some fifteen or sixteen horses; for none of us ever stayd to alight, but pass'd on forwards. The next morning very early we marcht directly for *St. Foy*, and I dare be bold to say, that of a long time I had not seen such a Cavalry, for the number, as those we had with us; and when we came within sight of *St. Foy*, Messieurs de *Fontenilles*, de *Madaillan*, and Captain *Montluc* with his six companies put themselves before, and marcht directly towards the Town. Monsieur de *Terride* with his own Company, and that of Monsieur de *Negrepelice* marcht after to sustain them; Monsieur de *Bellegarde*, Monsieur de *Saintorens*, and I sustain'd Monsieur de *Terride*; and there Monsieur de *Gramonts* Company came up to us, and Monsieur de *Leberon* with his five Ensigns. I think the best Curtel in all our Troops could not have made more haste than they had done, for they were no more than two dayes only in coming betwixt *Ville-Franche de Roiergue* to *St. Foy*. Monsieur de *Lanzun*, and the Vicount his Son were come up to us in the morning with some Gentlemen only, for I think their Companies were in the Camp, and both of them assur'd us that Monsieur de *Pilles* had eighteen hundred Horse, three or four hundred of which were well mounted, and in very good equipage and order, the rest were Harquebuzers on Horse-back, and very ill hors'd. The Chevalier then alighted, and taking an hundred Harquebuzers, put himself right before the Town, the rest followed him, and Messieurs de *Fontenilles* de *Madaillan*, and Captain *Montluc* after; when so soon as they approacht the Gate, fifteen or twenty Harquebuzers sallied out to skirmish. The Knight press'd still forwards notwithstanding, and those of the Enemy retir'd, and shut themselves again within the Town. Monsieur de *Pilles* had all night long been passing his men over the *Dordogne* in great hurry and disorder, and himself at Sun-rise passing over also had left these fifteen or twenty Harquebuzers in the Town to amuze us, and a great Boat, and a lesser to bring them over also, for there were no more but these left behind, who so soon as they were retreated into the Town, ran presently to the Boats, and pass'd over in an instant; so that at the same time the Chevalier came to the Bank of the River, (having pass'd thorough the Town, where he saw no body but women) they landed on the other side.

Why the Sieur
de Montluc is
so particular,
and has writ
an account at
length of this
Action.

This is the truth of all that pass'd upon this occasion, wherein I have been necessitated to give so precise and particular an account of this action as may perhaps seem tedious to the Reader; forasmuch as I have been told that some reported to the King, the Queen, and the Monsieur, that it only stuck at me we did not fight with *Pilles*: but whoever will have the

the patience to read this Narration will see the truth of all as it passed, by the testimony of all the Captains who were present upon the place, of which two only namely Messieurs *de Terride* and *de Bellegarde* are dead, and by that it will appear whether I was in fault or no: neither in truth can I justly tax, or lay the blame upon any one, but only the ill wayes that Monsieur *de Savignac's* Company met withal: for as to the said Sieurs *de Terride* and *de Bellegarde*, they govern'd themselves more by the rule of War, than that they were hindred by any want of good will they had to the cause, or any want of courage and desire they had to be at the fight. Monsieur *de Chemerant* who had brought me letters from the Monsieur was privy to all my dispatches; for he would make one, and to that end entreated me to furnish him with horse and arms, which I did, and of fifteen dayes never left me. I am confident that he will always bear me witness, that every Title I have writ of this Action is literally true, and that he was as glad of the occasion of being there as any one of the Army whatever, hoping to have carried the Monsieur better news than he did. Such as are men of judgment in matters of War have often found by experience how hard a thing it is to fasten a Battel upon a man that has no mind to fight, especially an old Soldier, and a circumspect Commander, as the Sieur *de Pilles* was, who I think was by much the best, none excepted the Hugonots had. He knew he should gain nothing by us but blows, which made him that he would not long abide in those parts.

Two dayes after we came into *St. Foy*, Monsieur *de Terride* received a Commission his Majesty sent him to go into *Bearn*, and departed from me. A Command wherewith he was highly pleased, as I also was out of the affection I bore unto him, and moreover I had an opinion that affairs would better succeed. Monsieur *de Bellegarde* left me also carrying away his own Company, and Monsieur *de Savignac's* ten Ensigns along with him, as Monsieur *de Terride* carried away his, and that of Monsieur *de Negrepelice*. Monsieur *de Saintlorens* and I remain'd behind. The Knight my Son went with his ten Ensigns straight into *Limousin*, to joyn with the Monsieur's Army, and five dayes after the Monsieur won the Battel of *Jarnac*, in which the Prince of *Condé* was slain. Many have thought that that his death has prolong'd our Wars; but I for my part am of opinion that had he liv'd we should have seen our affairs in a far worse condition: For a Prince of the Blood as he was, having already so great a Party of the Hugonots, would have had much more credit and authority amongst them than the Admiral. This unfortunate Prince lov'd his Country, and had compassion for the people, I was long conversant with him, which had like to have been my ruine, I ever found him an affable and a generous Prince: but he lost his life in Battel, maintaining a quarrel that was unjust in the sight of God and man. It was great pitty, for had he been elsewhere employed, he might have been serviceable to the Kingdom. The unadvised Peace that some perswaded King *Henry* to make has been the cause of all these mischiefs we have seen: for to have so many Princes of the blood, and so many others of the same Nation, and to keep them unemployed in some foreign War, is very ill advis'd. We must either fight with others, or fall together by the ears amongst our selves. Could we always continue in peace, so that every one would intend his own tillage, as the *Romans* did in their vacations from war, I do confess it would be very well: but that cannot be. And therefore, Sir, I do say and affirm, that it is a very vain opinion, and fruitless, to think of making peace at home, if at the same time

Monsieur de Terride sent the King's Lieutenant into *Bearn*.

The Battel of *Jarnac*, and the death of the Prince of *Condé*.

you do not meditate a War abroad. You are not to renew the War of the *Holy Land*, for we are not so devout now adays as our Religious Ancestors were in those better times; it were better to do as the King of *Spain* does, and send your men into the new discover'd worlds, and so to separate those unruly Princes, still sending the young ones to be brought up at the School of *Malta*; for if they do not bustle every one will sit still. But if your Majesty have a mind to quarrel your Neighbours, you may renew your claim to the Duchy of *Millan*, that of right appertains to you by descent. For it is not to be found in any Records that the King of *Spain* has any right at all to it, which by the Females you have. The King of *Spain* holds it by no other Title but by right of Conquest, and the power of the Sword. Your Majesty will also find that a Duke of *Anjou* descended from the House of *France*, and of your own proper Race, was once King of *Naples*, which the King of *Spain* has also in his possession. The King your Grandfather would never lay down this claim, but seiz'd of the Territories of Monsieur *de Savoy*, although his Uncle, to have a secure passage whereby to enter into the Duchy of *Millan*. Your Royal Father took upon him the protection of the Duke of *Parma*, and the *Siennois* to no other end, but in order to a Pass for the recovery of *Naples*. You, Sir, are descended from these Heroick Princes, and you have their right and title; if God therefore send you peace at home, you may send a Tempest into the King of *Spain's* Dominions, and shall have a better account of it than you are aware of; for the King of *Spain* is a Prince more addicted to

The Sieur de Montluc's advice to the King.

Negotiations than to War : he is not like his Father, in five or six years he will be old, and you in the flower of your age. He will leave his Children very young, and since the Father was not generous in his youth, it is not to be expected he should be so in his old Age. Besides if you know how to manage the Princes of *Italy*, you will find them all at your devotion, even the Duke of *Florence* himself, for something that I know, and some reasons that I could give, as having felt his pulse whilst I was the Kings Lieutenant in *Tuscany*. The Duke himself I am confident will not say the contrary, nor deny but that he is more *French* than *Spanish*. *England* will not hinder you, for that has a Woman at the Helm, and *Scotland* a Child. To be short nothing ought to deterre you : but I leave this discourse to another time. The death of the Prince of *Condé* was the occasion of my entring into it, for I am a Frenchman, and lament the death of those brave Princes slain by our own hands, who might elsewhere be serviceable to us, and help to enlarge the *French* Dominions.

A command to
dismantle *Ber-
gerac*.

But to return to my Subject, I remain'd five or six weeks at the said *St. Foy*, having yet with me six Ensigns of Foot, commanded by my Nephew *de Leberon*. Of these I sent four together with my said Nephew himself to *Bergerac* to dismantle the Town, as the King and the Monsieur had commanded me, but it was ill executed. Some dayes after the Monsieur drew near, and came to *Montmoreau*, where followed by a noble Train of Gentlemen of very good quality, I went to kiss his hand ; and where his Highness receiv'd me with very great demonstrations of favour, commanding me not to depart from him, of which God knows if I was glad. I therefore sent presently home for Wagons, Tents, and money, as also did all the rest of the Gentlemen that came along with me, making account we should no more depart from the Army, as also there was not in all *Guienne* a man that durst so much as mutter, nor a place that stood for the Hugonots but *Montauban* only. The Monsieur departed from *Montmoreau*, and went to *Villebois*

False intelli-
gence sent to
the Monsieur.

He had not been above five or six dayes there, all which time we spent in consultation about the means to carry on the War, when there came a Gentlemen sent post from Monsieur *de Montferran*, Governor of *Bordeaux*, to my said Lord the Monsieur, to give him notice that a great part of the Admirals Army, both Foot and Horse were come into *Medoc*, and that two foot Companies he had planted there had been constrained to quit the Pass, and to escape away by night. The Monsieur was not over-hasty to believe this news ; for we discoursed about the Pass, where I represented to him the vast breadth of the River at that place, which requir'd a whole Tide, and an infinite number of Boats to pass it : for an Army carried a mighty Train along with it : and that on the other side, it was not very likely that the Admiral who was a Soldier would engage himself in the *Landes*, a barren Country, and beyond Rivers, he could not well expect ever to repass. The night following there came a Courier with like intelligence from the Court of Parliament, and the said Monsieur *de Montferran*, in yet much greater heat than the former, and making the number of the Enemy much greater than before. It is true that he also writ to my Lord the Monsieur, that he was just taking Horse himself to go and discover them. And accordingly, as I have heard, he did go, but he had no horse with him saving some few Harquebuzers on horseback only, and when he came within half a league of the Pass, those he had sent before to discover, came back, and brought him word, that already a great number of the Horse were got over, and that the Foot began to follow after ; so that being so slenderly accompanied, the said Sieur *de Montferran* was necessitated to retire ; and on the other side the people all fled towards *Bordeaux*. The said Sieur *de Montferran* dispatcht away another Courier to the Monsieur, assuring him that the intelligence was most certainly true, which was the reason that his Highness sent me back to my great misfortune, for since that time I have never had any thing but trouble and vexation, whereas had I still continued about his person, all the mischief that has since befall'n me had never come to pass, for I had either died in doing him some brave piece of service, or had never been wounded, as I am, to live in a perpetual languishing condition, without possibility of ever being cur'd. All which misfortune befel me for want of five and twenty good horse only, which had Monsieur *de Montferran* had with him he had himself discover'd the Enemy, for he wanted no courage, and had then discover'd that they were no other than three or four-score *Bearnois*, and some others belonging to the Queen of *Navarre*, who were going over *Bearn* to help to defend the Country, whereof the one half were defeated by the way about *Mont de Marsan*. His Highness may please to remember, that standing by his Bed-side I told him, that upon my life and honour it was impossible this intelligence could any way be true, for I knew the Country, and it could be nothing but some small party going over into *Bearn*, or *Chaleffe*, for a great Party could

could not, nor durst not adventure to pass for they must pass over as it were in file. Whereupon his Highness said to me these very words, *I perceive very well, my good man, that the desire you have to be with me makes you to say this: but believe me in what part soever you shall be, I will ever love you. The reason of war may perhaps draw me into Guienne, and I should be glad to spend my Prentice-age in so good a School as yours.* Whereupon I took my leave of his Highness. Behold of what importance it is to discover an Enemy very well, before a man takes the Alarm.

The Monfieurs words to the Sieur de Mont-luc.

Captains, my friends and companions, you must rather hazard your selves to be taken, and discover the truth, than rely upon the report of inferiour fellows, for their fear makes so strange an impression upon them, that they take Bushes for Squadrons, and will swear it: you may trust to them if you will. 'Tis just the same as when they see a hundred Crowns they think them to be a thousand: send alwayes some bold Soldier, some fellow that has not his heart in his Breeches, and let him venture his Carcass to bring you a true account: but if you will do better, go your selves; I have alwayes done so, and found an advantage by it.

So soon as I came to *St. Foy* I was advertis'd of the truth of the business, and sent my said Lord the Monsieur an immediate account of it, very angry at the said Sieur de *Montferran*, and being there was nothing at present to do, I still continued at *St. Foy*, to be near my said Lord the Monsieur, to the end that when he should please to send for me, I might in two or three dayes be with him. I have heard since that one of the principal persons about his Highness should tell him, that he had done well to rid his hands of me; for that I was cross-grain'd and wilful, and would evermore command in all places where-ever I came. His Highness himself told me the story at the Siege of *Rochelle*. I have never been so obstinate, but that I would alwayes submit to reason; but to speak the truth, I have ever found my own counsel better than that of any other. It is reasonable then that those Monfieurs, who are only pretty fellows at running the Ring, should learn of those who have studied under the greatest Doctors of *Europe*: but they will still be prating, no body must controul them, and they will govern all.

Having nothing to do, but lying idle at *St. Foy*, I went thence to *Agen*, where Monsieur de *Montferran* sent me word, that the Sieur de *la Roche-Chalais*, and Captain *Chaateyrac* were in *la Roche*, with a hundred or sixscore Hugonot Soldiers, that over-ran all the Country, committing innumerable outrages, insomuch that no one could pass from *Xaintonge* to *Bordeaux*, and that if I would go to *la Roche*, we should be enow to do the work; he sent me word likewise that Monsieur de *la Vauguyon* was about *Montpont*, and *Mussidan* with Monsieur de *Sarlabus* his Regiment, and three Companies of Gens-d'arms, to whom if I would send to invite him, he would willingly be of the party. Upon this intelligence I went immediately to *Bordeaux*; and by an expresse Messenger a Gentleman gave Monsieur de *la Vauguyon* private notice of the designe, who presently return'd me answer, that he would willingly joyn in the Enterprize, and that I should therefore send him word what day I would have him to march, and appoint him the Rendezvous, to which he should come. I therefore sent to entreat him to be at *Libourne* the third day after (which was upon a Saturday) in the morning, where Monsieur de *Montferran* and I would meet him, to determine upon that we had to do, which he accordingly observ'd, and I also. The said Sieur de *Montferran* staid to take order about the Artillery, for we were to carry it by water as far as *Contras*. We were in dispute which way to go to work, for Monsieur de *la Noüe* was about *St. Alvere*, a Territory belonging to the Sieur de *Jarnac*, and lay betwixt the two Rivers with twelve Ensigns of Foot, and four or five hundred Horse, who being an old Soldier, and a valiant man as any that ever was in *France*, would never suffer *la Roche* to be lost, without attempting to relieve it, to do which he had only the River of *St. Alvere* to pass, which in many places was to be forded by the Horse, and which the Foot also would boat over in four hours time; and as to the River that was under *la Roche*, they had the Bridge of *Parcon* in their own possession, Town and all, and had a Garrison in it; wherefore we must either resolve to attaque both the one and the other; or not to make any attempt at all. In the end we concluded to attaque *la Roche*, and to fight Monsieur de *la Noüe* in case he should offer to relieve it, all of us who were present at the deliberation taking an oath not to discover the designe. Monsieur de *Montferran* then staid with Commissary *Fredeville* to see the two pieces of Canon embark'd, and I departed the Saturday morning very early, and came to *Libourne*, where I found Monsieur de *la Vauguyon*, who was come thither upon the Friday night.

Commanderie on of Monsieur de la Noüe.

Now whilst we were busie at *Bordeaux* about this Enterprize upon *la Roche*, I plotted another of as great importance as that of *la Roche*, which was this. A Hugonot Captain had seiz'd upon the Castle of *Levignac* appertaining to Monsieur la *Marquis de Trans*,

and had three or fourscore Soldiers within it, had there enclosed the Streets of the Bourg, which is a large one, with Rampiers of earth, and in the night all retir'd into the Castle: which was the very place where *Pilles* had surpriz'd *la Mothe Mongauzy* the elder, kill'd him, and defeated almost all his whole Company. Monsieur de *Madaillan* had come along with me to *Bourdeaux*, my Company lying at *Cleyrac* and *Thonens*, and was present at the deliberation about the Enterprize of *la Roche*, whom I made to return in all diligence, writing to Monsieur de *Leberon*, that they two should joyn together with four Companies of Foot, and make so long a march, that in one night they should shut them in, at what price soever should take the Castle, and put them all to the sword; and that from thence in one night more they should present themselves before the Castle of *Bridoire*, apperteing to Monsieur de *la Mothe Gondrin*, where there were fourscore or a hundred Hugonots more, commanded by one *Labauve*, which was the place into which *Geoffre* that notorious Thief, who has committed so many villainies, used to retire himself. By the things this Villain has done, he gave poof of a great heart and courage, and manifested himself to be a man of execution. I gave them charge that they should begird and besiege the Castle so close, that nothing could escape away: for that so soon as I had done at *la Roche*, I would turn with the Canon suddenly to them, but that in case Monsieur de *la Noüe* should come to fight us, they must then leave all, and march day and night to come up to the Battel.

Levignac taken
by assault.

These were the instructions I gave to Messieurs de *Leberon*, and de *Madaillan*, who accordingly did carry the Castle. The place was strong enough to resist any force of hand, so that they could that way do no good, and the Enemy defended themselves very well, as it stood them upon; for they knew they were to expect no quarter, by reason of the many insolencies and great cruelties they had committed all about *Levignac*. Monsieur de *Lanzun* therefore lent them a Culverine, with which they made a hole thorough the wall wide enough for two men to pass, which they had no sooner done, but they immediately fell on to the Assault, and storming at once by the breach, and giving a Scalado by Ladders at the same time to the *Basse-Court*, they carried the place. There was but three prisoners sav'd, all the rest were cut in pieces, and the night following those who had seiz'd the Castle of *Taillecabat* belonging to Monsieur de *Mereville*, Grand Seneschal of *Guienne*, hearing how those of *Levignac* had been handled, stole away in the dark, and our people marcht before the Castle of *Bridoire*, where they found that those fellows also were upon the point of going to shift for themselves, and clapt close Siege to them. But by misfortune, and by reason of the haste they were in, our people having either forgot, or not been able to carry along provision wherewith to refresh the Soldiers, the Foot began in the night to disperse themselves to go seek out for victual, and the Horse retir'd into a certain Village to bait their horses till midnight; so that few being left before the Castle, those within seeing their opportunity made a desperate Sally in the night, and got away. Our people mounted to horse to pursue them, but so soon as ever they were out they separated like a Covey of flown Partridges, and by several paths retir'd every man to his own house. The night was exceeding dark, which so much favour'd their flight, that not above three or four of them were slain. God knows when I heard it whether I was not ready to tear the hair off my head, and writ them word, that they very well manifested they had not retrein'd what I had so often taught them.

Enterprize of
la Roche-Chalais.

Now as to our Enterprize upon *la Roche-Chalais*, Monsieur de *Montferran* upon Sunday night came with the Artillery to *Contras*, and I came thither also. Monsieur de *la Vauguyon* was to take his way directly to *Parcon*, where the Bridge was, to try if he could take the Town upon his first arrival, and make himself Master of the Bridge, which if he should do, he was then to send over some Horse, who were to scoure the Country towards *St. Alvere*, to enquire after Monsieur de *la Noüe*, and to learn if he made any shew or preparation of coming towards us. Now from *la Roche* to the said *Parcon* it was no more than two leagues, so that we made account once in two hours to meet together again, the wayes betwixt them being very good. When Monsieur de *Vauguyon* and I parted, upon the same Saturday he went to make his people immediately advance, marching night and day, and I came upon Sunday morning very early to *Contras*, where I found Monsieur de *Gironde* the Governor of *Fronsac*, who was also of the Enterprize and Council that I had held about it at *Bourdeaux*. Having there made ready as many Carriages as we stood in need of, Monsieur de *Montferran* being come up upon Sunday in the Evening, I let him rest but three hours only, and sent him away all night that he might be before day at *la Roche* to shut them up, which he accordingly did, and Monsieur de *Gironde* and I stayed to see the Cattle yok'd to the Artillery, which so soon as ever I had done, and made them set forwards, I there left the said Sieur de *Gironde* with *Fredeville*, and about a hundred

Pioneers

Pioneers the said *Sieur de Gironde* had lent me to take care for the rest. In the mean time, and about midnight I departed thence, and by break of day came within a quarter of a league of *la Roche*, where I found *Monsieur de la Vauguyon*, who was got thither by midnight, and had sent fifteen or sixteen of his Horse before the Castle. Those Horse soon came back to the place where we were, and told us that they had found the Enemies Horse without, and had charg'd them, of which *Chanteyrac* refus'd to shut himself within the Castle, but going along the Wall of the Base-Court recover'd the Pass at the Mill, where putting himself into a Boat, under favour of ten or twelve Soldiers that made good the Mill, he passed the River, making his horses follow by the Bridles. *Monsieur de la Roche* did not take the same way, but with six or seven Horse return'd into the Castle, when seeing those Avant Courreurs of *Monsieur de la Vauguyon* gone away, and that *Chanteyrac* had forsaken him, he thought to sally out, and make his escape; in order whereunto the most of them were already come down into the Base-Court, but *Monsieur de Montferran* came up just in the nick, and charg'd them, forcing them to retire into the Castle. In doing which he gain'd the Base-Court, and put a great many men into it: which being done he went to attaque the Mills, which made a very stout resistance, but in the end he took them, and put all those within to the sword. He sent me present word of all just at the time when *Monsieur de la Vauguyon* and I were at Breakfast, whereupon the said *Sieur de la Vauguyon* immediately went, and put himself in the head of his men to march directly to the Town, he and I concluding together, that he should send me three Companies of *Monsieur de Sarlabous* his Regiment to assist me at the assault of the Castle; and so he went to his Enterprize of *Parcou*, and I marcht before *la Roche*, having already notice that the Artillery was already within half a league of us, which could not however arrive at *la Roche* till noon, by reason of the ill way they had met withall. *Monsieur de la Vauguyon* entred the Town, for the Enemy were all retir'd into the Mills upon the Bridg; his men forc'd and gain'd the Bridg, and so all was wonne, and in the night I made my approaches, and planted my Canon in Battery. At break of day *Monsieur de la Roche* desir'd to parley with *Monfiur de Montferran*, who being he was his Kinsman, and a young Gentleman, would not let him go in again, but detain'd him, and the others when they saw the Artillery ready to play began to cry out, *that they would surrender*, who seeing no one give ear to them, they cried out again, *that they would surrender to our discretion*. The Governor of *Fronsac*, and even the Hugonots themselves who were of *Contras*, and were come along with us, cried out, *that we should by no means recieve them to mercy, for that they were Libertines, and men of no Religion, especially one of them call'd Brusquin who had kill'd above fourscore men with his own hands, the most of them Labourers and Country-men*. It then came to the question of marching out, whereupon the said *Sieur de la Roche* entreated of me a certain Lacquay of his, his Valet de Chambre, and his Cook, which I granted him, and we cull'd them out from the rest. *Monsieur de Montferran* put himself into the Castle with ten or twelve men to preserve it from being rifled, and the men that came out of it I recommended to the Soldiers dispose, who were handled according to the life they had lead, for not one of them escap'd, excepting those I have mentioned before.

The Castle of *la Roche-Chalais* surrenders to discretion.

That very *Brusquin* the Hugonots so exclaim'd against to have him kill'd, caught hold of my leg, for I was on horse-back, having five or six upon him, and held me in such fort, that I had enough to do to disingage my self from him, and narrowly escap'd being hurt my self. They found in his pocket a List of a hundred and seventeen men that he had murdered, he having there writ them down, such a one *Priest*, such a one *Labourer*, such a one *Monk*, such a one *Merchant*, setting down after that manner of what Trade or calling every one was: which was no sooner read, but that the Soldiers return'd to him, and gave him above two hundred cuts and thrusts, although he was already dead. *Monsieur de la Vauguyon* came in just upon the execution, where one of them endeavouring to fly away gave him and his horse so rude a shock, as almost turn'd him out of the way, but he was so close pursued, that he went not far. I was enform'd that these people were newly return'd from *St. Aulaye*, and that they had spoken with *Monsieur de Farnac*, who had told them, that *Monsieur de la Noüe* was retiring towards *la Roche-Chalais*; which was the reason that we concluded *Monsieur de la Vauguyon* should return to the place from whence he came, and that *Monsieur de Montferran* and I would go carry the Artillery directly to *Bridolere*: but before we parted I told them, *that although Monsieur de la Roche did properly belong to me, and of right was my particular prisoner, I being head of the Enterprize; I was nevertheless content that we should all three share in his Ransome, which we did, so that his Ransome being set at six thousand Crowns, the Dividend came to two thousand Crowns a piece.*

Great and bloody cruelty of a Hugonot Soldier.

Being

Being come to *Libourne* I sent the Artillery up the River, which went day and night, for we had a great many men to draw the rope of the Boat, which was no sooner come to *Castillon*, belonging to the Marquis de *Villars*, but that there came a Messenger sent from Monsieur de *Madaillan* to tell me, that the Enemy of *Bridoire* were escap'd away, and fled; at which I was as much troubled as at any news almost could have been brought me, for my purpose was to have dealt no better with them, than I had done with the rest, and so we return'd the Artillery down the River directly to *Bordeaux*, and leaving Captain *Mabrun* with three Companies to guard it, Monsieur de *Montferran* and I went before to the City. The next day after I came thither I went to the Palace to take my leave of the Court of Parliament, being resolv'd to return to my old Quarters, that I might be nearer to the Monsieur, in case he should be pleas'd to send for me. There Monsieur la President *Rossignac* in a short speech return'd me thanks in the behalf of the whole Assembly for the service I had done, forasmuch as by this little war he said we had so secur'd the Rodes towards *Xaintonge*, that every one might now safely come and go betwixt *France* and *Bordeaux*. That I had also secur'd them on that side towards the *Dordogne*, having reduc'd the Castle of *Bridoire*, and on that side towards the *Garonne*, by having taken *Levignac*, *Taillecabat*, and *Pardaillac*, by reason that before neither provisions nor men could come by those wayes to *Bordeaux*, or by any other, saving out of *Gascony*.

The Sieur de
Montluc offers
to attaque
Blaye.

These were the successes of these Enterprizes perform'd in five or six dayes, without putting the King to the expence of a Teston, and the Parliament less; and had these Messieurs of the City of *Bordeaux* kept their words with me, I would have laid my head, that I had turn'd *Blay* topsy turvy: neither would I have askt any more than eight dayes time to do it in, provided I might have had the Baron de *la Garde* along with me to have attack'd them by sea, and would have engag'd to have paid them back the thirty thousand Francs I demanded of them wherewith to pay the Foot, and to defray the charge of the Artillery and Pioneers if I did not carry the place. Nay seeing they would not relish that motion, I offer'd to lend them twelve thousand Francs for a year without interest, and Monsieur de *Va'ence* my Brother would lend them two thousand more: in short the Court of Parliament was very hot upon the Enterprize; but when they saw it was requir'd that every one should lay to his helping hand there was no more talk of the business. These men of the Long Robe are a dry hide-bound sort of people, and still pop us in the mouth with their Priviledges. I will maintain, and that by the testimony of the best and honestest men of *Bordeaux*, that they were the cause this Enterprize was not executed: for when the Citizens saw they would part with no money, they would part with none neither, saying that the Court of Parliament had as much or more wealth than half the City besides, and twice they made me come to them, assuring me that so soon as ever they should see my face all things should be done; but when I came I still found them put me off with so many delays, that I was forc'd to return as wise as I came. I think they had a mind to have had me done it at my own expence, and that the advantage and the profit should only have accru'd to them; and in truth by the offers I made, any one might plainly see I was willing to advance something of my own; for I defray'd all the Gentlemen that did me the honor to go along with me at my own charge, without putting the City to the expence of a Hen. This in truth was the reason why the Enterprize upon *Blay* was not put into execution. I am very sure there was nothing in *Guienne* could have hindred me from effecting my design. At the time when *Des Rois* besieg'd it I had taken an exact survey of the place, and it is no such choak-pear as they make it. Besides at that time the Hugonots scarce shew'd their heads, and *Guienne* was quiet enough: for all those who were able to bear arms went into the main body to the Admiral, who after the death of the Prince of *Condé* caus'd himself to be declar'd Head of the Faction, the Prince serving him only for a shadow. It was that nevertheless that so much upheld the said Admiral and his Party, for a Prince of the Blood can do much, and the Son of the said Prince of *Condé*, though he was very young, was a great support to him also; for without them and their authority he had never been able to have maintain'd the War so long.

The Admiral
declar'd Head
of the Hugenots,

The End of the Sixth Book.

THE

THE
COMMENTARIES
OF
Messire Blaize de Montluc,
M A R E S C H A L of
FRANCE.

The Seventh Book.



Seeing I have taken in hand to leave to posterity an account of my life, and to give a true relation whether good or bad, of all that ever I have done in so many years that I have born arms for the Kings my Masters; I am unwilling to omit any thing of action how little and inconsiderable soever; and although the last little Victories I gave an account of were neither the Conquests of *Naples*, nor *Milan*; I have not however thought it fit to leave them wholly out, for (inconsiderable as they are) such may read them, as they may be useful to, and Captains and Soldiers may begin their Prentice-

Why the Author writes these particulars.

age with such little feats of arms as those; it being by such that they first take Lesson: and even those who have the Government of Provinces committed to their charge, may by what I have perform'd take exemple of what was well, if there be any such thing, and avoid the evil.

I had so clipt the wings of the Hugonots that they were capable of doing no great matters in *Guienne*, nor of attempting any other than very slight Enterprizes; neither consequently was I in any capacity of performing any notable exploits; both because there was not much of that nature in the Province left to do, and also by reason I had on the other side, sent away most of the Forces to the Monsieurs Army, and did reserve all the money for his use. I have moreover another reason why I am thus particular in my writing; which is to the end, that if the King shall vouchsafe the pains to read my Book (and I think he reads some worse) his Majesty may then see how much they have spoken against the truth, who have said that I had now no other care, nor meditated on any other thing but how to live quietly and at ease in my own house. God knows these people understood me very ill. Had I had the means I desir'd, and that some might have supply'd me withall, and that I might have had my own swing, without being curb'd by those pernicious Edicts, I should have prevented the Hugonots from reigning in *Guienne*, and perhaps have rooted out the whole Race.

But to pursue the thread of my discourse, and give a true account of what has been the ruine of this poor Province, I shall proceed to tell you, that some time after the execution of these Enterprizes, the Monsieur lent me a Letter containing these words.

Monsieur de Montluc, Monsieur the Mareschal d'Anville has been here, and is going into his Government to put some designs he has there into execution; if therefore he shall stand in need of any thing in your Government, let me entreat you to assist him the best you can.

The Monsieurs letter to the Sieur de Montluc.

This letter was deliver'd to me at *St. Foy*, and with it there came another to Monsieur de *Saintorens*, wherein he was commanded to come and bring his Company along with him to the Army; which was because his Highness had given Monsieur de *Fontenilles* leave to return home to refresh himself, and to recruit his Company, his said Highness sending

ing me word not long after, that I should keep Monsieur de Fontenilles with me, without suffering them to stir out of the Country; and that I should have a special regard to *Bourdeaux*, assisting Monsieur de Terride with what I could in order to his Conquest of *Bearn*; and that as to himself he was going down into *Poitou*. This was heavy news to me, although I was very glad of the coming of the Marechal d'Anville, and may I perish if I was not really as glad of it, as if almost the Monsieur himself had come, for I fancied that the Hugonots in *Languedoc* and *Guienne* would not be able to stand two months before us.

The Marechal d'Anville comes to prosecute the War in Guien.

The said Marechal staid some dayes by the way, and being arriv'd in *Auvergne*, dispatched a Courier to me to give me notice he was come, and to tell me that he was glad of his Commission to come to make war in those parts, as well for the satisfaction he should have in seeing me, as out of the hopes he had we should do something to the purpose in these Countries of *Languedoc* and *Guienne*, and that he was going through *Albigeois* directly to *Tholouze*. I sent him back his Messenger in all haste, desiring him by no means to go that way, but that he would come to *Rhodes* and into *Quercy*, and that I would come to meet him at *Cahors*; for the Count de *Montgomery* was arriv'd about *Castres*, where he was drawing a Party together, so that he could not pass that way but he must be in danger of falling into the midst of the Enemy. I had no answer from him till he came to *Tholouze*, from whence he dispatched a Courier to me to advertize me of his arrival, sending me word that he had past in the very beard of the Enemy; but that none of them had presented themselves to oppose his way. I was very glad to hear of his safe arrival, and in his letter he entreated me that we might meet and see one another, to the end that being together we might take a good resolution to do the King some signal piece of service, and that he would do nothing without my advice. I had at that time a defluxion fall'n upon one of my paps, so that I was constrain'd to have it launc'd in two places, and to put in two tents, which made my breast so soar that I was hardly able to endure my shirt; but the fury of the dolor being a little asswag'd, and the Fever occasion'd by it a little over, I put my self upon my way, though I was able to ride no more than three leagues a day at the most, and that with intolerable pain.

Such as shall please to read my life may take notice with how many sorts of maladies I have been afflicted, and yet notwithstanding I have never been idle or resty to the commands of my Masters, or negligent in my charge. 'Tis unbecoming a Soldier to lye grunting a Bed for a little sickness. Now you must know that neither the King nor the Queen had writ to me that I was to obey the Marechal, neither did he in his own Letter take upon him to command me, nevertheless out of respect of the friendship I bore unto him, and the affection that of my own voluntary inclination I had vow'd to him all the dayes of my life, I went of my own accord to offer my obedience to him, and to make him a tender of all the service lay in my power in reference to his own particular person. I found him in a little feverish distemper, and staid two dayes with him at *Tholouze*, and there I was at that time better accompanied than he; for I had no less than threescore or threescore and ten Gentlemen in my Train. We concluded together that I should return to *Agen*, there to assemble the Estates of the Province to see how many men the Country was able to furnish out, and maintain for the prosecution of the War. I assur'd him that *Guienne* would furnish money to pay a thousand or twelve hundred Harquebuzers; alwayes provided that when he should have won a Town in *Languedoc*, he would come to attaque another in *Guienne*, which I also engaged to them in the Marechal's behalf that he should do; but I reckon'd without mine Host. I immediately however set afoot the Companies of a thousand Harquebuzers, and made choice of the best Captains that were then in the Country to command them. The Estates gave the charge of receiving the money to *de Naux*, one of the House of *Nort* of *Agen*, and we concluded to be ready the first of *August* to take the field.

Considerations upon the coming of the Count de Montgomery.

Two or three months were passed over in these transactions, during which Monsieur de Terride was still at the Leaguer he had laid before *Navarreins*, and for my part I gave the Town for taken; for we had still news that no more provision was enter'd into it, and that they began to suffer. On the other side I consider'd, that all the Forces the Count de *Mont-gommery* had brought with him were but threescore and ten Horse, and that he had no other Forces but only those of the Vicomptes, which I did not much apprehend, forasmuch as with a very few men I had kept them in such aw, that they had not dar'd to stir. In *Quercy* Monsieur de la *Chappelle Lozieres* made head against them, in *Rovergue* Monsieur de *Cornuillon* and his Sons, and Monsieur de *St. Vens* did the same, as also Monsieur de *Bellegarde* on that side towards *Tholouze*; in brief they were held so short as nothing more. I then consider'd that we had several Companies of Gens-d'arms in the Country; so that I never imagin'd *Montgommery* could gather together

ther a power sufficient to relieve *Navarreins*; for he must of necessity cross the River at *Verdun*, where in two dayes I should be upon the Pass to oppose him: and I had so good Spies, that I was very sure to be immediately advertiz'd should he come to *Montauban*, or offer to pass where he did, which was at *St. Gaudens*. I again consider'd that in that Quarter there were seven or eight Companies of Gens-d'arms, which were those of the two *Bellegardes*, d'Arne, de Gramont, de Sarlebous, that of the Count de Candalle, and of Monsieur de Lauzun, and the ten Companies of Monsieur de Savignac; so that all the Earth could never have made it sink into my head that the Count de Montgomery should come to relieve *Bearn*. Thus do men sometimes deceive themselves with reasons; for I made account his coming into those parts had been only to defend those places they possessed in the Provinces of *Languedoc* and *Guienne*; and also I heard the Vicompts refus'd to obey one another, which made me rather think he came to moderate that affair, than for any thing of *Bearn*, and in truth there was greater likelihood in it; but the Hugonots have ever had that quality to conceal their designs better than we. They are a people that very rarely discover their counsels, and that's the reason why their Enterprizes seldom fail of taking effect. The Count de Montgomery also herein manifested himself to be a circumspect and prudent Captain. It was he who was the occasion of the greatest mishap that these five hundred years has befall'n this poor Kingdom, for he kill'd King Henry my good Master in the flower of his age, running against him in Lists; and this man was the ruine of *Guienne*, by setting the Hugonots again on foot, as shall be declar'd in its due place.

You who are the Kings Lieutenants upon whose care the whole Province does rely, consider the oversight that I have committed, and not I alone, but some far better than I, upon this coming of the Count de Montgomery: look better about you when you shall happen to be in the like occasion, and ever suspect the worst, that you may provide better against such inconveniencies than we did. The Mareschal d'Anville very well knows, that when we were together at *Tholouze*, we were generally of opinion that the Count was not come for the end that he afterwards discovered. We had very good arguments to excuse this error, especially I, as the following discourse will make appear to such as have a mind to be further satisfied in that particular: but this man, although a stranger, and in a Country where he had never been before, made it seen that he had very good friends there, and perhaps amongst us our selves; the Hugonots have ever been more cautelous and subtile than we; I must confess that of all the oversights have ever been committed in all our wars, this was the greatest; I know it has been variously descanted upon, and that the Queen of *Navarre* set people on to raise strange reports: but I know also that I was not in fault; and I am sure Monsieur d'Anville is so good a servant to the Crown, that he can say as much for himself as I.

At my departure from *Tholouze* I had some private conference with two of the principal Capitouls of the City, where I gave them many things in charge to deliver to the body of their Corporation concerning the carrying on of the War. These men were very well dispos'd, but that is not all; and I must here by the way insert a thing that I have ever said, and shall do so long as I live, that the Gentry are very much to blame so much to disdain City Employments, principally of Capital Cities, such as *Tholouze* and *Bordeaux*. I am sure when I was a boy I have heard that both Gentlemen and Lords of very great birth and quality accepted of the charge of Capitouls at *Tholouze*, and of Jurats at *Bordeaux*; but especially at *Tholouze*; whereas now refusing these offices, or suffering them to be conferr'd upon others, the Citizens have got the power into their hands, so that when we come we must cap and cringe to them. It was ill advised of those who first were the cause. Would to God that (as they do in *Spain*) we had made our constant abode in the good Towns, we had then both had more riches and more authority. We have the keys of the Field, and they of the Towns, and in the mean time we must pass thorough their hands, and for the least affair trot up and down with great trouble from City to City to beg their favour and esteem. But to return to my two Capitouls, had they been men who had rightly understood the instructions I gave them, they might have given me seasonable notice. Neither is it in this thing only that I have observ'd this fault, but in several other things also, and if the Catholick Gentlemen would introduce this custom of taking City Employments upon them, they would find advantage by it, and would in a short time see all things in a much better posture. But let us make an end of the business in hand.

I had intelligence from that side towards *Tholouze*, that the said Count reforc'd himself both with Horse and Foot and that he made his Levies about *Castres*, and at *Gailiac*, but that did nothing alter my former opinion of his design (I confess that God

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depriv'd

A fault in the French Gentry.

depriv'd us of our understanding) till that within eight or ten dayes before he took the Field. Monsieur *de St. Germain* coming to give me a visit at *Agen* about some private business betwixt us, told and assur'd me, that the preparation *Montgomery* was making was to go over into *Bearn*. I disputed the contrary with him, telling him that the said *Montgomery* very well knew, that the Mareschal d'anvilles Forces were almost ready, and that in eight or ten dayes time I should also be ready to march, hoping in twelve dayes to be with him. To which the said Sieur *de St. Germain* made answer, that let me never more repute him a good Servant of the Kings, if the Count *de Montgomery* did not go over into *Bearn*; and that he would cross the River at *Verdun*, or else higher towards the Source. The confident assurance he gave me made me think to advertize Monsieur *de Terride*, which by an expresse Courier I did, and having well weigh'd and consider'd all things with my self, began to apprehend there might be some apparence in the thing. In the mean time I entreated the said Sieur *de St. Germain* to go to *Tholouze* to acquaint the Mareschal with it; to which he return'd me answer, that he could not imagine but that the Mareschal must needs know of it, considering that *Montgommeries* Levies were making within seven or eight leagues of *Tholouze*: but I was so importunate with him to go, that in the end he consented, though he was at that time very much troubled with the stone, which yet continues with him; which made me write to the Mareschal (not naming the said Sieur *de St. Germain* otherwise than that a Gentleman and a Knight of the Order, whom he very well knew, and who was a very loyal Subject of the Kings) was coming towards him, to acquaint him with something that concern'd his Majesties service, beseeching him that he would please to give credit to what he had to deliver to him. The said Sieur *de St. Germain* was not come to *Tholouze* when my Messenger came away, for the Mareschal writ me word back that the Knight of the Order who I said was coming to speak with him, was not yet arriv'd, but that if he came he would give ear to what he had to say, and would signifie his opinion to me concerning what he should deliver to him. Four or five dayes after Monsieur *de St. Germain* writ me word, that he had been with the Mareschal, who it seem'd had intelligence from other hands then his, to which he conceiv'd he gave greater credit then to him: but that I should remember what he told me, and should in a short time see it come to pass. I gave continual notice of all to Monsieur *de St. Girons* who was at *Mas de Verdun*, and Governor of the place, brother to the Sieur *de la Garde*, and who at this time is a Knight of the Order, and one of his Majesties Household, that he should look well about him, and that in case the Enemy should offer to pass the River, he should send me present word, and in a day and a half I would not fail to be with him. To which he return'd me answer, that he would give me three daies warning, and that those of *Grenade*, and *du Mas de Verdun* had command to assist one another to guard the Foards and Ferries, which command had been given them at the said *Mas de Verdun* at the time when the said Mareschal was there. Now I had deliver'd the charge of the Country of *Comenge*, as far as the *Pyrrhenean* Mountains to Monsieur *de Bellegarde*, to whom I had given as ample Commission to Command in those parts as if I my self was there, he having ever behav'd himself gallantly and well, upon all occasions beaten and repell'd the Enemy, with Monsieur *de Savignac's* People, his own Company, and the Gentlemen of *Comenge*, amongst whom he had a very great reputation, and was well serv'd by the Gentry, they knowing him to be a very brave Gentleman and an old Captain.

Monsieur *de Terride* despi- I receiv'd an answer from Monsieur *de Terride*, wherein he sent me word that he had ses his Enemy. no great apprehension of the Count *de Montgomery* or of his Forces, and that he was able to fight him. The Messenger that I had sent to him was a Soldier, who told me by the by, that Monsieur *de Terride* had not so many men as he thought he should have had, and moreover he heard the Captains and Soldiers say that the Enemy scarce ever made a fally but that our people were beaten. And it was not above three dayes at the most before I receiv'd a Letter from Monsieur *de Fontenilles* containing these words.

I send you enclosed a Letter I receiv'd from my Lieutenant Monsieur *de Noe*, by which you will see that the Count *de Montgomery* is already upon the Save, and that he takes the way toward *St. Gaudens*, where he makes account with his Army to pass the Garonne.

The said Sieur *de Noe's* Letter was this:

Monsieur,

The Count *de Montgomery* I Give you nitice that the Count *de Montgomery* has past the Save, and the Riege, and goes over into *Bearn*. I dines to day at the house of the Vicount *de Caumont* my Brother-in-Law. In all these parts not a man presents himself to dispute with him his passage over the Garonne. I pray give Monsieur *de Montluc* speedy notice of it.

I was never in my life so surpriz'd at any thing as at this unexpected news, and began to think with my self, that this was some misadventure that was destin'd against us, knowing, as I did, the Marechal d'Anville, Messieurs de Joyeuse and de Bellegarde, who were hard by him, and several other Captains who wanted neither courage, experience, nor affection; wherefore we were to conclude that God would lay a misfortune upon Monsieur de Terride. I had the Company of Monsieur de Gondrin at *Montsegur en Bezadois*, the one half of my own at *Nerac*, and the other at *Monflanquin*, and that of Monsieur de Fontenilles at *Moissac*; which de Fontenilles ran in all haste to the said *Moissac*, being very certain that I would speedily send for him. I immediately then writ four dispatches, one to Monsieur de Terride, wherein I entreated him to rise from before *Navarreins*, and to retire towards *Orthez* and *St. Sever*, for that the Enemy was upon him, entreating him in so doing to call to mind the diligence we had several times used when we were together in *Piedmont*; that I feared the Marechal's Forces were not yet ready suddenly to relieve him, and did also fear that the Enemy would be upon him before my Letter could come to his hands; that therefore he ought not to engage himself to a precipitous Retreat, and much less in a Battel, considering that his men were haras'd out with labour and watching, and that the Enemy came fresh and in good plight to attaque him. I sent another to Monsieur de Fontenilles to bid him march, another to the Baron de Gondrin at *Montsegur*, and another to my Lieutenant Monsieur de Madaillan, that I was going before towards *l'Isse en Jordan*, if the Enemy had not yet passed the River; but in case they should already be passed over, I would then take the way of *Aire*, and that he should follow after me day and night. It was almost night when I received the news, and in the morning by break of day, so soon as I had sent away my Messengers I departed and went to *Lectoure*; from whence I sent another dispatch to Monsieur le Marechal to give him notice that I was coming directly to him with five Ensigns of Foot: but that notwithstanding should the Enemy already have passed the River, I was of opinion we were to follow after them, and that then if I should find they were marcht toward *Bearn*, I for my part would take my way directly to *Aire*, beseeching him not to stay for any one, for that so soon as ever he should be out of the Gates of *Tholouze* every one would follow after him, so well was I acquainted with the nature of the Gentlemen of that Country. I had tried them oft enough, and am very confident it would have fall'n out so: for many a time have I set out with thirty men only, and the next day have had all the Gentlemen of the Country about me. I stay'd but that day at *Lectoure*, and as God shall help me, when I departed from *Agen*, I had but one old Gentlmen with me call'd Monsieur de Lizac, and my own Servants; but the next morning I had above thirty came in to me, with whom I marcht that night to *Cauze*, and the next day went no further than to *Nogaro* to stay for the Companies of Gens-d'arms and five Ensigns of Foot I had near unto me, and they were commanded by Captain *Castella*, by reason that I had sent my Nephew de Leberon to *Libourne*; the King having writ to me to put my self into it, his Majesty having had intelligence that the Enemy had a design upon that place. Which Command I receiv'd at the time when I sent the advertizement to Monsieur de Terride, and would not my self go to the said *Libourne*, that I might be near the Marechal to go relieve the said Sieur de Terride; or fight *Montgommery* by the way. Being come to *Aire* we found that we were above fixscore Gentlemen, and the five Foot Companies came thither as soon as we. In the morning my whole Company came in on the one side, and by the way of the *Landes* at the same time came the Baron de Gondrin, who the day before had marched nine leagues, and my Company seven, and at night came Monsieur de Fontenilles. As I was mounting to horse to depart from *Nogaro*, the Messenger I had sent to the Marechal from *Lectoure* return'd and brought me his answer, which was, that since *Montgommery* was already passed the *Garonne*, he conceiv'd it would be to no purpose to follow him, and that he had given Monsieur de Terride notice from the time that the Count had first made towards the Rivers, to look to himself, for that the said *Montgommery* was coming to attaque him; who had return'd him answer, that he was strong enough to fight *Montgommery*, and that he would nor leave the Siege, which was the same answer the said Sieur de Terride had sent to me. The said Marechal sent me further word that he was going to batter a Castle near unto *Lavaur* called *Frigeac*, till the Foot who were coming out of *Languedoc* commanded by the Sieur de *St. Geran de la Guiche* should come up to him.

So soon as ever I alighted at *Aire* I dispatcht away Captain *Mausan* (who had been Quarter-master to Monsieur *Gramont's* Company, and was lately come into mine) to the said Marechal by whom I begg'd of him, that setting all other Enterprizes apart, he would please to apply himself to the grand Concern; for having once fought *Montgommery* he would have no more to do either in *Languedoc* or *Guienne*, being that all the Forces of two

The Sieur de
Montluc gives
Monsieur de
Terride notice
of his coming.

The Sieur de
Montluc sends
to the Maref-
chal d'Anville.

* A River so
called.

The Sieur de
Terride retires
to Orthez.

Provinces were united with the said Count, which being once defeated there would not be any one left to make head against us. I had at my coming to *Nogaro* sent away a dispatch to Monsieur de *Terride*, entreating him, that if he was not already retir'd he would speedily retire, and disincumber himself of his Artillery; and if he saw himself hard laid to, rather to throw them into the * *Gave*, than engage in a Battel; for that I had sent to the Marechal from *Leſtoure*, hoping he would suddenly come away; and that though he should lose his Canon, so soon as we should be drawn together we should presently recover it. In the mean time it ran in my head, that although *Montgomery* had a very considerable and sprightly Army, he would hardly notwithstanding adventure to attaque Monsieur de *Terride*, seeing we were coming up towards him: but I think he had intelligence that neither the Marechal nor I would enter the Country, and that we were not ready to joyn, which made him pursue his determination. The same night that I came to *Aire* after I had sent away Captain *Mausan* came Captain *Montant* from Monsieur de *Terride*, by whom he sent me word that he was retir'd to *Orthez*, entreating me with all speed to come up to him; whereupon I immediately sent back the said Captain *Montant* to tell him, that I would not stir from *Aire*, or at least would advance no further than *St. Sever*, untill the Marechal should first come, for I had but three Companies of Gens-d'arms, and five Ensigns of Foot; and that Captain *Montant* had told me, that in eighteen Ensigns of Foot which he had with him there was not eighteen hundred men; and on the other side, should I come to *Orthez*, and that we should be forc'd to fight, and should lose the Battel, the King might justly cut off my head for not staying for the Marechal, and the said Marechal himself might justly say, that I had precipitated the Battel that he might not be there, to engross to my self the reputation of a Victory; that therefore I would be cautious of entring into such a dispute either with his Majesty, or the Marechal: but that I entreated him to retire to *St. Sever*, leaving a sufficient Garrison in *Orthez*, and till the Marechal should come I would be drawing towards him. That heretofore I had given him timely advertizement of the Count's coming, which he had dispis'd, and that now he would have me repair that so great an oversight at the hazard of my own honor, which I could by no means do. The said Captain *Montant* rid all night directly to *Orthez*, telling him all that I had given him in charge, to which he return'd me answer, that he could not stir from *Orthez*, and that should he go out of the Country of *Bearn* the *Bearnois* would take heart at it; entreating me therefore to come up to him, with which message he would again have return'd the said Captain *Montant*, who would by no means accept of the Commission, but frankly told him, that he was confident I would not enter into *Bearn*; and had given him so many reasons for that resolution, that not a man about me would offer to advise me to it, and accordingly I sent him word by his Messenger that I would do no other but what I had told him by Captain *Montant*.

I communicated all the Letters I writ whether to the Marechal or Monsieur de *Terride*, to Monsieur d'*Aire* Brother to Monsieur de *Candalle*, and to all the Knights of the Order, and evermore consulted their advice; for the occasion requir'd it. The Lieutenant of *Castel-Sarrazin*, who was with Monsieur de *Terride*, has since told me, that he kept all the Letters I had writ to the said Sieur de *Terride*, and that would he have been perswaded by any of his Captains, he had retir'd to *St. Sever* according to my advice: but he chose rather to be govern'd by three or four Gentlemen of *Bearn* he had about him, than any of his own Officers and Servants. Monsieur de *Bellegarde* was within six leagues of *Aire* towards *Bigorre*, to whom I dispatcht away a Messenger, entreating him to come the next day to *Prolan*, a House belonging to the Baron de *Campagne*, and to bring Captain *Arne*, and the Baron de *Arbous*, Lieutenant to Monsieur de *Gramont*, along with him, I having earnest business to communicate unto him, which accordingly they all three did. He had with him four Companies of Gens-d'arms, namely his own, and those of Messieurs de *Gramont*, d'*Arne*, and de *Sarlebous*; and there I laid down before them all that I writ to Monsieur de *Terride*, with the answers he had return'd me back, and that he tempted me to come to *Orthez*, telling them withal the foregoing reasons why I conceiv'd I ought not to do it; which they all approv'd of, saying, that the Marechal would have just cause to take it exceedingly ill if I should not stay for him; although they well enough understood by several Letters he had writ to them, that he had a mind to make war in *Langue-doc*, and not in *Guienne*; for all those of his Council, and even they of *Tholouze*, (as they had been enform'd) advis'd him so to do, and that upon that condition they would supply him with money for the expence of the war, perswading him to expend it in *Langue-doc*, and not in *Guienne*; which was a thing easie enough to be believ'd, for every one strives to draw the water to his own Mill. Monsieur de *Bellegarde* then told us, that he would

would write to the Mareſchal, and tell him that he ought to march towards us, and after the Enemy : but that nevertheleſs he believ'd he would not do it, for the forenamed reaſons, and alſo becauſe thoſe who were for his transferring the Scene of the war into *Languedoc*, would be ſure to poſſeſs him, that the reaſon why we invited him to come to us, was for the fear we were in of loſing our own Houſes. We concluded however that he ſhould ſend a Gentleman to him to beſeech him to come, and I promis'd *Monſieur de Bellegarde* to acquaint him with what answer Captain *Mauſan* ſhould bring me back ; who was but three dayes in going and coming, and afterwards went to *Monſieur de Bellegarde*, carrying him the Mareſchal's answer to my Letter ; which was to this effect.

Monſieur de Montluc,

I Have receiv'd yours, by which I perceive that *Monſieur de Terride* is retir'd to *Orthez*, who being now out of danger I ſhou'd do no great feats in *Bearn*, and am very unwilling to ſquander away my time : for in theſe parts I am confident I ſhall ſoon recover what is loſt of my Government ; at your inſtance nevertheleſs I am content to come with my Army as far as *l'Isle de Jordan*, there to ſtay ſome few dayes to ſee if any occaſion ſhall offer it ſelf of fighting *Montgommery* in the Field ; which in caſe I fail of, I am reſolv'd to purſue my beginning, which is hopeful ; for I have taken *Figeac* where Captain *Mauſan* has found me, and to morrow morning I will march directly to the *Iſle*, where in two dayes I hope to arrive.

Theſe were the contents of the Letter which pleas'd us all exceedingly well, and immediately upon the receipt thereof I went to *St. Sever* with all the horſe and foot I had ; and from thence ſo ſoon as ever I came thither diſpatcht away Captain *Montaut*, who from *Orthez* was but newly alighted there (for from *St. Sever* to the ſaid *Orthez* is no more than four leagues and a half only) back to *Monſieur de Terride*, entreating him that he "would come in the morning to *Agetmau*, that we might conferre together an hour to reſolve upon what we had to do. I made no manner of queſtion but he would come, "which made me ſend to *Monſieur de Gramont*'s people to provide us ſomething for dinner, "for *Agetmau* is his in right of his Daughter-in-Law d'*Andois* Counteſs of *Guichen*, and "gave the Letter the Mareſchal had ſent me by Captain *Mauſan* to the ſaid Captain "Montaut, to ſhew him. I made this aſſignation purpoſely to remonſtrate to him, that "the Mareſchal would hardly be drawn ſo far as into *Bearn*, by reaſon he was im- "portun'd by all the Eſtates of *Languedoc*, and all the Lords of that Countrey to make "war in *Languedoc*, and not in *Guienne*, which he muſt in the end be neceſſitated to do, or "they would give him no money ; that therefore he ought to retire to *St. Sever*, leaving "a few men in the Caſtle of *Orthez*, and that when we ſhould be all together we ſhould "make up the body of an Army, entreating the Mareſchal to leave us *Monſieur de Belle-* "garde with the four Companies of Gens-d'arms, which I hoped he would eaſily grant "us, he having enow beſides to be Maſter of the Field, and that in five or ſix dayes I "doubted not but we ſhould have a thouſand Foot, or more to thoſe we already had : "for *Monſieur de Bellegarde* had two Companies with him, and that Captain *Mauſan* "ſhould go into *Bigorre*, from whence he ſaid his Brother would bring a conſiderable "number of men, and that the Count de *Labatut* would do the ſame. This was what I had premeditated to ſay to him, not doubting but by thoſe arguments to overcome his Council that hindred him from retiring ; and beſides I believ'd the Mareſchal would be very glad of this reſolution, by which means he would be at full liberty to purſue his own deſigns. Yet did I not do this of my own head only, but communicated all to the Knights of the Order, and the Captains who were with me. Now when I in the morning expected he ſhould come to *Agetmau* (it being but two leagues only from *Orthez*) to conclude of ſuch things as ſhould be moſt proper for his ſafety and honor, he ſent me word that he could not come to *Agetmau*, his Council not conceiving it fit for him to go out of his Government, becauſe *Agetmau* was not in *Bearn*, but that I ſhould come to him. See here the vanity of this world ! a man weak, beaten, and upon the matter defeated, ſtands upon his punctillio's, and moreover with a man who came only to ſave his life, and who in regard to his own quality might challenge ſome reſpect.

Diſpute be-
twixt the
Sieurs de
Montluc and de
Terride.

For God's ſake (fellow Captains) leave this pride behind your Beds-head, when neceſſity ſhall preſs upon you ; for it is to be devoyd of all ſenſe and underſtanding, ſeeing that a man does miſerably and ridiculouslly loſe himſelf. Had he been of greater quality than I, he ought notwithſtanding to have accepted my invitation, and to have come ſo far to confer and conſult with me about an affair whereupon his own ſafety and that of his Army wholly depended. His evil Angel govern'd him. He neither knew before nor after which way to

go about either to escape, or defend himself. Yet was it not thorough any default of courage, for he had ever manifested himself to be brave enough; but God deprives us of our judgments when he is dispos'd to chastize us.

To return to our Embassies. I sent him word roundly, "That I would not budg a foot, and that I would not engage my self in a place where I should be enforc'd to fight till I should first see his Forces and mine together, to know if they were sufficient to match the Enemy: that I had seen too many caught in the Trap for that; *that I would not buy a Pig in a Poak*, but would see both without and within, that I was come thither to relieve him without any command from any person living; that it seem'd he stood upon his punctillio's of honor, but that it was not time to insist upon such niceties; and that he appear'd to me like a man who is in necessity, and yet thinks he does the person too much honor to borrow money of him of whom he desires it. All this I writ to him in my anger, when I saw I could not make him come to a place where I had a mind to tell him by word of mouth what had been concluded, as well by Monsieur de Bellegarde and the Captains near unto him, as by those that I had with me: and when they saw that I was resolv'd not to go, they sent to me Messieurs d' *Andaux*, and de *Damasan* to perswade me to it.

The question was not whether I ought to carry the five Ensigns of Foot, and my three Companies of Gens-d'arms into *Orthez*, for they not had 3 daies provision for themselves: but I must go as one neighbour goes to another's house when he makes a visit. I do not use to go after that manner in a time of War, especially when the Enemy is so near. The said Sieurs d' *Andaux* and de *Damasan* spar'd for no arguments to induce me to it, and I was not to seek for reasons (and such as were much more evident than theirs, as any child might discern) to excuse my self. In the end, seeing I would not go, they told me, either that Monsieur de *Gramont* had a picque to some of their Council, or else that they had a quarrel to him (I know not which it was, for I did not commit it to memory, forasmuch as it was not their animosities that had brought me thither) and that therefore *Agetman* was by no means a proper place for our meeting. Whereupon we concluded that the next day about Noon we should meet at a Gentlemans House, which was not in Monsieur de *Gramont*'s Territories, though I told them withal, *That all animosities ought to cease where a Lieutenant of the Kings is in place.*

Monsieur de
Terride surpriz'd.

In the close of the Evening then they all mounted to horse to return to *Orthez*, when at their going away Monsieur de *Madailan* entreated leave of me to go along with him; and to stay two dayes there to try if he could not in that time find an opportunity to do something with fourty Cuirassiers of my Company, whom I accordingly permitted to go, and so they departed altogether. About eleven of the clock at night as they were got a little beyond *Agetman*, they met with a Merchant of *Orthez* of their acquaintance who was running away, and told them that they were all defeated, and that Monsieur de *Terride* and some Captains with him were escap'd into the Castle; which nevertheless they did not believe; for our people were eighteen Ensigns of Foot, and the Enemy were no more than two and twenty; which made it seem impossible, considering that ours had the advantage of the Town. For this therefore they did not forbear to go forward, and a quarter of a league further met with Captain *Fleurdelis*, who had also escap'd away, and told them the same thing that the Merchant had done before. Whereupon they made a halt to rally such as should be flying away from the defeat. The Merchant held on his way, and coming to *St. Sever*, found me in bed. His news was so unexpected, and so strange, that I could by no means give any credit to it, not being able to imagine that two and twenty Ensigns could take eighteen in a Town that was none of the weakest; but Captain *Fleurdelis* coming within a quarter of an hour after, and confirming the same, I was constrain'd to believe it, not without making above three times the sign of the Cross.

I have thought fit to give an account at large of the truth how all things passed in this business, by reason that all the Kingdom cried out, that if Monsieur le Marechal d' *Anville* and *Montluc* had perform'd their duties *Montgomery* had been defeated, and the Princes after the rout at *Moncontour* would not have known which way to turn them, having no other refuge but to throw themselves into the arms of the Count de *Montgomery*, who was fresh, victorious and full of Crowns (all which was laid in our dish) and *Gaienne* had not then been in mourning as it now is. And yet I think the Hugonots had not passed thorough *Limosin* and *Perigort*: for we should have gone out to meet them to bid them good-morrow: but the account that I have truly set down will discover who was in fault. In the mean time they who shall follow after us may learn that an oversight in War is irreparable. There are several persons of honor yet living, who will testify the truth of what I write, for I did not make any Dispatches in secret, but in the presence of all the

Captains

Captains and Knights of the Order who were with me. I do not write to accuse either the Mareschal or Monsieur de Terride, I say nothing but the truth, to manifest my diligence to such as have said, that if I would I might have reliev'd Monsieur de Terride. The few men I had, the daily advertisements I gave him, and the resolution taken amongst us, are all evidences whether I was in fault or no. I must needs say that had he retir'd, that had he sooner believ'd my intelligence, and would have hearkned to my advice, and not have been so overrul'd by his own Council, that then in eight dayes time we should have been strong enough to have fought *Montgomery*, and either to have driven him out of *Bearn*, or have shut him up in *Navarreins*, where they would not have receiv'd him neither, forasmuch as there had not been provision to have nourish his Army four days; by which means he must have been necessitated either to fight, or to turn back to the place from whence he came, which he would have found a matter of great difficulty for him to do; for the very Peasants would have defeated him, knowing us to be in his Rear. Monsieur de Terride had yet all the other Towns, and had this Enterprize of his succeeded the Mareschal had not needed to have been troubled with our war, but had been left at liberty to pursue his own designs, provided he would have left us Monsieur de Bellegarde, and the four Companies of Gens-d'armes, which I believe he would have done having himself no need of them. It is then Monsieur de Terride's Council that is to be blam'd, and not I; and that all the world may see how unlikely *Montgomery's* design was to take effect. it is most certain, that he never had at the most above five and twenty hundred Foot, and betwixt five and six hundred Horse, good and bad together; and when he went to meet the Princes, he had not above a hundred Horse, and but very few Foot, by the testimony of Monsieur de Terride's Ensigne and Guidon, and of Monsieur de St. Felix, Lieutenant to Monsieur de Negrepelisse, and Captain St. Projets Ensigne, who were prisoners, and went every day at liberty upon their parole up and down their Camp; and since the Peace I have talkt with above fifty of the Enemy who have all confirm'd the same; by which any one may judge if there was any reason to apprehend the said Count, or suspect the said Monsieur de Terride (considering the Forces he had with him) should suffer himself to be surpriz'd, especially he being himself a good Soldier, and having good Officers about him: but they lost their understanding in a time of the greatest need.

Montgomery's Forces.

This is the truth of the beginning and source of all the miseries of *Gnienne*. Had not Monsieur le Mareschal d'Anville come into this Country, I am assur'd that most of the Lords and Gentlemen who went in to him would have done me the honor to have come to me, and I think we should have play'd our Game a little better. It was but reason they should pay that great respect to him, he being a great Lord, Son to a Connestable and Mareschal of *France*, and moreover a brave Cavalier in his own person, rather than to me, who am a poor Gentleman, old, a Cripple, and out of favour: but notwithstanding belov'd both by the Gentry and the People.

You Lieutenants of Provinces who shall come after me, if peradventure my Memoires shall fall into your hands, make your advantage of this oversight of Monsieur de Terride, to the end that you may not occasion the ruin of your Masters affairs. I will not blame nor accuse him either of cowardise or treachery, for he was an admirable good Field-Officer: but other qualities are requir'd in a Lieutenant of a Province; upon your head-piece, your prudence and circumspection all the rest depend. Had he credited the advertisements we gave him of the Count de *Montgomery's* coming to raise the Siege, he had made an honorable Retreat, and had sav'd his Canon, which had he nor had leisure to draw off, he might have thrown them into the *Gave*, which is a River full of great precipices, so that it would not have been in the power of *Montgomery* to retrieve them; and we should have been with them in the time that such a work would have requir'd. But setting this aside, having been routed in his Siege, and after that being retir'd into a Town sufficiently strong, he ought to have considered of the means, either of retreating further, or of tortifying himself there; and yet the last fault was worse than the first, which was, that their fear depriv'd them of their judgment; for he escap'd with a good number of Gentlemen into the Castle, which is a very strong one, without having ever thought of putting provisions into it wherewith to sustain him; and in all these disgraces to stand upon his punctillio's of honour, without deining to condescend so far as to come three steps out of his Government to confer with a friend who came meerly to do him service, and to preserve him, was a most inexcuseable folly. Leave, leave these punctillio's in a time of necessity, I have never done so, but oftentimes with ten Horse only have put my self into the Field. I am confident that had he come to speak with me he had not fall'n into the misfortune, which cost him both his honor and his life. For my part so oft as I have call'd this action to remembrance, I have ever lookt upon it as a meer Judgment of God

The fault of Monsieur de Terride.

God. For to raise a Siege against equal Forces, to conquer, and force a Town, and to take the Kings Lieutenant in a sufficient place in three dayes time, as it were in the fight of a Marechal of *France*, and a Lieutenant of the Kings, as I was, and in short, in three dayes to conquer a whole Province seems to be a Dream. It must needs be confest that in all our Warrs there was never perform'd a more notable exploit. But who (Fellow Captains) obtain'd this glory for the Count de *Montgomery*? truly no other but his own diligence, which was such as scarce gave leisure to Monsieur de *Terride* to look before him, and consider what he had to do. It is one of the best pieces in a Soldiers Harnesse. And what lost Monsieur de *Terride*? the little diligence he employ'd in his most pressing concern. For my part I did what lay in me to do; for to enter further into a Country, without first knowing from him in what posture it stood, and to fight a victorious Enemy without sufficient Forces, and with a baffled Army; I was not so ill advis'd as to shuffle all things into confusion only to bear him company in his ruine. I had been too long possessed of the honor of having never been defeated, to hazard my reputation for the relief of a man who would throw himself away in despite of all the world.

The importance of *Montgomery's* victory.

Let no one wonder that I insist so long upon this subject: for I believe that from this one fault (which many illenform'd have indiscreetly and unjustly laid to my charge) the ruine not only of *Gulenne*, but moreover of the whole Kingdom since has been deriv'd. I am assur'd that the affairs of the Hugonots had otherwise been reduc'd to such an extremity, that it had been impossible ever to have repair'd them again. For in the first place, had the Marechal and I follow'd him, there is no doubt but *Montgomery* had been defeated, and consequently all *Bearn* reduc'd, which had been no contemptible thing, and I think the King would then have been better advis'd, than to have surrendred it upon the accommodation, having enough besides wherewith to recompence the Queen of *Navarre* within the Kingdom, to keep her more in his obedience. For a King ought alwayes to covet that those who are his Subjects, if they be great and powerful, should be in the heart, and not in the extremities of his Kingdom; for then they dare not shew their horns: And besides the King wanted no good title to *Bearn*, for it is said that the Sovereignty of right belongs to him. I once heard Monsieur de *Lagebaston* the first President of *Bordeaux* lay open that title, who said he had seen the Evidences thereof in the Constabulary of *Bordeaux*; but I have nothing to do to revive that antiquated quarrel. He told us also that at the time when they began to fortifie *Navarreins*, the Court of Parliament sent to King *Francis* to remonstrate to him, how much it imported his Crown to hinder that Fortification: but the King sent them word, that he was not offended at it; which was ill advis'd of the King; for a Prince ought as much as in him lies to hinder neighbouring Fortresses; and had it not been for this all the whole Province had been his. But 'tis done and past, and there is now no remedy; For to a done thing the Council is already taken. Besides all this had *Montgomery* been defeated, the Admiral who in the interim lost the Battel of *Moncontour* would have been at his wits end, and not have known to what Saint to devote himself. I think he would have been wiser than to have engag'd himself in *Gulenne*, where he would easily have been defeated, the relicks of his Army being in a very poor and forlorn condition, without Baggage, their horses unshod, and without a penny of money. And it was well for him that he came to throw himself into the armes of the Count de *Montgomery*, who set him up again, supplying him with money that he had gain'd at the Sack of divers Cities, insomuch that the said Admiral had the commodity of traversing the whole Kingdom, whilst the King amuz'd himself at the Siege of *St. Jean* in the heart of Winter, which was very unadvisedly done: but God opens and shuts our eyes when it pleases him. Let us now return to our Subject. Peradventure there may be some who would have been glad I should have writ more at large after what manner Monsieur de *Terride* was defeated; which I would not do; for I have heard that *Of ill flesh a man can never make good Pottage*. I leave that to those who were present at the business, and who gave me relation of it, and to the Historians who talk of all the world, and very often unseasonably, and from the purpose, like ignorant fellows in fears of Arms as they are.

These postings to and fro betwixt Monsieur de *Terride* and me continued three whole dayes, after which *Montgomery* came to attaque him. After his defeat I remain'd at *St. Sever*, until such time as he was taken in the Castle of *Orthez*, and afterwards retir'd to *Aire*, where I staid nine dayes after the taking of the said Sieur de *Terride*, sending the Marechal an account of all that had passed, and again soliciting him withal to come up to us. To which by way of answer he demanded of me to what end he should come, or what his coming would signifie, Monsieur de *Terride* being defeated and taken. Which made me dispatch away Monsieur de *Leberon* to remonstrate to him, that in case he should

The Marechal d'Anville's answer to the Sieur de *Mont-luc*.

pass

pass the River towards *Languedoc*, *Montgomery* would infallibly fall into the Kings Country, seeing there was no body to make head against him; but that if he would please yet for a few dayes to deferre his expedition, one might then see what *Montgomery* would do; for being puffed up with so glorious a Victory, he would not there stop the progress of his Arms. The *Mareschal* was contented so to do, but sent me word withal, that he would lose no more time than a months pay only, which the City of *Tholouze* had given his Army, but would employ the remainder in reducing the places in his Government. Now to say the truth from the time of Monsieur *de Terride's* defeat, affairs were in so strange a confusion, that a man had much ado to divine what course was best to take, unless the Province of *Languedoc* would have been contented to have paid the *Mareschal's* Army for the service of *Guienne*, which however perhaps he would not have done, neither indeed had he any reason to do it. During the nine dayes that I stayd at *Aire*, we made a new appointment to meet at a Village, the name whereof I have forgot, and there all those who were at *Proian* accordingly met, where we fell to debating of what remedies might be found out (which was a matter of great difficulty for the foregoing reasons) for the present evil, and in the end concluded together, that I should write unto the *Mareschal* to tell him, that if he would be pleas'd to come so far as *Viques*, I would there wait upon him, to resolve upon what he should think we were best to do for the defence of *Guienne*. I accordingly writ, and in answer thereunto had word from him back again, that upon a certain day, which he nam'd, he would not fail to be there, which was two or three dayes after. I will here in the mean time give an account of what I did at *Aire* within five leagues of the Enemy, and in an open Town, having no more but the five Companies commanded by Captain *Castella*, and one of Vicount *de Labatut*, who was also come thither; which because it may be of use to some one in time to come I will here set down, and peradventure some Apprentice in our Trade may learn something out of it, that hereafter may be of some advantage to him.

The three Companies of Gens-d'arms were in a Village on this side the *Don* towards *Gascony*. I discover'd my design to Messieurs *de Gondrin*, *de Fontenilles*, and *de Madaillan*, telling them that I would try my fortune, and see if I could order it so as to fight *Montgomery* at my own advantage with those few that we were; that to this end I would send away all the Gentlemens Baggage that we had with us to *Noguarol*, so that nothing should be left behind but our Horses and Arms; I would then that every night they should come an hour after midnight with the three Companies before *Aire*, on that side the River towards *Gascony*. I had, besides those, four Companies of Argoulets, which in all might be about three hundred Harquebuzers, who in like manner were to come at the same time to *Millas* a Village on the brink of the River. Our six Ensigns of Foot were quarter'd at *Mas d'Aire*, which lies above *Aire* on that side towards the Enemy, who were every night at the same hour to present themselves in Battalia upon the Banks of the River without the Village, and in case of an Alarm without Drum or Trumper, were to retire by *Aire*, and pass over the Bridg, at which time we who were quarter'd at the said *Aire* were to foard it over (for the River was foardable) and that in the mean time twenty Horse should every night go the *Patrouille* upon the three Highways by which the Enemy could only come to us, which Horse should have intelligence one with another, to give one another notice if they came, that so they might all at once retire to *Aire*, without giving any Alarm, and might come and tell our Foot, and consecutively us; and that the said twenty Horse should advance a long league, or a league and a half upon those Highways, to the end, that we might not be constrain'd to draw off our men in disorder, but might have time to have made half a league towards our place of retreat, which was to *Noguarol*, before the Enemy could be arriv'd at *Aire*. I then calculated the length of the night, for I fear'd not their coming by day, by reason that I kept a Gentleman call'd Captain *Babus* in an enclosed Village, a league and a half distant from *Aire* towards *Morlas*, who kept Scouts all the day upon all the wayes by which the Enemy could come to us, and had three or fourscore Soldiers with him, with twenty or five and twenty Argoulets. I also represented to them, that when the Enemy should have marcht five long leagues of that Country, chiefly the Foot, and especially in the night, the Foot must of necessity stay to eat and drink at *Aire*; to which place also they could not come till almost day, when men are the most inclin'd to sleep, especially Foot who have marcht all night, so that they would never be able to get one Foot Soldier out of Town, and that the most of the Harquebuzers on horseback would stay with them, and that then by the Rule of War the Horse would pass on forwards after us, supposing that we retreated for fear, and that I design'd our Encounter to be half a league from *Aire*, which as I had computed the time, would happen to be betwixt break of day and sunrise: that so soon as we should see them approach us,

we should cover all our Foot with our Cavalry, and give them a swinging Charge, and that in so doing I made no doubt but we should defeat them. They all approv'd of my design, concluding with me that we should defeat and break them, for our horses would be fresh, and theirs weary, and our Foot coming up a good round trot after us, seeing the victory ours, and that their Foot were yet in *Aire* sleeping or eating; would also fall in upon them, who seeing their Cavalry defeated, and put to rout, there was no question to be made, but that every one would shift for himself the best he could, and endeavour to escape without offering to fight. Thus are we to represent things to our selves when we are to undertake an Enterprize, and to hear one anothers reasons and opinions upon the same.

We lay nine dayes at *Aire* in reference to this Stratagem, during which time we were every night in Battalia after this manner, expecting when the Enemy should fall into our Quarters thinking to surprize us, but I think had we stayd till they had come we had been there till now. The tenth day having receiv'd an answer from the Marechal, that he would in three dayes be at *Auch*, we retir'd towards *Marsiac*, to rally with Monsieur de *Bellegarde*, to whom I gave all the men I had, and with twenty horse only went away to *Auch*, marching nine long leagues that day (which are as much as twenty French leagues) the next morning being the time appointed by the Marechal for our meeting. In my life I was never so weary, for it was excessively hot, and I there found Monsieur de *Negrepelisse*, who was come thither the day before, having heard that the Marechal would be there, as also to rally what was left of his Company, which had been with Monsieur de *Terriide*. The next morning instead of coming himself the Marechal sent thither Monsieur de *Joyeuse*, and we held the Consultation at Monsieur de *Negrepelice* his house, he being ill of the Gout. There Monsieur de *Joyeuse* acquainted us with the Marechal's intention, which was, that he was going to repass the *Garonne*, and to employ his time in his own Government, considering the charge the Country was at of defraying the expence of the War. We controverted this determination of his, arguing that the Enemy were in *Guienne*, and that he having the charge of *Dauphiné*, *Provence*, *Languedoc*, and *Guienne*, was equally obliged to preserve the one as well as the other; that we were all the Kings Subjects and Servants, and that the Country was the Kings, and that therefore he ought to go there where the Enemy was, and to endeavour to repair the great oversight we had committed. In answer whereunto Monsieur de *Joyeuse* laid before us, that the Country of *Languedoc* would not pay the Marechal's Army, unless they should see that he employ'd their money in recovering the places of their own Province, and as I have already said, he had reason. But in the mean time we who were of *Guienne* expected no other but the total ruine of it, and consequently of all our houses; for which considerations we should have been very glad that the Marechal would have resolv'd upon the defence of *Guienne*, and not to have return'd into *Languedoc*. In conclusion he told us that he must be gone, for he was to be that night with the Marechal at the Isle, and that the next morning the said Sieur would cross the *Garonne* towards *Languedoc*; at which we were very much confounded, as knowing very well that *Montgomery* could not long subsist in *Bearn*, and would therefore fall into the Kings Country; whereupon I told Monsieur de *Joyeuse*, that seeing I had no Forces left for the defence of *Guienne*, I had nothing left to do but to retire to *Libourne*, where the King had commanded me to be, and so return'd to find out Monsieur de *Bellegarde* at *Marsiac*, who was as much confounded as I, he being in no less fear of the ruine of his houses than I, and the rest of us whose Estates lay in those parts. I left the Vicount de *Labatut* with his two Companies in *Marsiac*, leaving it to his own discretion to do as he saw cause, for Forces I had none to relieve him. Monsieur de *Bellegarde* also retir'd a little further towards *Comange*, expecting Orders from the Marechal what he was to do, and the Baron de *Gondrin* went towards *Euse*, there with his Company to do the best service he could. We were all like strayed sheep. I with my Foot Companies went to pass the River *Garonne*, placing them at Port *St. Mary* and at *Aguillon*, to see if I could yet raise any more men, and issued out three or four Commissions to that effect. There only remain'd with me five and thirty Horse of Monsieur de *Fontenilles* his Company, and fourscore of my own, for Monsieur de *Madaillan*, who was gone to bury his Wife, had taken one part along with him: Of those who were his Neighbours, his Brother who carried my Ensign was also gone sick to his own house, and had in like manner taken along with him some others that liv'd thereabouts, and my Guidon was gone to *Tholonze* to a Tryal he had depending in that Court, which was the reason that I was thus left alone. It is true that I was assur'd they would be back with me again in eight dayes. As for the Gentlemen of *Armagnac* they were all retir'd to their own houses, to take order about the removing of their Goods into *Lecloure*, thinking no less

Contention among the Chiefs about the War of *Guienne*.

leſs but that the ſame ſcourge of God was amongſt us; for every one thought of ſaving his Goods, and not of defending himſelf, nor of making head againſt the Enemy, by which you may ſee the fruits of our evil intelligence amongſt our ſelves.

I had not been four dayes at *Agen* before I was advertiz'd that *Monſieur de Marchaſſel* (the ſame who at this preſent is the Lord *de Peyre*) was come to *Thoneins* with three hundred Horſe, amongſt which there might be threeſcore that were very good, the reſt were Harquebuzers on horſeback ill mounted; with vvvhich he vvvas going over into *Bearn*, to joyn vvwith the Count *de Montgomery*; vvwhereupon I departed and vvvent to *Aguillon*. Of my five Foot Companies I had ſent vvvo to quarter at *Ville-neufue* to eaſe the Country; and in the other three that remain'd, and that lay at Port *St. Mary* and *Aguillon*, if there vvvere a hundred men in a Company that vvvas all; for every one vvvas gone to his ovvn houſe, as vvwell as the Horſe, and even the Captains themſelves. I had given two Commiſſions to Captain *Plex*, and Captain *Pommies*, two Gentlemen of *Condemmois*, to raiſe each of them a Foot Company, to whom I ſent that they ſhould advance towards *Buzet*, for that I would try to paſs the River *Garonne*, and in caſe they ſhould hear that the Enemy offer'd to hinder my paſſage, they ſhould then give them Alarms behind. The ſaid *Sieur de Peyre* made no ſtay at *Thoneins*, but croſt the River advancing towards *Monhurt*, *Montluc*, and *Damaſan*. The ſame night that I arriv'd at *Aguillon*, I made ſhew as if I would paſs the River, vvwhereupon they preſented themſelves to oppoſe me; but there was nothing done but ſome few Harquebuz ſhot fir'd athwart the River. The next morning I cauſ'd two Boats to fall down towards Port *St. Mary*, in the one vvwhereof three horſes might paſs at once, and in the other two, and preſented my ſelf at the paſſage of Port *de Paſcau*, ſending over five and twenty Harquebuzers in the two Boats; and when I expected they ſhould come to defend the Paſs, they did quite contrary, for they quitted *Damaſan*, *Montluc*, and *Monhurt*, and retreated towards *la Gruere*, and *le Mas-d'Aginois*, leaving me the paſſage free; ſo that I went to quarter at *Damaſan*, vvwhere I found the Captains *du Plex* and *Pommies* newly arriv'd, having but fourſcore Foot only betvvvixt them; for they had not had time to fill their Companies, and about fourſcore Harquebuzers on horſeback came vvwith them alſo. Captain *Lauba* a Kinsman of mine, vvwho might have about threeſcore Harquebuzers on horſeback, came thither likewiſe about four a clock in the afternoon, by vvwhich time we were all got over the River.

Succours going to joyn vvwith *Montgomery*.

At my coming to *Damaſan* there met me two men from *Caſtel-geloux*, vvwhom the Conſuls and Inhabitants of the Cities had ſent to me to demand relief; for that *Calonges* had been before the Town to ſummon it, to vvwhom they had return'd anſwer, that in caſe they heard no news of me by the next morning they would deliver up the Town. It was a ſtrange thing that Cities, vvwhich were in no manner of danger of being forc'd, ſhould ſo tremble for fear. They had condition'd that none but the Captains ſhould enter, in conſideration of a certain ſum of money they were to give them; but that was but a juggle, for they were reſolv'd to make themſelves Maſters of the Town, and to leave a Garrifon there, the Captains being very vvwell aſſur'd, that being once vvwithin, they, vvwith the Hugonots of the place ſhould be able to maſter the Catholicks. I immediately hereupon order'd Captain *Noé*, and Captain *Bengue* the Lieutenant and Guidon of *Monſieur de Fontenilles* his Company, that they ſhould bait their horſes, and Captain *Plex* and *Pommies* to bait their Harquebuzers on horſeback; and that in the cloſe of the Evening *Monſieur de Noé* ſhould depart vvwith five Gens-d'arms, and the ſaid *du Plex* and *Pommies* vvwith their Harquebuzers on horſeback vvwith him, taking one of the Meſſengers in their Party, and the reſt of the Light-horſe, vvwhich might be about ten; and the fourteen of my Company ſhould go vvwith the ſaid Captain *Bengue* and Captain *Lauba* vvwith him, and ſhould ſtay at a place appointed vvwithin a quarter of a league of the Town: vvwhere if *Monſieur de Noé* could enter in, he ſhould give notice to Captain *Bengue*, if not he ſhould retreat to him; and I vvwith fourteen or fifteen Gentlemen vvwho were vvwith me, and ſome fourſcore Harquebuzers on foot, would halt about half a quarter of a league ſhort of the ſaid Captain *Bengue*, at a Gentlemans houſe call'd *Monſieur de Ganet*, vvwhere they were to ſend me intelligence of all that paſſed. I order'd it thus, to the end that in caſe the Enemy ſhould come to hinder Captain *Noé* from entering the Town, Captain *Bengue* and he might rally together, and I alſo would ſhew my ſelf in the field to amuſe the Enemy, and to make them think that we were three Parties in the field. I knew very vvwell that they would ſoon have intelligence from thoſe vvwho playd the good Subjects, by ſtaying at home in their own houſes, under the protection of the Kings Ediſt: and therefore cauſ'd all the three Parties to go away by night, to defeat thoſe Intelligencers of the knowledge of how few men we were. *Monſieur de Noé* came an hour after midnight to the Gates of *Caſtel-geloux*,

where there arose a great dispute amongst those of the Town, whether or no they should let him in; some said I, and some said no, insomuch that they made him wait two long hours before they could conclude, but in the end the Catholicks ran to the Gate of the Town, and made themselves Masters of it, and offer'd it to him; who so soon as he was got in, advertiz'd Captain *Bengue* thereof, sending him word to retreat to me, as it had been order'd he should, which he accordingly did, and by this time it was sun-rise. About break of day two Hugonots, Towns-born Brats, came before *Castel-geloux*, to enquire if their relief was at hand, and whether they were determin'd to let the Captains enter according to their Capitulation, telling them that the said *Sieur de Peyre* was with his forces within a quarter of a league of the Town, where he had made a halt, and waited in expectation of their return. When as some of those within held them in discourse, some Horse sallied out and took one of them, but the other made his escape, and carried news to *Monfieur de Peyre*, that his Companion was taken, and that they that took him were Gens-d'arms in yellow Cassocks. *Monfieur de Peyre* then perceiv'd that I was got up before him, and retreated to *Mas*. *Monfieur de Fontenilles* was come in the night at the precise time appointed to *Buset*, a quarter of a league from *Damasan*, to which place I was retir'd after I had given order for them to march away by night, telling me by the way as we went, that the Marechal was not pass'd over the River *Garonne*, to go over into *Languedoc*, as *Monfieur de Joyeuse* had assur'd us he would, but was marching towards *Muret* to ease the Country; so that I receiv'd that night two great satisfactions, the first and the chiefest, that the Marechal had thought better with himself, and was not cross'd the River, by which means I hop'd we should be able to do some good for the Kings service, and for the defence of the Country; and the other, that I had reliev'd *Castel-geloux*, which was of singular advantage to us, as well in *Bourdellois* as in *Bazadois*. Which I thought fit to commit to writing, to shew that with the little power I had, I did all I was able to do, without lying idle at home, and suffering all things to go at random.

Captains, although these be no great Conquests, nor famous Battels, you may yet by them, as well as in other places of my Book learn what a great diligence can effect, (I am alwayes touching upon this string, and I cannot too often repeat it) and that it is good to run a hazard sometimes in a case of necessity. When I cross't the River twenty men might have hindred my passage, had they stay'd in the Houses of the Port de *Pascan*; for I must of necessity land betwixt the two great Houses: and if I would have stood to consult about the reason of my passage, nor a man with me would have been of opinion, that I ought to adventure to pass. By which you may note that the necessity of war will have it so, that a man must sometimes venture when the affair is of great importance, and not alwayes go by the reason of war: but I must also tell you, that if you are long in designing, and tedious in making preparation for the execution of your design, you may then lose more in venturing, than you are likely to win: for a man that is resolv'd to hazard must keep his design very close, and his execution must be sudden, that the Enemy may have no inkling of what you intend to do, till you come just to the push; for if you give him time to discover your intention, or to prevent your design, you must imagine he has understanding and judgment as you have, and will so well provide for you, that instead of surprizing him, you your selves will be surpriz'd, and defeated. Do not alwayes choose the easiest way, but deceive your Enemy, making a shew to put your selves into one place, to get convenience of going into another. As to what concerns diligence, *Monfieur de Noé* stay'd not two hours to bait at *Damasan*, but the night was upon him; nevertheless he departed at the first word without making any dispute of the business. How many Captains are there who would have given their Horse time to bait, and rest that night, at least till within an hour or two of day, considering that they had been all day on horse-back at the passage of the River in excessive heat? Which had I order'd it so here, *Monfieur de Noé* would then have found the Enemy in the Town, as they did him, wherefore I would alwayes advise you to remember the Motto of *Alexander* the Great. *Leave not that till to-morrow, which you may do to day.* After a long march you shall repose at your ease and acquire honor. You must oft-times make your horses quail under their burthen; you will get more horses enow, but your honor once lost is never to be regain'd. 'Tis a thing that is not to be found by the high-way, but to be acquir'd by valour, and for which you wear your swords by your sides.

So soon as I return'd back to *Damasan* I presently retir'd to *Buset*, a house belonging to the *Signieur de Caumont* my Kinsman, and thence immediately mounted to horse, and with about thirty Gens-d'arms I had, and Captain *Lauba's* Argoulets, went directly to *Pench*, belonging in part to the Queen of *Navarre*, and wherein I had also a propriety.

The

The *Sieur de Peyre* was with all his people retir'd into *Mas*, which is a good league from *Peuch*, and when I came thither it was three a clock in the afternoon. The news was carried to him that I was marching directly to *Mas*, which was the reason that he immediately departed thence, and marcht all night. *Lauba* put himself in pursuit of him, and had he overtaken him would have brought away either *Fowl* or *Feathers*, for he is an adventurous Gentleman, and so were the two Captains who were with him; but he knew nothing of *de Peyre's* retreat till the next morning at sun-rise, and would then have follow'd the track, but that the people told him he was already as far as *Mont de Marsan*. The next morning I drew off the *Sieur de Noé* and his Cavalry from the said *Castel-geloux*, and left the Captains *du Plex* and *Pommies* in his room, who there perfected their Companies, which were alwayes good, they having ordinarily fourscore Harquebuzers on horse-back at least, keeping almost continually together, and oft-times going out as far as *Mont de Marsan*, where they had frequent skirmishes.

I then return'd back to *Agen*, where the same day that I arriv'd a Courier came to me with letters from Monsieur le Marechal, wherein he writ me word, that he had heard both by Monsieur *de Joyeuse* and others, that I was resolv'd to go and put my self into *Libourne*, in order to a Command the King had sent me to that effect: but that at the time when the King writ to me to go thither, his Majesty did not understand that the affairs of *Guienne* were in so ill a condition; that therefore he entreated me to consider well of it; for if I should abandon the open Country in so critical a time, neither the King nor the Monsieur would be satisfied with my doings. To which I writ him answer back, that whatever I might have said, it had never been my intention to shut my self up in *Libourne*, and that he might assure himself I was not a Chapman to be taken at the first word: but that I was exceeding glad that he would yet continue some longer time in *Guienne*, to see what resolution the Enemy would take, (for so he had writ me word in his letter) and that if it pleased him, whilst his Army had nothing else to do, to march towards *Noguarol*, and *le Mont de Marsan*, to try if the Enemy would take courage to come out of *Bearn* to fight us; we might peradventure do some thing, and that it was my opinion it would be of advantage to us, to the end that if *Montgomery* should dare to enter the King's Territories, he might see that we were ready to fight him. He writ word back again that he was content, and that in five dayes he should be at *Auch*, where he desir'd me to meet him. I would not suffer the five Ensigns commanded by my Nephew *Leberon* to stir from *Libourne* and *St. Foy*, though the two Companies that quarter'd at *St. Foy* were placed there upon no other account but only to save the Provisions of *Libourne*: but in case of a Siege they had Orders, that immediately upon Monsieur *de Leberons* sending for them they should retire to *Libourne*, where the Chevalier *Horloge* commanded, who was casting up Trenches within, as if he daily expected a Siege. I took the five Ensigns that Captain *Castella* commanded in the absence of the Chevalier and of my Nephew, my own Company, those of Messieurs *de Gondrin*, and *de Fontenilles*, and sent Post to Monsieur *de la Chappelle Lauzieres*, (who lay at *Cabors*, and was evermore in readiness to bring in the Gentlemen of *Quercy*) that he should march away in all diligence, and that the Marechal was upon his march to go directly into *Chalosse*; which he suddenly did, and brought threescore and ten Gentlemen under his Cornet. All those of *Aginois* went along with me, not a man being left at home, excepting Captain *Pauliac* the elder, whom I made perforce to return back to *Ville-neufue*, of which he was Governor, as well to preserve the said *Ville-neufue*, as to assist *Libourne* with what he could, in case the Enemy should come and sit down before it. Monsieur *de Cassaneuil* was Marechal de Camp to this party of ours, and lodg'd, according to his own Muster-Roll, an hundred thirty five Gentlemen under my Cornet, and threescore under that of Monsieur *de la Chappelle Lauzieres* the forenamed Companies of Gens-d'arms, and six Cornets of Harquebuzers on horse back; this was the Party that I had. Under the Marechal's own Cornet were near upon three hundred Gentlemen (as the Marechal himself told me at *Grenade* in the presence of his Marechal de Camp Monsieur *de la Croissette*) what of *Comenge* and *Languedoc*. He had two and twenty Ensignes of Foot commanded by Monsieur *de St. Giron de la Guiche*, and ten of Monsieur *de Savignac*. His Companies of Gens-d'armes, and those of Messieurs *le Compte d'Esterac*, *de Lauzun*, *de Terride*, *de Negrepelice*, those of the two *Bellegardes*, the Father and Son, *de Gramont*, those of the Marechal *de la Foy*, *de Joyeuse*, *d'Aubigeon*, *d'Arne*, *de Sarlabous*, which, with the three that I had, made up the number of fifteen Cornets of Gens-d'armes, and his own which we reckon'd for two, which in all made seventeen. We joyn'd with him at *Auch*, and marcht thence to *Noguarol*, where the said Monsieur le Marechal stay'd two dayes. The Enemy had already pass'd the *Dou*, and quarter'd at *Mont de Marsan*, *Granade*, and *Cazeres*. I commanded the vaunt-Guard.

Libourne in expectation of a Siege.

The Marechal d'Aville's Forces.

The

The next day after the Camp came to *Nogaro* the Marechal call'd a Council, where I mov'd that we should march away the same day, hoping that we might surprize those of *Cazeres* and *Grenade*, but the Marechal was by no means willing to it, it being objected by some, that so soon as the Enemy should hear of our coming, they would immediately pass over the River *Don* into *Bearn*, being at that time very low and foardable in many places. The Marechal then propounded in this Council, that seeing he had no great Artillery wherewith to batter Towns (having four Field-pieces onely) he conceiv'd it was to no purpose to go any further, but to return into his own Government, there to fall in hand with the work he had to do, and to recover the places the Enemy had there in their possession: with several other Arguments he made use of to fortifie this determination. This scurvey tune was alwayes ringing in our ears; and although the reasons were good enough, I could notwithstanding by no means relish them, forasmuch as I evidently foresaw that would happen in *Guienne*, which afterwards fell out, as also did all the rest who were interested in the welfare of that Province, as I my self was; which made us grow so hot in dispute, that at last I cou'd not forbear to tell the Marechal, *That he was responsible to the King for Guienne as well as for Languedoc, and that if he pleased to consult his Patent, he would find that he had taken upon him the Command of the four Provinces, which were Dauphiné, Provence, and Guienne, as well as Languedoc alone, though that was his particular Government, and that I entreated him to consider of it.* To which he return'd me answer, *That all the three Provinces had respective Governors of their own, and therefore let every one look to his own business, as he would do to his.* I very well knew by this brisk reply, that he was nettled at what I had said to him; for these people expect their Will should be a Law, and are impatient of being contradicted; and yet what I told him was true, for he had undertaken all that; however seeing the Marechal angry, and the Council irresolute, I withdrew, having first entreated Messieurs de *Joyeuse* and de *Bellegarde* to lay things home to him, for I saw very well that I had displeas'd him, and therefore would give him no more trouble. Which they having promised me to do, I left a Gentleman with them to bring me an account of his determination. Presently after the said Sieurs sent me word that he was resolv'd to go to *Granade*, of which I was infinitely glad, and so were all the rest, and I thereupon immediately went to him, to know if I should go away in the night before, to try to shut up those who were in *Granade*, and trap them; to which he return'd me answer, *That he should be well pleased with it, and that he had already sent away l'Estant de Cornuillon with his four Cornets of Cavalry, to put himself into Cazieres, which four were, that of the said l'Estant, and those of St. Pourget, du Sendat, and Cleyrac.* I parted then in the beginning of the night with the Gentlemen, and my own Company of Gens-d'arms, and had it not been for the rain that fell upon us in the night (the greatest that I think I ever saw) I had snapt fourscore or an hundred Horse at *Granade* that were there, and who were my Neighbours at *Thonens* and *Cleyrac*, which I had rather have met withal than three hundred others, and I think I should have handled them so, that there would hardly have been any more fear of them; for that is the very Den of Rogues. But one mischief seldom comes alone, for the rain beat me into *Ganbe*, belonging to my Brother Monsieur de *Valence*, which continu'd above three long hours, and yet had they not escap'd me, had it not been that so soon as ever Monsieur de *l'Estant* came to *Cazieres*, he sent away Captain *Porget's* Ensign in the beginning of the night with twelve Gens-d'arms to scoure the Road as far as beyond *Granade* towards *Mont de Marsan*, who passing close by *Granade* did not enter into it, neither did he think that any of the Enemy were there, and therefore would not discover himself, but went on above a league further towards *Mont de Marsan*, and seeing no sign of an Enemy, return'd back the same way he came, when being before the Gates of *Granade*, he sent in his Guide to discover if there was any Body in the Town, who coming to the Gate saw Horse going towards the Market-place, and up and down the streets, and thereupon return'd to the Ensign, telling him what he had seen; and that though the night was very dark, he thought they had white Cassocks. The Ensign then alighted and went all alone to the Gate, and enter'd into it although he very well saw the Horse; but he had an opinion it was I, because he had heard that I was to be there by break of day, as I had been and two hours before, if the rain had not hindred me. He could not very well discover if they had white Cassocks or no, and therefore stept four or five paces into the Town, which as he was doing, those who quarter'd near unto the Gate came out to mount to horse; the Ensign who saw them was so near, that he perceiv'd they had white Cassocks, and had then thought to have recover'd the Gate, but he was enclosed behind, and taken, where they made him tell them all he knew, and mounting him behind one of their Troopers, carried him away a good round gallop. The Count de *Montgomery* who lay about *Montant* and *Nugron* was soon adver-

advertiz'd of what the Ensign had told his people; at which he took such an Alarm, that he immediately mounted to horse, and never alighted till he came to *Orthez*, leaving his Artillery by the way, abandoned by all, saving some thirty who were bolder than the rest, by the report of the honest people of the Country, and also by the confession of those who were taken prisoners. A little after sunrise the Mareschal came to *Granade*; my Quarter with the Vaunt-guard was at *St. Maurice*, which appertains to Monsieur de *Barsac* of *Quercy*, and the Mareschal would that Monsieur de *Savignac* should also be of the Vaunt guard, with the Companies of Messieurs de *Gramont*, d' *Arne*, and Monsieur de la *Chappelle Lauzieres*, together with my three Companies of Gens-d'arms, and thus we came all to *Granade* within three leagues of *Mont de Marsan*. Two dayes after our arrival the Mareschal was again talking of returning back, for that was evermore the burthen of his song, asking me what I would that he should do in *Bearn*, seeing that all the Garrisons were surrendred, and that the King had neither Towns nor Castles there; that he should only lose so much time; that on the other side provisions would fail him, and that already the Soldiers cried out of hunger, and besides he had no Artillery to batter the Towns. He had in truth reason on his side for what concern'd Provisions, by reason that our Carriages were not yet come up: and yet I had taken such care, that so soon as ever he had sent me word he would march, I immediately sent to tax *Condommois*, *Armagnac*, *Esterac*, *Commenge*, and *Bigorre*, so that in two dayes we had as much victuals as we could wish. In the end I perceiv'd very well that his inclination would not be apt to continue him long in this service, neither were those of his Council any better inclin'd than he; for my part I never was present at any consultation, but only that at *Noguarol*, for I was never call'd, and I never offer'd my self, because I knew they had a prejudice against me, for saying we ought to make war in *Guienne* the Enemy being there; and I knew also that all the consultations that should be call'd without me would never do *Guienne* any good; so that we who were *Gascons* kept together by our selves.

Division among the Chiefs.

Seeing this humour of returning to continue, I entreated the Mareschal to give me leave to go to attack *Mont de Marsan*, hoping I should carry the place; who thereupon demanded of me how I could think to take a walled Town, a good one, and not only one, but three, all enclosed with exceeding good walls, which was very true: to which nevertheless I made answer, that I had taken others that had been stronger, and mann'd with much better Soldiers than that was, by surprize (for I remembred *Piance*, which was another kind of place than *Mont de Marsan*, though that was strong enough) I told him moreover that Monsieur de *Terride* had been snap't after the same manner at *Orthez*; and that therefore seeing our Enemies had done it, I doubted not but to do the same, and peradventure pay them in their own kind. At last after much importunity he told me he was content I should try my fortune; whereupon I entreated him to let me have Monsieur de *Savignac* with his ten Ensigns along with me, which he also granted. I could not go the next day, which was the 13th, for it rain'd all day long, and yet I would notwithstanding go with forty or fifty Horse to view the Town, but could go but half a league, where in three or four houses I found Captain *Arne*, and Monsieur de *l'Arbous*, Lieutenant to Monsieur de *Gramont*, who told me they had been there all night, (as also Monsieur de la *Chappelle Lauzieres*) where we discoursed a great while of the resolution the Mareschal had taken to return, and how all those who adher'd to his opinion of returning to make war in *Languedoc*, and to abandon *Guienne* to the inroads of the Enemy, thought they were likely to meet with no great resistance in executing their designs in *Languedoc*, considering that the Enemies Forces were in *Bearn*, from whence I believe they conceiv'd they would hardly stir. But we of *Guienne* knew very well that *Montgomery* could not long subsist in *Bearn*, and that of necessity, although he should have no mind to do it, he must fall into the Kings Country, and upon our Houses. I moreover very well knew, that those who followed the Mareschal's opinion, thought that in retaking the Towns of *Languedoc*, they should do the King so considerable a service as would obtain great honor to themselves, and moreover put their own houses in safety. I was not angry that those of *Languedoc* should be of this opinion, and should endeavour to draw the Mareschal into *Languedoc* for these considerations, for I have ever heard that *The Shirt is nearer than the Robe*, and that *Charity begins at home*, which is sufficient for their excuse, seeing there was no dishonour in the case, as there was not: but I was angry at those others who maintained the same opinion, and yet were of *Guienne*, because they only did it to curry favour with the Mareschal, and heartily wish't the Enemy might burn their Houses, because they stood so stiffly for the relief of *Languedoc* where they had nothing to lose, and seem'd to endeavour the ruine of their own Houses and Families. On the other side I know very well that I was told some of those of *Guienne* should possess the Mareschal; that all

The Enterprize of Mont de Marsan.

the

Jealousie be-
twixt the
Chiefs,

the importunity, and all the arguments I used to perswade him to make war in *Guienne*, was for no other end, but that in case the said Marechal should perform any brave action, the glory thereof might redound to me, and the success be wholly attributed to my valour and conduct, as in the time of the first troubles, when Monsieur de *Burie* and I were together; but if I ever entertained any such thought, may God never have mercy on my soul, or other design or desire, but that he might do some great thing, and that I might be with him to lay to my helping hand in some brave Enterprize for his Majesties service, that the King might esteem and love him for ever, and that the Marechal might be so sensible of the service I had done him, as to take my Children into his protection, and to assist them in the obtaining some advantages from the King; for as for my own part I was resolv'd, if I should live to see an end of the War to retire to my own house, feeling my self old and decay'd both in body and mind; and besides I bless God I had acquir'd honour enough, without needing to deprive another: but it is impossible to eradicate malice out of the mindes of men, when it has once taken root. They make us think what we never thought, and say what we never said: but I shall wave this discourse to return to my Enterprize upon *Mont de Marfan*.

The same night being returned to *St. Maurice*, the Marechal sent to remonstrate to me, that I ought by no means to go to *Mont de Marfan*; for should I be baffled in the Enterprize, it would be a great disrepute to his Army, that I could expect to reap no other fruit but disgrace from the attempt, and that also he was resolv'd within two dayes to return. I was ready to burst my hoops for spite when I heard this language. I then sent to him Messieurs le Vicompte de *Labatut*, the Chevalier de *Romegas*, Monsieur de *Savignac*, who was one of his own Officers, d'Arblade, and la Mothe Gondrin to remonstrate to, and in my behalf to entreat him not to be angry, and to have patience yet a few days; for as for provisions he saw he had more than they knew what to do withal, and besides he needed but to pass over the *Dou* to five Hugonots houses that were within the Kings Pale, where we should find victuals sufficient to nourish his Camp a month about, both the Hugonots and all the Catholicks of those parts having carried all their provisions in thither; that therefore he would onely be pleased to permit me to go to *Mont de Marfan*, and that in order to that Enterprize I would ask no more but two of his Field-pieces only, wherewith to batter the Centry-houses, and little Defences that serv'd the Enemy for Flanckers. They return'd back, and told me, that notwithstanding any thing they could say to him he was resolute to return, but that he was content to lend me the two pieces. In the morning then so soon as every one had got something into his belly, we began to march, Monsieur de *Montastruc* being come with the two Guns, who had in Commission from the Marechal to tell me, that he should be very glad I would alter my design, and return back to the Army. I think he did it that in case I should miscarry in the business, he might have that advantage of me, as to say, *I told him as much*. Nevertheless we set forward, I marching with the Cavalry, and a hundred or sixscore Argoulets before, and the five Ensigns after me, and after all Monsieur de *Savignac* with the two Field-pieces. I met two Letters by the way, writ to me by a Gentlewoman of the Town, in the first whereof she desir'd me by no means to come, for that the Enemy had intelligence of my design, and that Captain Favas (who is of *St. Maurice*) was come thither with a hundred or sixscore Horse, and another Captain with some Foot. The second letter met me within half a quarter of a League of the Town, wherein she sent me word, That the Enemy had made a review, and found themselves to be five hundred fighting men compleat, the Inhabitants of the Town compriz'd, so that if I went I should reap nothing but certain disgrace. All which notwithstanding, and that the Gentlewoman and her Husband were Catholicks, and my very good friends; yet being they were not themselves in the City, I could not give credit to what they writ, but march'd on into the sight of the Town which is seated in a Bottom. Being there I caus'd a hundred or sixscore Argoulets to alight to go, and gain the houses that were near unto the Gate, bidding them withal to run on as fast as they could, that they might prevent the Enemy from setting them on fire, which otherwise they had done, some of them being already sallyed out to that intent, and having already apply'd the fire, but being by our Argoulets constrain'd to retire into the Town, they began to play upon them from the Walls. In the mean time whilst we stayed for the coming up of our Foot and the Artillery, I went to pass the River with a Troop of Horse below *Mont de Marfan*, on that side towards *Dacqs*, and within Harquebuz shot of the Wall, to go discover the other side of the Town, and to view the Ditch to see if there were any water in it, that I might pass over the Sieur de *Savignac*'s Ensigns, and give a Scalado on both sides at once.

Captain Favas.

The River was deep almost to the Saddle-skirts, and we passed over, when being on the further side, we perceiv'd four or five Horse, who were coming to put themselves into the place; but they turn'd short, without it being in our power to take them. I thereupon drew up all my Horse into Battalia, which being done I alighted; and causing Captain *Fioux* who was of *Miradeux* only to alight with me, went directly up to the Ditch of the Town. The heat was excessive, and my arms were exceeding heavy, so that I was constrain'd to put my self into a little Ditch being able to go no further by reason of the weight of my Arms, and that I was to climb the Ditch, and therefore made Monsieur *de Fioux* to go on alone, who accordingly went all along by the Graffe of the Town, and in going found a woman squat down behind a little hedge close by the Graffe, whom he made to rise, still going on, for they shot furiously at him, as they did also at me; for from the place where I was it was not above ten paces to the Graffe. At last Captain *Fioux* return'd to me, bringing the Woman along with him, who told us that there was water in the Graffe a Pike deep, as Captain *Fioux* also assur'd me according to his judgment, by what he had been able to discover, and the Woman told us moreover that it was very deep of mud. I then lost all hope of doing any thing on that side, and knew that we were to fall on all at one place, and leaving Messieurs *de Fontenilles* and *de Madaillan* there, return'd with the Gentleman to repass the River; which as I was foarding over I thought I saw some Ensigns in the Town, and very near the Bridg, which on a sudden I lost sight of, and thought they were the Enemy. I had at my setting out from *St. Maurice* entreated Monsieur *de Tilladet* that he would go speak to the *Mareschal* about what Monsieur *de Montastruc* had told me from him, and to assure him that we had good hopes of carrying the Town; and withal to try if he could perswade him to consent that we should cross the River, and to make him alter his resolution of returning. The said *Sieur de Tilladet* accordingly went, and immediately return'd to his own misfortune; for at his return he found me already gone to pass the River, and saw me upon the passage, and on the other side saw our Argoulets who were alighted, ducking and playing at Bo-peep behind the Houses, which made him come down full speed to draw them from behind the Houses, which he did, bringing them out into open view, and making them shoot at the Battlements, which as he was doing, and galloping along the side of the Ditch to encourage them to shoot: as he was returning back by the same way he had gone by the edge of the Graffe, the Enemy pour'd so violent a storm of shot upon him, that in the end one of them took him in the belly, so that his horse falling at the same time he got away on foot, and wounded as he was, above a hundred paces out of the reach of the Harquebuz shot. He did not at first feel himself wounded, but was afterwards carried into a House without the Town, where two dayes after he died of his wound. I had seen nothing of all this, for I was at that time viewing the other side of the Town; in the mean time the Captains, *Arne*, the Baron *d' Arbous*, *l'Estang*, with the four Companies of Light-horse, and Monsieur *de la Chappelle Lauzieres* were on the right hand up the River, within a Harquebuz shot of the Town.

The *Sieur de Tilladet* mortally wounded.

I must now give an account how the Town was taken. Captain *Castella* with the five Companies who marcht after me, so soon as he came within sight of the Town, which is within Harquebuz shot, seeing that our Argoulets did not behave themselves very well, (for they were evermore creeping behind the houses) he made five or six Ladders which I had caused to be brought in a Carr, to be taken off the Carriage, and to be carried by the Soldiers, when without staying for me, Monsieur *de Savignac*, the Artillery, or any other Command, he ran full drive directly up to the Wall; where though the Enemy plyed them very well with shot, they notwithstanding never stopt nor stayd till they came up to the very foot of it, where being come they immediately clapt to three Ladders which were long enough to reach up to the top of the Wall, all the rest being too short, upon which the Captains without more ceremony, having Targets upon their arms, presently began to mount, and what rattle of shot soever the Enemy pour'd upon them never desisted mounting till they were got upon the said Wall, and then the Enemy fled. Our people pursued them by the same way they endeavoured to retire, and ran down after them, when as they thought to have recover'd the Gate of the other Town to shut it after them, ours were in with them, and fell in pel-mel amongst them. The Enemy then made directly towards the Bridg, all along a great street where they had made a Barricado, which all of them could not recover, for a great many were cut off by the way. Now as they were making head at the Barricado, Monsieur *de Savignac* and his people arriv'd, vvhoo at the same instant that the last of ours vvere got up by the Ladders, ran up thither mounting by the same Ladders *first come first serv'd*, and so soon as they vvere got in, all ran directly towards the Bridg, vvhoo upon his arrival one of his Captains

call'd *Escafours* was slain, vvho vvvas one of the bravest men I ever knew; for I had long been acquainted vvith him. In the end the Enemy abandoned the Barricado, and put themselves into the other Town by the Wicket, my five Ensigns follow'd them, and fail'd but very little of entring pel-mel amongst them: but the Enemy made shift to clap to the Wicket, by vvvhich means our five Ensigns vvvere constrain'd to put themselves into a little house close adjoyning to the Gate of the City, vvhere one of the five Captains call'd *Moffaron* vvvas slain. The Enemy shot very fast from the Towver of the Portal, and ours also from the little house threw Fagots and Plancks before the Gate, and there it vvvas that Captain *Mofferon* vvvas slain, vvhere for all the infinite number of stones, as well as Harquebuz shot that the Enemy shou'd upon them, they forbore not to set fire to the Gate of the said Town. I had (as I have said) seen these Ensigns as I vvvas re-passing the River; but I thought they had been the Enemy, vvhen vve vvvere no sooner got over, but an Harquebuzeer on horseback came full speed to tell me, that our five Ensigns vvwere in the Town, vvhereupon vvwithout staying to see vvwhat Monsieur de *Savignac* vvould do, we set spurs to our horses, and gallopt immediately up to the Gate: (for it was not above four hundred paces.) I there found Monsieur de *Savignac*'s people, some vvwith-in, and some vvwithout the Gate, vvwho had already made a hole vvvide enough to pass one by one underneath. We then all alighted and passed thorough this hole; I had brought vvwith me some Peasants of *St. Maurice*, vvwho came along vvwith the Artillery, and falling to vvwork upon the Gate, immediately forced it open, but we were all got in before. Our Camp-master Monsieur de *Castaneuil* did not enter vvwith me, for I found him at the end of the Bridg, in a street on the right hand, vvwhere he told me that he had been to discover a house or two that looked into the other Town. There vvwas not a man that durst abide in the great street, for the Tower of the Gate commanded it, he carried me to the two Houses vvvhich were close by the water side, and vvwhere in one of them I mounted a pair of stairs into a Chamber that looked upon the River, and there caused seven or eight holes to be suddenly made thorough the Wall, on the other side of the Room that looked towards the Town, from vvwhence the Enemy shot so fast; vvvhich being done I descended again into the Street, and vvwent into the other House adjoyning to it, and of that into a low Parlour, vvvhich had a door out of it, thorough vvvhich by five or six steps there vvwas a passage down to the River. The Enemy shot at this door vvwith great fury, and thorough the corner of a little Window I perceiv'd that they vvwere filling some Barrels they had placed upon a Breach of the Wall. Monsieur de *Savignac*, Monsieur d'*Andosselle* his Camp-master, Captain *St. Aubin*, and another Captain of his (vvwhose name I have forgot) vvwere in the Parlour vvwith me. Monsieur de *Castaneuil* vvwas entred into another House, vvwhere he found a Tanner a very tall man, and brought him to me, vvwho assur'd me that the water vvwas not above middle deep. I then offer'd this fellow ten Crowns, if he vvwould lead the Soldiers the way over the River, telling him moreover that I vvwould give him a Target of proof for his defence, vvvhich he undertook to do. I therefore deliver'd him a Target, but the Rascal presently threw it down, telling me that it vvwas too heavy, and that though he vvwas big and strong, he found himself encumbered vvwith it, and therefore vvwould venture to pass over vvwithout. Monsieur de *Montastruc* vvwho vvwas Master of the Ordnance vvwas also present vvwith me. I saw we must make haste to pass over; for should the Enemy once have filled their Barrels, it vvwould be a matter of great difficulty to enter by this Breach; vvvhich made me speak to Monsieur de *Savignac* to call in three or four of his Ensigns; vvwhereupon Monsieur d'*Andosselle*, *St. Aubin*, and the other Captain ran into the Street, and fetcht in their Ensigns, for my five vvwere in the little House by the Gate, and so soon as the three Ensigns vvwere come into the Parlour, and a great many of their Soldiers vvwho crowded in after them, I commanded the Ensigns boldly to follow this man, vvwho vvwould lead them the way, telling them that they vvwere by no means to stop till they came to the other side of the River close up to the breach, sending at the same time to the Harquebuzees vvwho vvwere in the Chamber, that they should ply their shot, to favour the passage of our men; vvvhich being done, I suddenly threw open the door, and put out this Tanner, together vvwith a good Soldier, vvwho offered himself to go hand in hand vvwith him, and after these two the three Ensigns, and the three Captains followed after. I put out five or six Harquebuzees after these, and my self also, vvwith all the Gentlemen vvwho vvwere vvwith me vvwent out after them. We vvwere to go down the formention'd five or six steps, and the Enemy shot vvwith great fury on that side, but my Harquebuzees in the Chamber held them so short, that they durst not shew their heads. Still more Soldiers ran after down the stairs, and I stood upon the brink of the River, making them believe I vvwould pass over vvwith them, vvwhen Monsieur de *Montastruc* seeing me in that posture, ran into the Street, crying out, *O Soldiers, Monsieur de Montluc himself is passing the River;* at vvwhich

which cry the Soldiers who were busie about their plunder, and those who were in the Street left all, and entred in a crowd into the Parlour, where such as could not come to the stairs leapt down by the sides, and without any manner of regard plung'd into the River, like as one forces in a flock of sheep, insomuch that the River was so cover'd over with men from the one side to the other, that there was no water to be seen. I still stept in to the mid leg into the River, making a shew as if I meant to pass it, as also did Messieurs de *Brassac*, the Chevalier de *Romegas*, and the rest of the Gentlemen who were with me. Monsieur de *Savignac* was there also, and it was no good wading for him, for the tallest Soldier was up to the armpits, and I believe had he gone in it would have taken him up to the chin : for every one knows that he was not of the stature of a Giant : and we were in danger to have lost a great many Soldiers who were little men : but I still call'd out to them to help one another, which they did ; and I do verily believe, and have reason to believe so, that had I not unbethought me to make those loop-holes in the Chamber, and to have placed a good many Harquebuzers there, as I had done, so that their shot continually rattled without intermission, and that they had moreover open'd a window, through which two or three might fire at once, we had lost above a hundred men : for from the Walls, and from the Barrels, from whence they fir'd at us, it was not above six paces to the Bank of the River, vvhich our people landed. The Ensigns and Captains entred the Barrels, which so soon as I perceiv'd, I immediately sent to those in the Chamber to give over shooting, by reason they might as well kill our own people as the Enemy. To supply which our Harquebuzers who follow'd the Ensigns shot at those vvithin, as vvell as they at them, and being come up to the Barrels, our Captains laid hold on the brims of them, vvhich vvere not half full of earth, the Enemy not having had time to fill them, and presently I savv them all tumbled dovvn on our side, and the Ensigns and Captains leapt into the Tovvn, vvhereupon the Enemy vvere suddenly put to rout, and fled directly to the Castle. Our people pursued and kill'd a great number of them by the vvay, vvhen so soon as I savv them enter'd I return'd into the Street, so vvearry as in my life I never felt my self in such a condition, by vvhich I very vvell savv that I vvvas no more to think of bearing arms, for I thought above ten times that I should have fainted, and falln dovvn in the street. There is no remedy, vve cannot be twice. The Chevalier de *Romegas* and Captain *Fabian* my Son supported me by the arms to *Jonca's* House, where I found his Wife, who presently made me a Bed ready and put me in to it. I found that I had sweat through my Buffe Collar, insomuch that my very arms were wet with it ; we had brought no Baggage with us, but had left it at *St. Maurice*, forasmuch as I my self had no very great hopes of bringing about my design, neither had I any great reason to hope it ; wherefore my servants were fain to dry my Shirt that I had on, and all my other cloaths, which were almost in as bad a pickle, and so soon as the Chevalier *Romegas*, my Son, and the other Gentleman had left me in the hands of my Servants, they departed to go fall upon the Castle ; when at their going away I said to this brave Chevalier, *I have seen the time when for such a dayes work as this I should not have quitted either Cask or Corslet, and had there been any appearance of danger, I might perhaps have passed over the night in this Estate ; but there is no remedy, you young men must do what we old men cannot.* Having been in bed about half an hour, and all my cloaths being dry, I got up again, and fell to dressing my self, which as I was doing there came in Monsieur de *Savignac*, Captain *Fabian*, and some other Gentlemen with them, to tell me that those of the Castle would surrender, and to know if I would consent, that they should upon the Capitulation receive them to Quarter. Perceiving therefore that Monsieur de *Savignac* and Captain *Fabian* had a great desire to save *Favas*, and to give him fair quarter, because he had the reputation of a good Soldier, and a gallant man ; I told them they might grant them what conditions they should think fit, and that I would sign the Capitulation ; though inwardly I had a mind to make a dispatch : which was the reason, that so soon as they were gone from me, I sent a Gentleman after to speak secretly to the Soldiers, and some of the Captains, that during the Parly they should take their opportunity to enter in on one side or another, and to kill them all : for that we must revenge the death of the Gentlemen who had been so barbarously massacred at *Navarreins*, being that contrary to Article, and the publick faith they had stab'd the *Sieur de St. Colombe*, and seven or eight others, who had surrendred upon conditions of Quarter at *Orthez* at the time when Monsieur de *Terride* was taken. The Enemy did this execution under pretext, that they were the Queen of *Navarre's* Subjects ; but if the King offer to touch any one of her Subjects, they presently say he cannot do it ; all things must be allowed to these people, and nothing to us ; but I hope the time will come when the Dice shall turn, that we may pay them in their own Coin.

The courage
of the Catho-
licks.

The Town tak-
ken.

Monsieur de
Montluc's
words to the
Chevalier de
Romegas.

The *Sieur de*
Montluc causes
them to be all
slain.

Captain Favas
saved.

I could not have committed this execution to a better hand than to this Gentleman, he being Cousin-German to the Baron de Pordeac, who was one of those that were massacred; and he had no sooner spoken to two or three of the Captains, and to the Soldiers, but that they presently ran to seek out for Ladders, which clapping to a Canton of the Base-Court on the left hand by the Galleries, whilst the others were capitulating at the Gate, they there entred and kill'd all they found within, Captain Favas who was making conditions for them only excepted, whom Monsieur de Savignac and my Son Fabian, so soon as they saw the disorder pulled to them, which was well for him, who had otherwise infallibly gon to pot with the rest. Our Horse likewise who were on the right hand perceiving that our people were within the Town, galloped a little up the River, where they found a Foard, which though it was very deep they notwithstanding passed over, and ran directly to the Castle, on that side by the Religieux, where coming up just at the time when five and twenty or thirty threw themselves out at the Windows, they sav'd those also, otherwise there had hardly been any one left to carry the news, but Captain Favas only. And thus the Town was taken; of which I immediately sent an account to the Marechal, and in the morning went my self to vwait upon him, vwhere he promised me to come up the next day vvith all the Army, and I presently return'd back to *Mont de Marsan*.

Monsieur
d'Anville's re-
solution to re-
turn.

The Sieur de
Montluc's ad-
vice to the
Marechal.

Accordingly in the morning the Marechal came at the time when I was taking the best order I could to preserve the Town from being further sackt, but I could do little good in it; and as I was going out at one Gate to meet him, he entred by the other; for I had much ado to get out, by reason all his Army were got into the Streets, especially the Horse, by whom I was told that he was gone directly to the place where our people had entred, where having seen all, and heard how all things had passed, he said, *Here was more of fortune than reason*. Many there were also who made a shew of rejoycing at our success; that in their hearts would have been glad I had receiv'd a battle. At last with much ado I was no sooner got out, but that I was told he was already entred in; which made me return, where I was again above half an hour so enclosed amongst the Carriages, that I could not possibly get out, but in the end I made shift to get to his lodging. His Marechal de Camp quarter'd all the Cavalry in the Villages without the Town beyond the River, the Infantry in the Suburbs, and the Gentlemen in the Town. I thought this success would perswade both him, and his Council also, to pass the River, and enter into *Bearn*, which we had infallibly carried, and compell'd the Count either to fight, or to shut himself up in *Navarreins*; but he positively told me, "That he would return to look after his own business, in his own Government, and that he would not go to engage himself before Towns in *Bearn*, having no Artillery to batter withal; and that he would not that either the King or any other should reproach him, that he had spent his time in other Enterprizes than his own: that he had told the King at his departure what he intended to do, which he would also put in execution, considering that here he was only to fight with the Walls of the Towns of *Bearn*. I then remonstrated to him, that the Count would infallibly take one of these wayes, either to hazard a Battel, which I thought he would never dare to do, or to leave the Country so soon as he should hear of our coming, or else would shut up himself in his Fortress; the last of which courses I conceiv'd he would not willingly take, but would rather choose to retire: and that also we might easily have Canon from *Dacs* and *Tholouze*, and that this being done, the Province of *Guienne* would be at peace, that of *Bearn* reduc'd, and all those in *Languedoc* would tremble at the report of our arms: that if on the other side, should we follow in the said *Montgomery's* Rear, we should certainly trap him in one place or another, in case we should determine to pursue him where ever he should go to that effect. All this I represented to the said Marechal: but he, half angry, and importun'd by those Gentlemen about him, objected difficulty upon difficulty, and would by no means give ear to my advice. Now he had sent the Baron de l'*Arbous* towards *Agelman* to enquire news of the Enemy, which Baron sent him word by a Gentleman call'd *Repeyre* of Monsieur de *Gramont's* Company, of the disorder in which the Count de *Montgomery* had retreated into *Bearn*, and how his Artillery had for almost two dayes together been abandoned upon the road to *Orthez*; and the Marechal himself was the first from whom I heard it, and afterwards from others, as I said before.

The day before he intended to depart in order to his return, I had notice given me that he had dispatched away the Sieur de *Luffan* towards the King, without saying a word to me; which *Luffan* was my Enemy, because I would not suffer him to be Governour of *Lectoure*. I thought it very strange that he would say nothing to me of it, and presently apprehended that he had not made choice of this person to report any good of me;

for

for I knew he was not very well satisfied with me, forasmuch as he alwayes held his Consultations apart, calling no one to his Counsels but Monsieur de Joyeuse, Messieurs de Bellegarde, the Father and the Son, and Monsieur de la Croissette his Mareschal de Camp.

It is not therefore to be wondred at if I took it very ill that I was not admitted to the Council, and that nothing was communicated to me, considering that I commanded the Vaunt-guard, and was the second person in the Army. But it was so carried, and I had reason to be highly offended at it, very well discerning that these Consultations were held at our expence.

When I saw then that the resolution was taken to return, I went in the Evening to the Mareschal's Lodging, where I gave him to understand in the gentlest terms I could, (for after that manner I was to proceed) "That I would send my Son to surrender up the Government to the King; for that seeing he went away I very well saw, that all the fury of the War would fall upon me, and that I had not forces to resist and hinder the Enemy from doing what he pleased in the King's Territories, by which means all the honor and reputation I had acqui'd in the precedent troubles, in preserving the Province of *Guienne*, would be lost and forfeited in this; that therefore I had much rather another should bear the blame than I, who never had other design than to end my dayes with honour, and nothing more. To which he return'd me answer, "That I ought not to do it, neither ought I either to stomach any thing from the King, or to be angry with my self; and that I knew very well, that although the King had conferred upon him the Command of *Guienne*, as well as the other Provinces, he did not nevertheless meddle with it at all, but permitted me to govern as before, and should be very unwilling to usurp upon my Authority. I made answer, That this was an effect of his own generosity, and good nature, but that his Patent was so large, as did manifestly derogate from mine, and that whenever he would he might command as pleased him, without leaving me the least power at all, no more than the poorest *Cadet* in *Gascony*. To which he replied, That it was true, but that my valour and experience were so considerable, as would ever make me sought after and courted. From this light foundation it arose, that I quitted my Government because I would not obey him; and after this manner it was reported to the King by the fore-named Captain *Lussan*, or another that was sent to Court presently after him: and this was it that made the King so angry with me for quitting my Government, they having posselt him, that it was only upon this account, which I no more thought of than of cutting my own throat: but I was born under a Planet to be evermore subject to calumny. I gave the Mareschal an account to the contrary, when, as sick as I was, I went to him to *Tholouze*, so soon as I heard he was come thither, to make him a voluntary and free tender of all obedience, and that without any letter or command from the King, the Queen, or the Monsieur.

By this it is easie to judg whether the difference that grew betwixt us arose from thence. So it was that I suspected some foul play, forasmuch as a certain person had sent to Monsieur de Noé Lieutenant to Monsieur de Fontenilles, to come and speak with him about an affair that concern'd my life. Whereupon the said Sieur de Noé departed from *Panjas*, or else from *Nogaro*, posting away in all hast, without telling any one but Monsieur de Fontenilles onely; and at his return finding us in *Mont de Marsan*, told Monsieur de Fontenilles and me, that a man who never stir'd out of the Mareschal's Chamber, and might hear all that was spoken, had said to a friend of his these words; *Montluc does nothing but eternally vex and importune the Mareschal, but he will one day be laid dead upon the floor with a stab*. Immediately hereupon this person came to the House of him who sent for Monsieur de Noé, and told it him, that he might acquaint me vvith it, vvich vv as the occasion that Monsieur de Noé had been sent unto to go vvhere he did. Monsieur de Valence my Brother was at this time at *Gauze*, a place of his own within three leagues of *Mont de Marsan*, to whom I sent twice to beg of him with joynd hands that he would come to me; but he would by no means be entreated to it, what excuses he made I have now forgot. My design was to have had him discourse this affair with the Mareschal in private betwixt them two only, where I intended to have dealt so candidly with him, as to have nam'd the man who had spoke it, and that was one of his own people: but it rested there, for I would not intrust the secret to any other: and although I took no notice of it, yet it stuck damnably in my stomach, and I have since wondred how I could command my self, by which I learnt to know, that Age deprives a man of his heat: for in my younger days the greatest Prince upon earth could not have made me swallow such a pill. The older we grow, the more our blood steals from our heart, and it appears that the nearer we approach to death, the more we fear it. It may be notwithstanding that this person might make this story of his own head, and that the Mareschal never thought of any such thing.

The Sieur de Montluc offers to lay down his Government of *Guienne*.

The King dissatisfied with the Sieur de Montluc.

The Sieur de Montluc threatened with a stab.

Fear the concomitant of old age.

The

The next morning I attended him at his rising. I had before day heard the Drums beat in the fields, by break of day they began to march, and so soon as the sun was up I went and knockt at his Chamber door, where a Valet de Chambre came out and told me he was not yet awake, though I had been told below, that Messieurs de Joyeuse, the younger Bellegarde, and la Croisette were all gone in before. Nevertheless I waited half an hour or more at the door, and in that time knockt three or four times, but no body would speak, though the Valet de Chambre, who came out to me, was gone in again, and that I had intreated him if the Marechal was awake to tell him that I was there. At last being ashamed to wait so long at his door, which never a Prince in Christendom would have suffered me to do, I was constrain'd to go walk in a little Garden of the House, not so slenderly attended however, but that I had with me two hundred Gentlemen or more of the best Families of the Country, who were as sensible of the affront, or more than I, and said a great many passionate things to me; which though I knew very well to be spoken out of the affection and respect they bore to me, yet as I was the oldest, I conceiv'd I ought to be the most discreet, and to consider that I should put many things in hazard, should I come to an absolute rupture with him. I waited above a long hour, what at his Chamber door, and in the Garden, and in the end came Monsieur de Bellegarde, who seeing the Gentlemen asked them where I was: They told him I was in the Garden thorough which he was to go to enter into the Hall; he then came to me, and asked me why I did not go into the Marechal's Chamber, to which I made answer, *That I had been there, and had knocked several times, but that no body would speak.* He then told me, that Monsieur de Joyeuse, his Son, and Captain Croisette had been there above an hour; whereupon I told him, *That I did not understand why the Marechal should make me dance attendance at his Chamber door, that I had never given him occasion to use me after that manner, and that I had the honor from the King, the Queen, and the Monsieur all the while they stayed in Guienne, that their Chamber doors were never refused me, that I was not of a condition to be so treated, but that since their Majesties service was interested in it I would make no breach.* He was very much troubled at it, for he and I had been good companions and friends, and there had never been the least division betwixt us till death made the separation. He then went and knocked at the Chamber door, which was immediately open'd to him, and as suddenly clapt to again upon me, at which all the Gentlemen advised me to return to my Lodging, and to come up no more; but I was resolved to have patience, for which I have since a hundred times wondred at my self. The said Marechal stayed yet above a quarter of an hour before he came out, after Monsieur de Bellegarde went in, and at last he came, where I forced my self to give him the good-morrow, and attended him to Mals, where by the way I intreated him to leave me one of the Companies of Monsieur de Savignac's Regiment, or two hundred Harquebuzers, till such time as I had remov'd the grain that was in the Town, that the Enemy might not make their advantage of it, therewith to victual Navarreins, there being by computation of Monsieur de Cumier, and of those he had employed to examine it, twelve hundred Wagon loads of all sorts of grain in the Town, as also by the account of the Providores, who had been joyn'd with his Officers to look into that affair. For this City serves as a Granary to all the Landes, and the Basques Country, from whence, to the detriment of France, they transport their grain into Spain, and it is said to be one of the best Corn-Markets in the Kingdom. He then mounted to horse, and I went to wait upon him out of Town, and in so doing found my self alone, not one of the Gentlemen that were with me once offering to mount, to pass that Complement upon him; but whether they did it because their Horses were not ready, or that they had no great mind to go, I know not, and so he departed. Immediately after his departure I dispatcht away Captain Fabian my Son with letters to the King, to surrender the Government into his Majesties hands, but when he came to Bourg de Dieu, he was taken by the Enemy, and there lost his Letters, which was the cause that he could not deliver his Majesty the reasons that mov'd me to quit my Government, which made his Majesty exceedingly offended with me, thinking it was because I would not obey the Marechal d'Anville, as Captain Luffan had given him to understand. A thing that never entred into my thought; but I foresaw the Tempest, and would therefore retire to give others leave to do better.

Mont de Mar-
san the Gra-
nary of Gasco-
ny.

The thing was evident enough by the report of several as well of the one as the other Religion, that had the Marechal passed the River the Count de Montgomery had infallibly return'd from whence he came; for to have put his Army into Navarreins he could not do it, by reason there was no provision, and in the other places of Bearn yet much less. For which reason it would necessarily have followed, that necessity and famine would have compell'd him to return headlong to the place from whence he came, and to abandon

A discourse up-
on the retreat
of the Mare-
chal d'Anville.

don the Country to us ; when it would have been a thing of no manner of difficulty for us to have defeated him either in front or rear, nay the very Peasants would have disorder'd him, who would have taken heart seeing us so near, and never have suffer'd him to pass the Rivers. And if he himself will confess the truth, as others who were with him have done, he ever gave himself for lost, till he heard that the *Mareschal* retir'd : and to think of fighting a Battel he could never do it, considering the odds of Forces we had against him. He alwayes said, *that he had two great Mastiffs at his breech, and that therefore it would be strange he should escape, but that he would sell his skin as dear as he could.* On the other side, that I should imagine the *Mareschal* retreated out of cowardize, no man living can say that ; for to this hour that was never reported of him ; he is of two brave a Race, and has ever given proof to the contrary, and I esteem him a great Captain, who is able to do a great deal of good, and a great deal of harm whenever he pleases, and although some have censur'd and asperst him, because he was so near the Admiral, I, for my part, had never any such opinion of him. I know not what he may do hereafter, I never knew him other than a faithful servant of the Kings : but he ought not to have used me after this manner. I had seen too much boyl'd and rost in my time. It was not then fear that made him to retire, for his Forces were so much greater than those of the Enemy, that we had defeated the Count de *Montgomery* with our Cavalry alone, and our Argoulets, which we would have dismounted, without ever engaging our Foot in the business. For at the Battel of *Ver Monsieur de Duras* had thrice as many Foot as the Count de *Montgomery*, and a great many more Horse, better men, and better Officers, and we were not so many Horse by two thirds as we were here, and yet we defeated them and won the Battel. It cannot therefore be said that he did it out of fear of being beaten, considering he had so little reason : but it was our misfortune that it was fixt in the *Mareschal's* fancy, and more in that of his Council, that he should ruine himself before the Towns of *Bearn*, and do no good, not knowing the sterility of the Country, as we did, and that Monsieur de *Terride* had so devour'd all the provisions of those parts, that there could be none left for the Count de *Montgomery* had he stay'd there. Had it pleased God that the *Mareschal* had not been so bent upon returning into *Languedoc*, to pursue his own designs in those parts, or that his Council had been of an opinion contrary to him, and that he had resolv'd to pass the River, it had been a happy thing, and of infinite advantage to us : and on the contrary turn'd very much to our prejudice ; for he went and engag'd himself before *Mazeres*, where he lost a great number of the best Soldiers he had, and almost ruin'd his Army, without being able to make any other attempt. By which means there was nothing done of any moment either in *Languedoc* or *Guienne*, but utterly undoing the people, our own Forces having in all parts done as much mischief, as the Enemy themselves. Neither was it possible to be avoided, by reason of the great number of Gens d'arms, Light-horse, Argoulets, and Foot that we had, who must all of necessity live upon free quarter. Thus did all the *Mareschal's* Forces, which were sufficient both to defeat *Montgomery*, and afterwards to make head against the Admiral, moulder away and vanish without performing any thing worthy to be repeated.

The Siege of
Mazeres.

I have ever observ'd, that when Almighty God is not pleased that matters shall succeed as men desire, he infatuates their Councils, and turns the will of the Chief, and of his Counsellors quite contrary to what they ought to do. His name be praised for all, since it was his Divine pleasure to have things go as they did. There is no one, after the people, that smarts for it but I, because I incurr'd the *Mareschal's* disfavour by speaking the truth. He ought in reason to have lov'd me more than those that counsell'd him to do contrary to what I advis'd him ; but 'tis the Law of *Bearn*, *The beaten must bear the blame* ; for the King has approv'd, and ratified all that the *Mareschal* did, and disallowed and condemned all my doings, and indeed I declin'd towards my setting, and was no more ador'd like a rising Sun, and yet I am as innocent and unblameable of that fault (if fault there was) as I had never been born into the world, of which I desire no other testimony than the three Estates of *Guienne*, and *Languedoc* which is neighbour to it, who know how all things pass'd, and have smarted for the miseries of *Guienne*, and dare moreover stand to the depositions of all the Captains, three or four excepted, who were of the Council, for those were the cause of the evil. I am not the first who for well doing have been paid with this Coin, of which I have given Examples enow in this Book, and find it a good matter to be a great Lord ; for a little Companion as I am must alwayes bear the burthen, and is evermore subject to the forementioned Law of *Bearn*. The said *Mareschal* had reason, I confess, to have a mind to employ his men and his money in *Languedoc*, and I had also reason to desire him in *Guienne*. If he was not able to undertake for them both, why did he cause *Guienne* to be insert'd in his Patent ? That which we might

Law of *Bearn.*

might have done in fifteen dayes, to wit, the defeating or driving away *Montgomery* would have been of greater advantage, than the taking of three or four paltry Towns in *Languedoc*. But I have said enough of this dispute, which ruin'd the Kings affairs in those parts; I shall therefore pursue my discourse to tell you what hapned after.

The inconvenience of making war with Soldiers, Natives of the same Country where the Scene of war lies.

The departure of the said Marechal put our affairs into very great disorder, and very much encourag'd our Enemies. As for my own part, in five Companies that I had there was not left two hundred men, by reason they were stoln away, with what booty they had got, every man to his own house. This is the inconvenience of making war with the people of the Country. They must go see Wife, they must go carry home their Baggage, and besides every one has a Cousin, a Brother, or a Friend with the Enemy, to whom he has a regard, and of whom he has care. And as to the Cavalry we had, they could not subsist in less than five or six leagues of the Town, by reason the Enemy had devour'd one part of the provisions of the Country, and our own people the other, and the Country of it self was barren. However I stayed four or five dayes after the Marechals departure, causing three or four hundred Waggon loads of grain to be remov'd from thence, which I carried to *Euse*, and other adjacent places, that the Enemy might not therewith virtual their Towns in *Bearn*: but I must have carried away fifteen hundred load or more to have remov'd it all; and had my five Ensigns been compleat, as at my coming thither, I would have engag'd my self in it, though I was certain not to be reliev'd, for I have committed as great follies in my life as that, and hitherto (blessed be God) never met with any misadventure; nor did his Majesties affairs ever suffer by those hazards. I then retir'd towards *Agenois*, leaving the *Sieur de Montespau*, Son to the Baron de *Gondrin*, with his Father's Company of Gens-d'arms in *Euse*, together with another new Company of Foot, that was then raising in those parts, not to endure a Siege, for the Town was naught; but only a little to favour the Country, and that we might not seem totally to abandon it, though we knew very well that his staying there would signifie little or nothing. I sent Monsieur de *Fontenilles* also into the Country of *Bigorre*, to see if he could do any thing on that side to amuze the Enemy, but all this was no remedy for so great a disease. I shall not here take upon me to give a particular account of the defeat of Captain *Arne*, and the Baron de *l'Arbou*, for as much as I did not place them there, where they were defeated; but so it was, that I sent however to Captain *Arne* to tell him, *That he was a Soldier, and must needs know that in the place where he was he could expect nothing but disaster, and that therefore I conceiv'd he would do well to retire to Auch, which was an enclosed Town; but he sent me word, that he was placed there, and was therefore resolved rather to dye than to stir a foot from thence.* It was not above four dayes after I had given him this advice that news was brought me of his defeat, and two dayes after that of his death, which was a great damage to the Kings service, and a great loss to his Country; for he was a fine Gentleman, and a valiant man, and one of whom we had as great an esteem, as of any Captain whatever of *Guienne*.

Monsieur de Montespau in Euse.

Captain Arne slain,

Now soon after the Marechal being about *Mazeres*, and I in *Agenois*, the Count de *Montgomery* did like the Wolves whom hunger forces out of the Woods, and came into *Armagnac*, by little and little moving towards *Condommois*. He had caused three pieces of Canon to be brought, and two Culverines to batter *Euse*, knowing very well that there was no body in it but Monsieur de *Montespau* with his Father's Company of Gens-d'arms, and the new-raisd Company of Foot that I had sent him. So soon therefore as the Artillery was come to *Noguarol*, that he had sent to discover the Enemy, and that the Hugonot Kindred and Friends he had, had given him notice of the preparation against him, he sent me word of it. I had no body to send to reinforce him, and less power of my self to relieve him, neither was there any relief to be expected; for the Marechal was either lying before *Mazeres*, or else retir'd to *Tholouze*. I therefore sent him word, *That I would not he should follow the exemple of Captain Arne, and that it was enough we had lost one brave and valiant Captain, and one Company of Gens-d'arms, without losing two; that therefore he should retire and take along with him all the Priests and Religious people of the Town, together with all the rich Catholick Merchants, and escape to Lectoure.* which he accordingly did; for although I had sent to surrender my Government, I did not for all that forbear to do all that lay in my power for the service of my King and Country, but raised five or six Companies about *Ville-neufue* and *Florence*, leaving one old and two new Companies at the said *Florence*, and four (with that of the Governnor Monsieur de *Panjas*) at *Lectoure*, which were enow, by reason that all the Gentry of *Armagnac* with their Families were retir'd into that place, which made the Town so full that no more could lodg there: and these things being done I came to *Agen*, where I heartned the Inhabitants the best I could, and stayed there for some dayes. The Count de *Montgomery* then

then came to *Ense*, where so soon as he was arriv'd the Hugonots of *Condom* (who had liv'd at home under protection of the Kings Edict, having evermore hypocritically profest not to take arms, relying upon his Majesties Royal word, and had been used with greater humanity than the Catholicks themselves) betook themselves to arms, and went to seek out the Count de *Montgomery* at *Ense*, who durst advance no further, nor had not done, had I had but four Companies onely to put into *Condom*. But they all assur'd him that I had no men, nor means to raise any to make head against him, and that therefore he might securely come, and so they allur'd him to *Condom*. These were the fine fruits of the fine Edict they perswaded the King to make, that provided the Hugonots stirr'd not from their Houses, no one should demand any thing of them. I have spoken of this sufficiently elsewhere; though, if I would, I have a great deal more to say, and of greater importance, but it would do no good, for the King would take no order in it, since those about him will have it as it is.

The Count de
Montgomery
at Condom.

A few dayes after we heard news of the Victory God had given the King, thorough the valour and conduct of the Monsieur, Brother to the King, and the Captains he had about him, and that the Princes and the Admiral, with the remains of the Battail of *Moncontour* were moving towards *Limosia*; every one that came, telling us that they marcht directly to *la Charité*, which was the reason that I sent for Monsieur de *Leberon* at *Libourne*, to come with four Companies he had there and at *St. Foy*, to port *St. Maries* and *Aguillon*. He had before sent me one, which I had left at *St. Sever*, before it was lost under Captain *Espiemont d'Avila*, and I had also sent another to *Dacqs* under Captain *Teyssander de Florance*, and the said *Espiemont* was constrain'd to retire to *Dacqs*, after the fine piece of work the Captain of the Castle had made, who would have discharg'd himself upon Captain *Montaut*, and was upheld by some about the Marechal, who were related to him. But I referre it to the truth, which those of the Town did no wayes conceal, and never after receive him. The City of *Agen* and the Clergy there, had set a foot a Company of two hundred Strangers at their own charge, commanded by one Captain *Raphaël* an Italian, who was married in the Town.

The Victory of
Moncontour.

The said Count de *Montgomery* remained six or seven weeks at *Condom*, wherein he committed an error; for had he followed his blow he had put a great many to their trumps: but who is it that is never mistaken? The Marechal's Camp was at *Tholouze*, *Granade*, and thereabouts; they had no great fancy to bite one another, for they never so much as gave one another an Alarm. The Marechal had put out Monsieur de *Fontenilles* from the place to which I had sent him, and taken from him the Command I had given him in those parts, and order'd me to be about *Beaumont de Lomagne*, openly usurping upon my Government, according to his Patent. He sent likewise to the Baron de *Gondrin*, Signieur de *Montespan* (whose Father lay sick at *Leétoure*) to come to him, giving orders every where that none should obey me in the least; for that I was no more the Kings Lieutenant, but that he was the man. He writ twice also to Monsieur de *Maillaillan*, that he should not fail to bring his Company to him, who both times returned him answer, *That the Company was mine, and none of his, and that it was not in his power to bring it to him*; and all the affronts he could put upon me, he did. This nothing concern'd me in my own particular, for what I did was in order to his Majesties service, and for the conservation of the Country. Behold how particular animosities occasion a general ruine! notwithstanding I did not for all this forbear to act, as if I had still been the King's Lieutenant; and it was requisite for the poor Country's interest, that I should not regard the injuries he put upon me; for my despite might have done a great deal of mischief. Being the Son of a Constable of *France*, and himself a Marechal, I did by no means disdain to be commanded by him, had he been pleased to command me, and that he would have done his duty. But so it was, that he as much as in him lay travers'd all my designs for the conservation of *Guienne*, which stood in much greater need than *Languedoc*. In the mean time news was brought us, that the Princes and the Admiral were in *Perigord*, and took the way of *Quercy* to retire to *Montauban*, by which I very well understood, that they came to take *Montgomery* along with them, to reinforce themselves with his power, without which it would be a matter of very great difficulty for them to march thorough so many leagues of the Country. I have since a hundred and a hundred times wondred, that so many great and prudent Leaders, as were in the Monsieurs Army, should pitch upon so ill a resolution, as to fall to the besieging of places, instead of pursuing the Princes, who were routed, and reduc'd to that extremity, that they had no possible means to set themselves up again, insomuch that had the people had Forces to pursue them, they had with great facility been all cut to pieces. 'Tis said that we our selves who bear arms, spin out wars in length, and stretch the thong to the utmost, as men of

Division betwixt the Marechal d'Anville and the Sieur de Montluc.
The Princes move towards Montgomery.

Soldiers use to spin out a war.

the long Robe do Suits in Law at the Palace. Let the Devil take all such. I for my part had never any such intention, and can say with truth, that never a Kings Lieutenant in France has made more Hugonots pass the Knife and the Halter than I have done : which was not the way to prolong the war.

The Commenda-
tion of the
Chevalier de
Romegas.

The City of
Agen in fear.

The Gentle-
men of Gascony
send an Envoy
to the Maref-
chal d'Anville.

Monsieur de
Montferran's
offer.

But to return to my subject, having heard which way the Princes took, without declaring my intention to any one, being in Monsieur de Gondrin's Lodging at *Le Etoure*, I sent for Monsieur de Panjas, the Chevalier de Romegas, and the Chevalier my Son, Monsieur de Gondrin was sick, and there told them *That I was old, and not able to undergo the labour, in case we should be besieged; that therefore to ease my self, I would remit the care to govern the Town, as to the Civil Regiment thereof, to Monsieur de Panjas, and as to what concern'd the defence of it, and what should be necessary thereunto, I would transfer the Charge thereof to the said Chevalier de Romegas, and the Chevalier my Son, who had both been engag'd in the Siege of Malta, the most furious Siege that ever was since Artillery was first known in the world; by which they must needs better know what belong'd to defence, and what was fit to be done, than I my self; and being Companions and Brothers of the Order of St. John's of Hierusalem, would also agree so much the better together. That herein the Chevalier my Son should obey that of Romegas, both in regard he was the elder, and also by reason he had commanded at sea, in three or four Naval Engagements, where my Son had been with him* (in truth he was a man of as much courage and bravery as any I ever knew) *and that in the mean time I would go to Agen, to take the best Order I could for the defence of that City.* They all approv'd of my determination, and the two Chevaliers would not make the Quarters but hand in hand together, beginning from the very instant to redouble the work of the Fortification, and Monsieur de Panjas as Governor provided them all things they requir'd. The next morning I went to Agen, Monsieur de Valence my Brother being retir'd into *Le Etoure*. I had a day or two before sent my Wife and my two Daughters to *Bordeaux*, and when I came to Agen Monsieur de Cassaneuil to whom I had committed the Charge of *Ville-neufue* and the adjacent Country, (although I had confer'd the Government of it upon Captain *Paulbac* the elder, yet they agreed very well together) sent me word joyntly with Captain *Paulbac*, that the Princes were come to *Montauban*, and were resolv'd immediately to fall upon *Ville-neufue*. Whereupon I immediately sent *les Peroux* his Company and another, to two new Companies they had already within the place, with about a hundred Haquebuzers belonging to the said Captain *Paulbac* the Governor, and some thirty or forty Gentlemen of those parts, who were retir'd with them into the Town. I then return'd to *Le Etoure*, where I did not stay above three or four dayes; for neither my age, nor my indisposition would permit me to stay long in a place; where news was brought me, that the City of *Agen* was entred into a sudden fear, and that every one began to truss up their Baggage to be gone, so that the Town was in danger to be wholly abandoned. This news was brought me overnight, which I communicated to all the Gentlemen in the Town, telling them that I would go in the morning, which they were all contented I should, provided I would return back to the said *Le Etoure*; for to engage my self in *Agen* would, they said, be the greatest folly that was ever committed by man, it being plainly to be discern'd by every one, that the two Armies of the Enemy would infallibly attaque that place. I then assur'd them, that I would not engage my self there: whereupon they asked me, if I thought it convenient that they should write a Letter to the Marechal in the behalf of all the Gentry of *Armagnac*, to entreat him to come with his whole Army to fight *Montgomery* at *Condom*, before the Armies should joyn, assuring him that the said *Montgomery* would never engage himself in the Town, which was not tenable, and to be entred in several places at pleasure, and to make him an offer every man to die with him for his Majesties service, and the resettlement of every one in his own house. To which I return'd them answer, that I did highly approve of it, and that they could do no less, than to send a Gentleman to him to implore his assistance; who therefore made choice of Monsieur de la Mothe Gondrin for their Envoy. I would bait in the morning before I went, because it was five long leagues from thence to *Agen*, and the worst way in Winter in the world. Being we were at this time in fear, I had writ to Monsieur de Montferran of *Agen*, who liv'd out of Town, that he must needs make all the means he possibly could, to bring us four or five hundred Harquebuzers; to which he return'd me answer that in eight dayes he would bring a thousand before *Agen*; which made me, though I knew very well, that the Marechal took no delight in my Letters, however to write to him (for a man must wave a particular in a great concern) sending Monsieur de Montferran's Letter enclosed within mine, and assuring him upon my honor to bring another thousand to brush *Montgomery*, for I had a very good mind to be at him.

During

During these postings to and fro, the Princes sojourn'd at *Montauban* and the adjoyn-
ing Country, as they had good need to do; for they had not a horse that was able to set
one foot before another, as several who were with them have confessed to me since, having
been constrain'd to leave above four hundred by the wayes as they came, by reason they
had no means to get them shod. And just as I had din'd there came another Messenger
to me from *Agen*, who had set out from thence at midnight, to give me notice that the
Merchants began to talk of getting their wares out of Town, but that the *Sieur de Lande*
and the Consuls would keep them from doing it, till such time as they should receive
an answer to the Letter they had sent me, and as I was taking horse, some body, I cannot
tell who, came and read me the Letter the Gentlemen had writ to the *Mareschal*, which
I did not much mind, my thoughts being wholly taken up with the concern of *Agen*: but
I told them, *That I thought it was well, but that nevertheless they should shew it to Monsieur*
de Valence, to see if there was nothing in it that might give the Mareschal offence; and so
got on horseback, making all the haste I could to *Agen*. Being come thither I found
every one in the greatest fear imaginable; the Church men, the Counsellors, all the Pre-
sidial Court, and the Merchant's busie, packing up to be gone. I was no sooner alighted
but that immediately the *Sieurs de la Lande, de Nort*, their Sons, and several others came
and told me that all the whole City were at their wits end. I thereupon bad them forth-
with to repair to the Town Hall, and to call thither all the Chief men of the City, the
Clergy, and Magistracy, and to give me notice so soon as ever they were met together, for
I would go speak with them. They accordingly did so, neither did they need to use
many entreaties, for rich and poor, every one ran to see me, and to hear what I would ad-
vise them to do. When so soon as I came into the Hall (which was so full that five or
six Gentlemen I had brought along with me had much ado to crowd in) I plac'd my
self in the midst of them, to the end that every one might hear me, and spake to them
to this effect.

Gentlemen,

"You have twice in one day advertiz'd me, that the greatest part of the Inhabitants
"of this City are upon the point to forsake it, and to retire themselves to *Bordeaux*,
"Tholouze, and other places of safety; and in short, that your whole City was in fear.
"I see very well that this apprehension has seiz'd you upon a conceit you have taken that
"I would abandon you in such a necessity, and that I had retir'd my self to *Leffouze*,
"because it is a good place: which I have reason to take very unkindly at your hands,
"forasmuch as you have never heard that either in *Italy*, or in any other place I have ever
"done act which ought to render me suspected, that fear ever made me betake my self
"to strong places; but, on the contrary, have ever engag'd my person in the weakest and
"least tenable to make head against the Enemy. My renown is not so little in the
"World, nor confin'd to *Guienne* alone: I am reputed for such throughout all *Italy*,
"and through all *France*. And now that I am going down into the Grave, can you
"imagine my good friends) that I would at one clap lose what I have with so much sweat
"and blood been one and fifty years, that I have born arms, in gaining? You must re-
"solve upon three things; First, to throw away all apprehension that may have surpriz'd
"you, and tread it under foot, that it may never rise again: Secondly, to agree amongst
"your selves to be all of one mind and will, and nor to spare your Estates in what I shall
"direct you, speedily and diligently to provide all that shall be necessary for the defence
"of your City: and thirdly, to pay an absolute obedience to six or eight of your Corpo-
"ration whom I shall choose for you, or that you shall make choice of your selves, to take
"care as well for the fortifying, as furnishing provisions, and all things necessary for your
"defence. Which three things, if you shall think fit to grant me, I do swear to you by
"Almighty God, holding up my hand, That I will live and die with you; and moreover
"do engage (such is the hope and confidence I have in his Divine aid) that I will secure
"your Town from the Two Armies of the Enemy: for in my life, thorough Gods affi-
"stance, I have done greater miracles than this. As therefore you see my Countenance
"full of resolution to defend you; I desire also to see the same in yours, that I may know
"you will accomplish these three things I request at you hands. I know there will be
"some who will grumble at the charge and expence they must necessarily be at; but let
"such consider what will become of them if the Enemy make themselves masters of the
"Town, as doubtless they will if you put not to you utmost force and endeavour to pre-
"vent them. What will then become of your Goods, your Estates, your Houses, and your
"Wives and Children, if they fall once into their hands, who ruine all that they subdue?
"All things will be turn'd topsie-turvy; 'tis for this you fight, and also and principally

The *Sieur de Montluc's* Harangue to those of *Agen*.

“for the honour of God, and the conservation of your Churches, which in the first
 “Troubles were scratcht only by these people your Enemies; but if they enter now, will
 “be raz’d and levell’d with the foundations, as you see they have done at *Condom*. Since
 “I am with you, believe me Gentlemen, they will think on’t thrice before they will come
 “to attaque us; and if they come, though this City be none of the strongest, I will make
 “them know, that I know both how to assault, and to defend. Grant me then this
 “that I request of you, which is in your power to do, and believe that I will lay down
 “my life for your preservation. If you are not resolv’d to *employ the wet and the dry*, that
 “is to say, to do what good Citizens ought to do, never engage your selves and me too,
 “but rather let such as are afraid retire in good time, and let me deal it with the rest who
 “are ready and willing to die for their Country.

The Inhabi-
 tants of *Agen*
 take heart.

The Sieurs *de Blazimond*, then, and *de la Lande* speaking for all the Clergy, told me in few words, *That all the Clergy will lay down their lives and fortunes in the common defence, would serve me in what ever I would demand of them, and every one take arms and be as ready for action as the Soldiers themselves.* The Lawyers promis’d the same; after whom the good old man *de Nort* spake in the behalf of the whole City, that they would do the same that the Clergy, and those of the Long Robe had engag’d to do; nay more (for it was not fit for them to be at continual labour) but that all those of the City, both Rich and Poor, Women and Children, without exempting any one, should put their hands to the work. Now before I would suffer Messieurs *de Blazimond*, and *de la Lande* to speak, I entreated them, that all those who should answer, would speak so loud that every one might hear them; which they also did, and when all the three Orders had made an end of speaking, I strain’d my voice, and said, *Have you all heard what these Gentlemen have propos’d who have spoken in the behalf of the whole City?* to which they cried out that they had; whereupon as I had held up my hand, I made them hold up theirs, and take the same Oath I had taken; which being done, I desir’d them every one to withdraw to provide all sorts of Instruments, and that I would retire to my Lodging with the principal men of the City, to make election of the eight who were to govern over them: but being it was already almost night they entreated me, that seeing they were all together, I would give them leave to make election of the eight, that I would please in the mean time, to retire to warm my self, and to get my Boots off, and that the next morning they would bring me a List of their Burgers names, of them to make election which eight I should think fit. And so I withdrew to my Lodging, where after supper there came to me Messieurs *de Blazimond* and *de la Lande*, the good man *de Nort* and his Sons, with so great joy, as more could not be exprest; telling me that the Merchants who had pack’d up their Merchandize, and a good many of them already loaded them in Waggon had unloaded all, and that they thought never City was overjoy’d as theirs was, and that so much as to the very Women and Children there was no other talk but of fighting, knowing the resolution that I had taken to tarry amongst them.

Companions, you who shall take the pains to read my life, you may take fair examples by me. This people, who were all their wits end, and ready to over-run the City, immediately at my word only reassum’d such courage, that I will be bold to say with truth, no man ever after discover’d the least apprehension in them; though to say the truth they had no great reason to be so secure, the Town being of two great a circuit well to be defended, commanded moreover by a Mountain, and too Armies ready to fall upon us at once. Believe me, Companions, when I tell you, that upon your resolution depends that of all the people, who take courage, as they see you do. And how great a good shall you do, besides the honour you acquire to your selves, to save a poor City from the Sack? so many Families stand eternally oblig’d to you, and not only the City it self, but the whole Country also: for the taking of the Capital City of a Province ordinarily draws after it the loss of a whole Seneschalsie. I, but you will say, a man must then shut himself up in a place where he can acquire honour: and where will you have that to be, in a Castle of *Millan*? it cannot be there; for there it is the strength of the walls that defends you; but it must be in a place that you see to be of publick concern, let it be never so weak. *A good heart is a good Fortrefs.* I could have stayd at *Lezoure*, and have hearkned how the squares went. I had nothing to lose at *Agen*, and could justly have laid all the blame upon the Mareschal, who had shoulders broad enough to bear it, but this good City being taken, I saw all the Country was lost. In a time of need and danger therefore shew that you have a heart to drive fear out of others, and in so doing you will alwayes appear to be what you are; and assure your selves that the Enemy seeing such a man engag’d in a place, will think on’t thrice before he will once come to
 attaque

attaque you. I have (as you may have observ'd before) ever had that good fortune, the *Spaniards, Italians, Germans,* and *French Hugonots* have been afraid either to abide, or to attaque me. Get then this priviledge over you Enemy, as you will do in doing well, and giving testimony of a good heart, and an undaunted courage.

Three or four dayes after I writ to the Gentlemen who had the charge of *Lectoure*, and principally to the Chevalier de *Romegas*, and the Chevalier my Son, exhorting them to employ all they had learnt at the Siege of *Malta*, and to do as well as they had done there; for that their honour would be without comparifon much greater in serving their own Prince and Country, than in a forreign Soyl. I also conjur'd every one to obey them, considering that there was not a man in the Town that had ever been in a Siege but they two: for as for my part I was resolv'd not to stir from *Agen*, but would die in the defence thereof. They were very much astonisht when they read my Letter, which they communicated to one another, and immediately return'd me another back, subscrib'd by the Sieurs de *Gondrin, de Pangas, de la Mothe Gondrin, de Romegas, de Maigras*, and the Chevalier my Son, wherein they writ me word, "That they did all very much wonder that I would so far forget my self, as to engage my person in so weak a Town as *Agen*, and so commanded by Mountains as it was. That for certain the Artillery was set out from *Navarreins*, and that the five pieces which were at *Noguarol* had not stirr'd from thence, but had stayd for the coming of the rest; that therefore they did beg of me to come to *Lectoure*, and that the Chevalier de *Romegas* and my Son would go put themselves into *Agen*, who being young and resolute, if they should miscarry, the loss would not be so great; and that on the other side, should I abandon the field, all the rest of the Country would be ruin'd and lost. I return'd them answer, That I gave them many thanks for the admonitions they had given me, which though I did acknowledge to be rational and true; yet I knew very well also that they gave them out of compassion and fear I should lose my self; but that I did assure them, before they should hear I was lost, the Enemy should have payd very dear for the taking of *Agen*. That if the Mareschal would come to fight them, he would have a good match of it; that I was determin'd not to budg from thence, but let them do their duty in case the Enemy should sit down before them, for as for my part I was resolute to do mine, and never to let the Enemy enter but over my belly.

Resolution of
the Sieur de
Montluc.

At the same time there arriv'd Monsieur de *la Bruille*, Steward of the Mareschal d'*Anville's* Household, whom the said Mareschal sent to me to know if Monsieur de *Montferran* was come with the thousand Harquebuzers, as I had sent him word, and also with what Forces I on my part could assist him. I then reckon'd to him, that what from *Villeneuve, Lectoure, Agen*, and *Florence*, I could make a thousand Harquebuzers, and the thousand of Monsieur de *Montferran*, shewing him the Letters that the said Sieur de *Montferran* had sent me from *St. Macaire*. He could not find in his heart to lose so much time as to bait his horses, before he return'd to carry back this news to the Mareschal, when being just about to take horse to return, there came a letter from Monsieur de *Montferran*, dated from *Marmande*, containing these words. "Monsieur, At this instant I am setting out with my Troops, which are a thousand Harquebuzers, and three score Light-horse, and shall this day pass part of my men over the River at *Aguillon*, the rest must stay till to morrow morning, but to morrow night they shall all be at Port St. Marie.

The Sieur de
Montferran
come with Suc-
cours.

The said de *la Bruille* took a Copy of the Letter, saying to me these words, I am going to carry the Mareschal the best news can possibly be brought him, and assure your self upon my life and honor, that so soon as ever I shall be return'd he will begin to march; and so ran to his horse. At the end of three dayes, the Troops being at Port St. Marie and *Aguillon*, I had word sent me from *Lectoure*, that the Mareschal was return'd from *Grenade to Thoulouze*, out of despite at the Letter the Gentlemen of *Armagnac* had written to him, which I have made mention of before, and that for one clause that was in it, which ran thus; That in case he should not please to march to come to help to re-establish them in their houses, they should be constrain'd to go apply themselves to the King in their own persons, humbly to beg assistance from him. This was the ground of all his discontent, and he discharg'd his anger upon me, accusing me that I had caused the said Letter to be writ: I will not deny but that the first draught was read to me as I was mounting to horse; but, so God help me, I could not have repeated six words of it, for my affection hurried me away to *Agen*, to take care that the Town should not be forsaken, and took horse that very minute it was read to me, as I have said before. However I leave it to any man of understanding to judg if these words were of such importance, that the said Mareschal ought reasonably to have taken such offence at them. It was at the King that he took offence, and not at us. He is the Kings Subject as well as we. O! would I have taken pet after this manner, how many times have I had occasion given me to quit all! I have perhaps been but too passionate,

not

not as to what concern'd my self, but for the Country and the People, who have missed me since I quitted my Government. Now when Monsieur de *Montferran*, who staid with me three dayes at *Agen*, his men in the mean time lying at *Port St. Marie*, heard that the Mareschal was return'd in discontent to *Tholouze*, and that he would hardly be prevail'd upon to come, he told me that he would return to *Bordeaux*, forasmuch as he did not know but that the Princes might turn their designs that way, hearing there was no body in it. Which he accordingly did, as there was good reason, by which means I was left naked, without hope of being reliev'd by any person whatsoever. Thus for the misconstruction of a word, for one insignificant picque, the whole Country ran a dangerous fortune.

* Who loses his substance loses his understanding.

You Princes, Mareschals, and Lieutenants of Provinces, who command Armies, never sacrifice the publick interest to a private distaste. The Mareschal ought to have consider'd, that these were *Gascons* exil'd from their own houses, who writ in passion; he ought neither to have been offended at me, nor them; but to have excus'd their sensibility, and not for such a trifle to have abandoned the Country. Our Proverb says, * *Qui perd le sien, perd le sens*. I have often askt advice of, and been my self assisting to those that I knew had no great kindness for me. Never suffer your private picques, and particular animosities to endanger the publick concern. I have often observ'd some, and those no little ones, who could have eaten one another, agree very well for their Master's service, talk and confer together like Brothers, and after some handsome service, or good success, open their hearts to one another, and become good friends. I have since been told by some who had the good fortune to be there, that most of the Chiefs who were at the great Battel that was obtain'd over the Turk, were mortal enemies, but that they agreed out of respect to the common interest, and after the Battel became perfect friends. Would to God the Mareschal would have left the animosity he had against me at *Tholouze* to have come and claw'd away *Montgommery*, he had acquir'd honour, and the Country a singular advantage by it, whereas his peevishness ruin'd all. I thought I had been the most cholerick fellow in the world, but he has made it appear that he is more passionate than I. Nevertheless had he been pleased to come, I would have serv'd him as freely as the meanest Gentleman in the Army.

Having understood his resolution I sent twice to Monsieur de *Fontenilles* to bring his Company, and come put himself into the Town with me; but he could very hardly obtain leave to come, though he came at last. I had the four Companies my Nephew de *Leberon* had brought me from *Libourn*, three at *Port St. Marie*, and another at *Aguillon*, which immediately upon the departure of Monsieur de *Montferran* by my order came in thither: and before Monsieur de *Fontenilles* arriv'd at *Agen*, a Gentleman called Monsieur de *Montazet*, came to entreat me to call away the Company that was at *Aguillon*, and that he would undertake to defend the Town with the Inhabitants only. A promise that although I knew he was not able to make good, and that he only did it to spare the provisions of the Town. I nevertheless granted his request, fearing he would write to Monsieur le Marquis de *Villars*, that I had made him to consume the fruits of his Estate, and sent the Company to *Ville-neufve*. Wherein I committed a very great error, for this place had kept the Rivers of *Lot* and *Garonne*: but these bawling fellows, who will spare their Masters Houses and Estates, to appear good Stewards, oftentimes lose very considerable places. Therefore you, who have the honour to command, stop your ears against all complaints in such cases, and so pressing necessities. I had done a great deal better, if upon this occasion I had practis'd the Lesson that I now teach you.

Now you must know I drave on an Enterprize with Monsieur de *Leberon*, to go give a Scalado to the Captains *Manciet* and *Chassaudy*, two errant Rogues who lay at *Monbeurt*. The said Sieur de *Leberon* was with eight or ten Harquebuzers only at *Aguillon*, that he might the better conceal his design. *Viard*, Muster-Master to the Mareschals Camp, came at this time to *Agen*, who was going to Court from the Mareschal, and though I knew very well that the said Mareschal was very much out with me, yet did I not forbear to favour and pay all respect to all that came from him, being it was for his Majesties service. I therefore writ to Monsieur de *Leberon*, that he should send a Convoy with him till he was past *Toneins*, whom he found at *Aguillon*, in order to the Enterprize they were the next day at night to put into execution; for I was sending him five or six Boats full of Soldiers from *Agen*, and the three Companies that were at the Port were also to joyn in the business. But, as the fortune of war is sometimes very odd and extravagant, she well appear'd to be so the day that the Muster-Master *Viard* passed that way; for the said Sieur de *Leberon* giving him a certain number of Harquebuzers for his Convoy, and making account that in three hours time they would be back again; whilst he waited in expecta-

tion

tation of their return there arrived Messieurs de la Caze, de la Loüe, de Guytinieres, de Moneins, and other Captains, with 7 or 8 Cornets of Horse, who were come from *Lausertthe*, which is nine long leagues, and had not baited above an hour at *Haute-faye*; to be short they had made a Cavalcade with the diligence of old Soldiers, and environ'd *Aguillon*. Monsieur de Leberon seeing himself thus trapt alone with but very few Soldiers, and the Inhabitants of the Town, was in a little perplexity what to do in his defence, when Monsieur de Montaxet presently came and told him, that he was not able to defend the Town, and that he would not put it to the hazard of being ruin'd and sackt; and accordingly without any more ado made some conditions, which was well for the said Leberon, for he fell into the hands of these four, who were all of them my very good friends, by reason that in former times I had done something for them. I was the first Captain that ever shewed Captain Moneins any service, and made him a Soldier; and the rest were every one willing to acknowledge the several obligations they had to me, and so let him go. These are Civilities amongst Soldiers: but my said Nephew play'd there the part of a Novice, not to reserve to himself men enow for a time of need: he thought the Enemy was too far off to trouble him. Captains, my Companions, this was a ridiculous security of his, he ought to have consider'd the importance of the place, situated upon two Rivers, and that the Enemy could not but covet so sweet a morsel, the vicinity of *Cleirac* and *Toneins* consider'd. But I play'd the fool as well as he, in drawing out the Garrison, for fear of offending the Marquis.

Aguillon taken.

So soon as ever I heard of his being taken, I drew my three Companies that were at the Port into *Agen*. Two dayes after the Princes Army came and encamp't themselves, their quarters extending from *Aguillon*, as far as within half a league of *Ville-neufue*, and up to the great Road, which leads to the said *Ville-neufue*, all along the valleys which are in that place, where there are very good Villages. Now, as I have already said, I had divided the City into eight parts, and over every division had set two good Chiefs of the Town. It was a delightful thing to see the men and women all work, who came to it constantly by break of day, and never gave over till the night took them off: they were never longer than an hour at dinner, and all the head Burgers of the City were eternally solliciting them to ply their labour, from which no one was exempt, not even the Religious women. One night a man came to tell me, that a Troop of Reiters were come up within a quarter of a League of us, to a Village close by *Moubran*, which is a Castle belonging to the Bishop of *Agen*. In the morning therefore I mounted to horse with my Company, and went close up to the Village, where, because two Country fellows told me, that three other Cornets of Reiters were quarter'd very near unto the first, I made the Argoulets that came out with me stay behind, assuring my self that the Reiters would relieve their fellows, being so near, and that consequently we should be put to retreat in haste, where I should be in danger of losing the said Argoulets, by reason they were not very well mounted, and beside there was dirt up to the Horse Cambrils. Nevertheless some of the best mounted of them went along with Monsieur de Madaillan, whom I commanded to charge desperately quite through the Bourg. He did so, and some few were kill'd in the Streets as they passed, wherenpon the Reiters put themselves into two or three houses where their Officers were quarter'd. The other three Cornets who were quarter'd close by, upon the Alarm were immediately on horse back, so that all we could do was to carry away six and thirty of their horses, and I believe had I suffer'd all the Argoulets to go they had not left them one: but Monsieur de Madaillan, seeing the three Cornets coming upon the Gallop to relieve their Companions, retreated to me; but they did not much pursue him, and so we retir'd into the Town.

Now Viard was soon back from Court, for he had both the Kings Pass and the Princes, and went to find out the Marechal. The next morning after we had taken the Horses Monsieur de Fontenilles arriv'd, by which means I had two Companies of Gens d'armes in the City, and three of Foot. I had from my first coming placed Monsieur de Laugnac at *Peymirol* with two Foot Companies, which were those of the Garrison of *Port. St. Marie* and *Malves*, who made very brave skirmishes, and though Monsieur de Laugnac was then sick of the disease that so long has held him, he nevertheless kept the Soldiers night and day abroad, and was evermore making some attempt upon the Enemy. Our Horse went out very often, but they still found the Reiters so barricado'd and bolted up in the Villages, that nothing was to be got of them but blows, and they were alwayes mounted in a trice. In truth those people encamp themselves like true men of war, it is very hard to surprize them: they are more careful than we, especially of their horses and arms, and are besides more terrible in war, for a man can see nothing but fire and steel; and not a Groom in their Troops but accouters and trains himself up to the fight, and so in time become

Monsieur de Laugnac at Peymirol.

Commendation of the Reiters.

The Princes
summon Ville-
neufue.

Ville-neufue.

become good Soldiers. I could not relieve our Cavalry with foot, by reason of the intolerable foulness of the wayes, and also fearing a mischance, having so few men as I had in the City; which should any sinister accident have fall'n out, might have struck such a terror into the Town, as might have drawn after it the loss of the place. I was only on the defensive part, and yet I kept them in awe, giving them to understand that I did not much fear them. The Princes and the Admiral lay five weeks or more where I have said, and Monsieur de *Montgomery* three or above at *Condom*, his quarters extending as far as *la Plume des Bruilles*. We did nothing on either side, forasmuch as I had no men to attempt any thing withall, and they lay quiet, eating and drinking their fill, and making good cheer; for they had so suffer'd ever since the defeat of *Montcontour*, as nothing could possibly be more; so that I think they had more mind to rest than to meddle with me. As for my part I night and day intended my Fortification. Being upon these terms, and in this posture on both sides, one night arriv'd Monsieur de *la Valette*, who came from the Monsieurs Camp, and by fortune happen'd to be at *Ville-neufue*, at the time when the Princes sent a Trumpet to Monsieur de *Cassaneuil* to summon the Town. The said Sieur de *la Valette* himself order'd the answer, which was, *That the Town was the King's, and none of theirs; that therefore if either Trumpet or Drum should again come on such an errand they would kill him, and that there were too many men of honour in the Town to deliver it up.* The said Sieur de *la Valette* hazarded himself in the night to pass the Enemies Camp in exceeding great danger, and came to me about nine of the clock. He found me in bed; for I was very much reliev'd by Messieurs de *Fontenilles*, de *Madaillan*, de *Leberon*, and the other Captains, by which means I slept at my ease; all things in the mean time going on in marvillous good order, as well by night as by day. Old age must be excus'd. The said Sieur de *la Valette* told me that I must presently send away a Chief to command over all those who were in *Ville-neufue*, or that otherwise the Town was about to be lost; yet would by no means tell me the reason, but only that I must make haste immediately to send away a Chief, alwayes telling me, that if I was not sudden I should be the first would repent it, for that it was a place of importance, and a neat Town of War. But he said enough to make me get out of bed, for I would not slight the advice of so good a head-piece as his; and therefore instantly dispatch't away two men to the Chevalier my Son at *Lectoure*, that immediately upon the reading my letter he should mount to horse, and come away to me to *Agen*; thence to put himself into *Ville-neufue*, and that by the haste he should make I should know if he were my Son. I writ also to the Chevalier de *Romegas*, entreating him to perform alone what they two had joyntly undertaken before. It was day before the two Messengers got to *Lectoure*, whereupon the Chevalier my Son immediately took leave of all the Gentlemen that were there, and about three in the afternoon come to *Agen*. Four or five dayes before this Monsieur de *Montgomery* with all his Camp, both Horse and Foot came to give a Camisado to Captain *Codreils*, Lieutenant to my Son Captain *Fabian's* Troop of Light-horse, which I had put into *Moyrax*, with five and twenty Launces, and five and twenty Harquebuzers. Now *Moyrax* is a little Village enclosed with walls, the highest part whereof might be mounted with a Ladder of twelve staves, and without Flankers, where he arriv'd an hour before day. Of this design news was brought me to *Agen*, at a time when I had newly taken a Glister, which I had yet in my belly; whereupon without any more ado I put on my arms, mounted to horse, and went to pass the River. The Gentlemen of my two Companies past after one another as fast as they could. Monsieur de *Fontenilles* came not till the next day, and those that came in the night follow'd after such a manner, that I found my self with no more but four horse only on the other side of the River towards *Gascony*, where *Moyrax* is situated, and near unto *Estillac*, which is mine. With these four horses I galloped full-drive directly to *Moyrax*, it being a League betwixt that and the River: so that in truth had Monsieur de *Montgomery* sent out ten or twelve horse only upon the Road from *Agen*, to *Moyrax*, I had certainly been kill'd or taken: but a man must sometimes play the Soldier, and tempt fortune. Your Enemy knows not what you do. And thus I arriv'd at *Moyrax*, where I found that the said *Montgomery* was departed about half an hour before, and had left his ladders at the foot of the wall; where, though they had stayd two long hours, they never had the courage to set them up, which made me, though I had before no great opinion of their Foot, to think much worse of them now; and so I return'd back to *Agen*; where at my return the Physicians were fain to give me another Glister to bring away the first, which by the pains I had taken was hindred from working, and made me so ill, that I two dayes kept my bed. So soon as the Chevalier my Son was come, I presently sent for Captain *Cadreils*, sending five and twenty Harquebuzers in his room, to the end that he might go with my said Son to *Ville-neufue*. At this time Monsieur de *St. Giron*, brother

to Monsieur de la *Gnache*, Colonel of two and twenty Ensigns under the *Mareschal d'Anguien*, had caused himself to be brought sick to *Agen*, having been wounded at the Assault of *Mazeres*, either in a leg or in a thigh; and would retire himself to his own house for his cure. At one of the clock in the night I put out my Son, his Camrades, and two Guides, bidding them be sure to be the next morning by break of day at *Ville-neufue*. Every one was exceeding glad of his coming, and I believe their dispute was that they would not obey one another. I would have sent my young Son Captain *Fabian* thither, but that we gave him over for a dead man, after his return from the Camp; and at this time had no manner of hope of his recovery.

The Chevalier
de Montluc at
Ville-neufue.

Now I had hourly intelligence, that the Admiral was making a Bridge of Boats at Port *St. Marie*, and to that end had gather'd together all the Boats upon the *Lot*, and the *Garonne*, as far as *Marmanda*. I had also hourly intelligence that the Enemy had sent for great Artillery into *Bearn*. All which made me hasten the Trenches and Fortifications I was making at *Agen*, believing, as there was very good reason, that all this preparation was intended against me; for *Agen* was no small prize, as well for the Riches, as in respect to the defeating of so many men of condition, who had shut themselves up in it for my sake. I then call'd a Council in my Lodging, and in a little Cabinet there, where we were no more but eight or nine persons to consult, and contrive which way we might break this Bridge. Now there was a Free Mason of *Tholouze* in the Town, who had made the Marquis de *Villars* some Mills at *Aguillon*, and this fellow upon some discourse with some one or another had said, that if we turn'd one of those Water-mills, which lay anchored before the Town afloat, it would break the Bridge: for the River of *Garonne* was great, and very much out, and every day still rising, because it almost continually rain'd. There was not any one man of his opinion, that a Mill could break the Bridge, forasmuch as we had been assur'd, that the Admiral had caused Cables as thick as a mans leg to be made at *Thoneins*, and others of the like size to be brought from *Montauban* also, together with very great Chains; which was very true, for besides the great Cables, the Bridge was lock't fast together with great and ponderous Chains. To make short of my story, not one of us was of the Masons opinion but Captain *Thodeas* our Engineer only, who said, that in case the Mill was loaded with great stones he thought it might do the business; but not without being loaden; and so we concluded nothing. Two dayes after I had word sent me from *Tholouze*, that the *Mareschal d'Anville* was equipping three Boats, which were to be conducted by Captain *St. Projet*, mann'd with threescore men, which in eight dayes would be ready, and that the said *St. Projet* within that time was to bring them down by night to break the Bridge. Concerning our design we had debated, that we could not load this Mill, but that the Admiral would have intelligence of it by those of the Religion who liv'd in *Agen* under the protection of that accursed Edict, (for so I may, and ever shall term it) so that (I know not how) we remain'd distracted in our design, without hope of any other remedy, but only in bravely defending our selves.

A Bridge of
Boats made by
the Admiral.

In the mean time Muster-Master *Viard* came again to *Agen*, being sent a second time from the *Mareschal* to the King, and bringing along with him a Trumpet of the said *Mareschal's*, arriv'd on Wednesday betwixt nine and ten a clock in the morning: where he acquainted me in private with the *Mareschal's* Enterprize to break the Bridge: but that he was afraid the Admiral had intelligence of his design: for which reason he had brought one of the *Mareschals* Trumpets to go with him as far as Port *St. Marie*, where if he should, when he came thither, find that the Enemy had any inkling of it, he would send back the Trumpet to let me know so much, that I might stop the said *St. Projet* from going any further; to which end, and that he might not slip by, I was to keep continual watch upon the River day and night. And so he took his leave of me, and arriv'd about two in the afternoon at Port *St. Marie*, where he saw three Cornets of Reiters pass over the Bridge, to come quarter on that side of the River towards *Gascony*. The Trumpet had very good leisure to view the Bridge, and to observe how strongly it was fastned; to be sure those of *Clairac* and *Thoneins* had spar'd for no cost nor labour, those good people thinking nothing too dear that was laid out to annoy and mischief their Neighbours, and against the King. About nine at night the Trumpet return'd, by whom *Viard* sent me word, that I should have a care *St. Projet* proceeded no further to execute his design; for the Enemy had notice of it, and had planted seven or eight small pieces of Artillery at that end of the Bridge towards *Gascony*, and that the other end was guarded by a thousand or twelve hundred Harquebuzers: In short, that I must by no means suffer him to go, for not a man of those that went could possibly escape. So soon as the Trumpet had deliver'd his Message he retir'd to his Lodging, and I, without making any more noise, sent privately for three persons of the Town to whom I had already discover'd my intention,

The *Mareschal*
d'Anville's de-
sign to break
the Bridge.

The Bridg broken.

which was to set adrift the Mill belonging to President *Sevin*, by reason the said President had abandoned the Town. I will not here name the three men, because the President would sue them, and the Commissioners, who are now in those parts, would easily give him what damages he would desire, as they do others against the Catholics. After, having a while conferred together, we concluded that they should send out six Soldiers who were Mariners, who should go, and under colour of watching upon the Bank of the River, that Captain *St. Projet* did not pass by, unloose the Mill. Thus then they all three departed from me, and were not slow in sending out the Soldiers, neither were they idle to unloose the Mill; one whereof was drown'd in loosing the Chain, falling from the little Boat, as the stake broke to which the Chain was fastned. This might be about cleaven of the clock at night, and I have been told since by some of the Enemy, the Mill came to the Bridge about one. Now the Enemy had placed Centinels more than half a league up the River, that they might give them the Alarm when Captain *St. Projet* should pass by, who no sooner heard the noise of the Mill, but that they immediately gave the Alarm, and the Mill immediately after arriv'd at the Port. Every one upon the Alarm ran to the two ends of the Bridge, and began to let fly great volleys of Harpuebuze shot at the poor Mill, that said not a word, but gave such a shock that it carried away all the Bridg, Cables, Chains, and Boats, in such sort, that there was onely one remaining that was chain'd to the Wall of the Prince of *Navarre's* Lodgings. Two of the Boats went down as far as *St. Macaire*, and I have been told, that there were some carried down as far as *Bordeaux*. This brave Mill of the Presidents stopt not here, but went still on to break another *Hugonot* Mill below *Thoneins*, and at the last stay'd at the Isles about *Marmanda*. The first who brought us any news of the Bridg being broken, were certain poor people who had been to buy salt at the end of the said Bridg of the Hugonot Soldiers, who had taken seven or eight Boats laden with it; and the Enemy had kill'd several of those poor people, accusing them for the cause that the Bridg was broken. Some of their Soldiers who had leapt upon the Bridg upon the Alarm were carried away by the Current; but it was not till betwixt spring of day, and sun-rise, that the Guards sent me word there were seven or eight of the people arriv'd, who were wont to carry Salt, and said that the Bridg was broken. I then presently went out to talk with those people who had been at the Bridg with those the Enemy had kill'd, and escap't thorough the fields under favour of the night, who told me the whole story, as also did others who came fromwards the Port, and still one or other was coming in who confirmed the news. I then sent out ten or a dozen Light-horse on that side towards *Gascony*, who went as far as under *Savignac*, where they took two prisoners, who gave me yet a more perfect account than those poor people had done. In the mean time I presently caused a little Boat with eight Oars to be made ready, and gave the Master of her 25 Crowns to go carry the news to *Bordeaux*: by whom I writ a Letter to Messieurs *de Lansac*, the Baron *de la Garde*, and the Bishop of *Valence* my Brother, wherein I gave them a Narrative how all things had passed, entreating them to communicate it to the Court of Parliament, and the Jurats, that they might all share in the good news. And good news it was; for this very much brake the Enemies designs, whom we might shrewdly have incommodated, taking them thus separated as they were by the breaking of this Bridg, would the Marechal have been pleased to have laid his anger aside. The said Marechal's Trumpet before he went away was witness to the joy the whole Town was in for this success, and so departed in all diligence to carry the news to his Master. This was executed upon Wednesday about midnight, and upon Thursday in the beginning of the night the Mariners set out from *Agen*, who when they come to *Port St. Marie*, near unto the place where the Bridg had been, they let the Boat glide down at the discretion of the Current, themselves being all squat down in the Boat. The Enemy began to call out, but no body answered, which made them think it was some Boat that had accidentally broken loose, and was adrift; but they were no sooner got past them a Crosbow shot, when they all start up and fell a rowing, and then began to rate and call them after their eloquent manner, plying their Oars so well, that they were the next morning, which was Friday, by sun-rise at *Bordeaux*, where the joy was such, that I think never Mariners that came from new-found-lands brought news that invited so great a Crowd. And yet it seem'd so incredible a thing, that almost all the Gentlemen doubted the intelligence, and every one ran to Monsieur *de Lansac's* Lodgings, and to those of the Baron *de la Garde*, and Monsieur *de Valence*, to be satisfied of the truth, Monsieur *de Valence* immediately dispatched away his Secretary called *Chaunty* to their Majesties to carry the news, which was quite contrary to what Commissary *Viard* had brought them. The said *Viard*, as I was told, arriv'd in the morning, and very much troubled their Majesties, and the Monsieur, at the account of the Bridges being brought

to

to perfection, with the description of its structure and strength, being such as great Artillery might pass over at pleasure, and the Horse three a-breast, as it was true, and the man did not lye to them in a tittle; and his Majesty had good reason to be concern'd, for the commodity of this Bridg would have given the Enemy leisure to have taken all before them, and to have passed over their Canon at pleasure. At night *Chauney* arriv'd, who brought news that the Bridg was broken; so that if the one brought vexation, the other brought joy, and for a few dayes I was the best man in the world, and a great Soldier: but that good opinion lasted not long, for the Enemies I had at Court disguised all things to the King, who was at that time at *St. Jean*; so that in the end, let my deserts be what they would, I neither did, nor had ever done any thing worth taking notice of, and the King believ'd it, or I think seem'd to believe so rather, to satisfie their humour. This is the story of the breaking of the Bridg, and the whole and exact truth of it.

The importance of the Bridg.

I am now to tell you of what advantage the breaking of this Bridg was to us, and what the Admiral had determin'd in case the Bridg had stood. It was resolv'd and concluded upon in their Council, that they would pass over that part of Winter till harvest in the Quarters where their Camp then lay, and would cause great Artillery to be brought from *Navarreins*, wherewith to take all the Towns upon the River *Garonne*, to the very Gates of *Bordeaux*, that they would attaque *Agen*, but that they would leave that work for the last, because they would first take *Castel-geloux*, *Bazas*, and all the other places on this side the *Garonne*, as far as *Bordeaux*, by which means, and by the communication of this Bridg, both the one Country and the other, which are of the richest of *France*, would be wholly at their convenience and command. And all this they made account to have taken in less than fifteen dayes, as they would really have done, for they were absolute Masters of the field. They intended also to attaque *Libourne*, assuring themselves that in all the Cities they should find great store of provisions, by which means nothing could be convey'd into *Bordeaux*, neither by the *Garonne*, nor much less from the *Landes*, making account that so the City of *Bordeaux* would in three moneths be reduc'd to the last extremes. And for my part I do not think it would have held out so long; for already Corn was there at ten Livers the Sack, and by sea nothing could get in by reason of *Blaye*. The City is good, and rich, and a strong Town of War, but situate in a barren Country; so that whoever should deprive it of the *Garonne*, and the *Dordogne*, it would presently be reduced to famine, the Inhabitants continually living from hand to mouth.

The Admirals Design.

The situation of *Bordeaux*.

They had moreover determin'd to bring their Ships up the River to *Blaye*, which they had in their hands, to keep the Gallies either from coming out, or going in. The Vicomtes also had promised the Admiral to cause threescore thousand Sacks of Corn to be brought him upon the River *Garonne*, which they meant to take out of *Comenge* and *Loumagne*, the most fertile Countries of all *Guienne*; and where the greatest store of grain is, there being no less than five hundred Merchants, and as many Gentlemen, who keep three or four years store alwayes by them in expectation of a dear year, when their Corn may go off at greater rates; so that they might with great ease have kept their word with the Admiral; and by that means were certain to bring the King to their own bow, and to make such conditions as themselves should think fit: and had they once got *Bordeaux* into their clutches, I know not but that they might have kept it as well as *Rochelle*; at least having *Rochelle* and *Bordeaux* both in their possession, they might have boasted that they had the best and strongest Angle of the Kingdom, both by Land and Sea, commanding five navigable Rivers, comprizing the *Charante*. And they had once settled betwixt the Rivers of *Ile*, *Dordogne*, *Lot*, and *Garonne*, the King must have had four Armies at least to have compell'd them to fight; and I will be bold to say, they had the best Country, and two of the best and most capacious Havens of the Kingdom, which are those of *Brouage* and *Bordeaux*.

A Country rich in Corn.

I wonder any one should be so indiscreet, as to advise the King, that it would be his best way, to coop up the *Hugonots* in *Guienne*. 'Tis a dangerous piece to be depriv'd of, and should the King once lose it, it would be a great while in recovering. But these good Counsellors do it for their own ends, and to remove the War far enough from their own doors; and yet we shall sell it them very dear before they have it. In truth the King ought to make more reckoning of this Province, to hinder the Enemy from getting footing there, and not so to abandon the Country, suffering others to make merry at our miserie, to that degree, as to ask, *if we yet have beds to lie in*. I cannot believe this word could come out of the Queens mouth, for she has ever had, and yet has a great many very good Servants there; and those Messieurs of *France*, that jeer at our misfortunes, may have their share in time. *The evil is not alwayes at one door*. Now this was the result of the Enemies Council; and it was very well design'd. My Brother Monsieur de *Valence* will bear

The importance of *Guienne*.

witness, that a certain person who was assisting at their Councils (when he thought fit) gave us an account of the aforesaid deliberation, which was great; and I believe that had they taken a resolution to drive out all the Catholicks, and to have call'd in all the Hugonots out of *France* into this Province, which was so much despis'd when they had once made it their own, they would have had possessions enow to have enricht them all; and moreover all the Gentry of those parts would have been constrain'd to turn Hugonots, and to take up arms for them; by which means the King would afterwards have had much ado to reduce, and more to reclaim them: for to have made them turn again to our Religion, would have been no easie task; forasmuch as after a man is once accustomed to a thing, be it good, or bad, he is very unwilling to leave it: but God would not suffer so great a mischief, both for the King and us, who are his Catholick Subjects.

The importance of breaking the Bridg.

The Admiral's opinion.

This was the advantage that accru'd by the breaking of the Bridg, in the judgment of all both Friends and Enemies: and I will be bold to say, that of all the services I ever did for *Guienne* this was the most remarkable exploit, which proceeded from no other thing, but my resolution to go put my self into *Agen*; for otherwise the Town had been quitted, and the Admiral had come directly thither, and not to *Port St. Marie*; nor to *Aguillon* as he was constrain'd to do. For a consultation being held at *Lauferte*, it was there concluded, that at their departure from thence, they should go to quarter at *Castel-Sagrat*, *Montjoy*, *St. Maurin*, and *Fernissac*, and the next day at *Agen*, making full account they should meet with no resistance. Which had it so fall'n out, the Admiral would have had elbow-room enough; and betwixt two great Rivers, not only have refresht his Army at great ease, and in great security; but moreover have made the whole Country sure to him. I know very well that it was told the Admiral by two or three persons in his Army, that in case it was true that I was in *Agen*, they could never get me out but by bits, and that in my life I had committed greater follies than that. And there were who said that they had seen me engage my self in three or four places, the strongest of which was not half so tenable as *Agen*, and had still come off with honour. These who said this, might well affirm it with truth, as having been with me in those places. But the Admiral still maintain'd, that he was confident I had not put my self into *Agen* with any intention to stay there, but that my determination was, so soon as I should hear of his coming to pass the *Garonne*, and go put my self into *Lecloure*, saying, *he is too old a beaten Soldier to engage himself in so ill a place*. The others still affirm'd that they would pawn their lives I would not budg from thence; which made the Admiral in the end to adhere to their opinion, and to alter his course directly to *Aguillon*, extending his Quarters as far as *Port. St. Marie*, where if they should see, that upon their approach I abandoned the Town, and retreated towards *Lecloure*, as they believ'd I would, they would then advance to *Agen*. He found in the end that they who maintain'd I would not stir from thence were better acquainted with my temper, than either he or they, who told him I would retire to *Lecloure*; and being it was cast in my dish, that for three years I had done nothing to purpose, let every one judg by what I perform'd in these three years, without money, or either Horse or Foot; had I been supply'd with money onely to pay the Soldier, or had the King reliev'd me with the Foot, and Gens-d'armes I desir'd, whether or no I had not done my work. I think I should have kept the Admiral from watering his horses at the *Garonne*, and his Reiters from drinking our *Bordeaux* wine: for the Count de *Montgomery* would never have had leisure to have call'd them in; and I think I should have dealt pretty well with him.

The Bridg being broken the Admiral was four or five dayes in suspence, not knowing which way to turn him, nor what course to take: for besides the Count de *Montgomery's* Camp, he had moreover the Cornets of Reiters engag'd on that side the River towards *Gascony*, which were those that had passed the River, and were quartered at *Labardac*, and which he could not imagine which way to draw off from thence, by reason the *Rivolet* that runs by *Paravis*, a Monastery of Religious women, was swell'd so high, that not a man either on foot or horseback durst attempt to pass it; and the Count de *Montgomery* was yet at *Condom*, and about *Nerac*, and *Bruch*. The Admiral then caused a little Bridg upon two Boats to be made, upon which five or six horses could only pass at one time, the Boats being to be hal'd by a rope after the Italian manner. So soon therefore as the water of the *Rivolet* began to abate, the Reiters began to pass over a stone Bridg there is in that place, and drew near to the passage of the Port, where they began to ferry over upon this Bridg of Boats by six and six, or seven and seven at a time at most. Which they found so troublesome, that with all the diligence the Passengers could use, the Boat was alwaies an hour and an half in going to and again, with which great pains and difficulty these three Cornets passed, and were two dayes in passing over. The Count de *Candalle*, and Monsieur

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de la Valette lay at this time with eight or ten Cornets of Horſe at *Staffort*, to the fiſt of which, ſo ſoon as the Count *de Montgomery* began to move from *Condom*, to draw near the River, I writ a Letter, *That if his reſolution was to fight Montgomery at the Paſs, I, with my two Companies of Gens-d'armes, and five hundred Harquebuzers, would not fail to be at the fight, not to command, but to obey him as much as the meanest Soldier there.* He return'd me many thanks, ſending me anſwer back, *That if it came to that, both he, and all under his Command would obey me :* but nevertheless ſaid nothing of my coming to joyn with them : I underſtood well enough however by the Letter, that they would have been all glad to have had me with them : but *la Croiſette* who was there, play'd the *Dominus fac totum*, and govern'd all. I therefore ſent again to tell them, *That in caſe they had no mind to have me come in perſon, I would however, if they pleaſed, ſend over the two Companies, and the five hundred Harquebuzers to joyn with them.* By which any one muſt diſcern, that I had not left the Mareſchal becauſe I would not obey him, ſince I offer'd to obey the Count, and *Monſieur de la Valette*, and even Captain *Croiſette* himſelf, who was in the greateſt authority amongſt them.

I ſhall not here take upon me to give an account of what they did upon this occaſion, by reaſon I was not there, neither have I much enquir'd into it, ſaving that I was told they charg'd ſome they met with at their marching out of *Bruch*, and beat them in again, and I have ſince heard that the Count *de Montgomery* was himſelf then in the Town. How true it was I am not able to ſay, but I believe they did all that lay in their power to do ; for they are ſufficiently known, and reputed all for very brave Gentlemen. The Count *de Montgomery* paſſed over fiſt his Horſe, and then his Foot, one after the other. I ſent threſcore Light-horſe pickt out of my own Company, and that of *Monſieur de Fontenilles*, over the River, with three hundred Harquebuzers, to make good their retreat, who marcht up to a little Village near unto the Ferry call'd *la Rozie*, where they kill'd fifteen or ſixteen men, and took twelve or thirteen Horſes, giving them ſo hot an Alarm, that I was ſince told, had our Horſe puſht on to the Paſſ it ſelf, they had cauſed three or four hundred to be drown'd, for five or ſix drown'd themſelves upon this Alarm for haſte. And on the Admiral's ſide he could no way relieve them, for they could not repaſs above ſix or ſeven horſe at a time upon the Bridg of Boats, which made them five or ſix dayes in ferrying over. This was the plunge and quandary the Admiral was in, to draw off the Count *de Montgomery*, and three Cornets of Reiters,

Monſieur de la Chappelle Vice-Seneſchal, and *Monſieur de Bouzet* had ſent me word, that if I would grant a Paſſ to a certain Hugonot, to whom at their entreaty I had given aſſurance to live quietly in his own houſe, he offer'd to go to *Port St. Marie*, and enquire out, and diſcover what way the Admiral intended to take, after the Count *de Montgomery* ſhould be paſſed over the River, or whether or no he had any thoughts of making another Bridg ; which Paſſ I accordingly ſent, and the ſame day that the Count made an end of ferrying over, this man return'd back to their houſe, telling and aſſuring them, that at the Enemies departure from *Port St. Marie*, which would be within two or three dayes after the Army ſhould be got over the River, they would march towards *Tholouze*, and go to paſſ at *Montauban*, with a reſolution to burn all the houſes within four leagues round of *Tholouze*, and eſpecially thoſe of the Preſidents and Councillors ; and moreover told them that he had learnt from a Captain of Horſe, they had particular given to the ſaid Captain of Horſe in charge near unto *Tholouze* call'd *l'Epine*, to burn it. To which the forenamed perſon making anſwer, that it was one of the moſt beautiful piles in all that Country, the Captain reply'd, *That if the Maſter of that Houſe had no other he would be houſeleſs.* The ſaid *Sieur de Bouzet* himſelf told me all that this perſon had ſaid to them ; of which I immediately advertiz'd the premier Preſident, for to have acquainted the Mareſchal with it had been to no purpoſe, and I was very certain he would have given no credit to any information of mine, which made me rather chooſe to advertiſe the Preſident, ſending him word that he ought to call in *Monſieur de la Valette*, who was already return'd towards *Tholouze*, and *Mefſieurs de Negrepelice* and *de Sarlabous* ; and that they could not have too many good men in the City ; for the Enemy talkt ſtrange things, which nevertheless I would not repeat, by reaſon it was but the diſcourſe of the Rabble of their Camp, to which no credit was to be given.

The Admiral's
deſign againſt
the *Tholouze*
ans.

Theſe were the contents of my Letter, I am confident the Preſident has not loſt it, and thus all the Enemies Forces departed from *Port St. Marie*, and paſſed by in the ſight of the Caſtle of *Bajaumont*, in which was *Monſieur de Durfort*, Brother to the *Sieur de Bajaumont* that now is. I ſallied out with my two Companies of Gens-d'armes, and ſaw them all march by within leſs than a Harquebuze-shot of me, I having no more than eight or ten Horſe in my Party, for I had left the Cavalry a little behind, but could not place them

The Retreat
of the Army of
the Princes.

The Sieur de
Montluc sends
the King intel-
ligence.

them so covertly, but that the Enemy saw them very plain; yet not so much as a man came out to discover what we were, but held on their march, and went to quarter that night about *Pont de Cassé*, and drawing towards *St. Maurin*, quarter'd themselves about the said *St. Maurin*, and the adjacent Villages, where they stay'd two or three dayes. Now being the said Sieur de *Durfort* had seen all their Army, both Horse and Foot pass by, and had had leisure at his ease to number them upon their march, I entreated him to take Post, and to go acquaint his Majesty with the number of their Camp, who amongst other things told me he had discover'd a Troop of five or six hundred Horse, who passed by at a little further distance than the rest; the most of which had no Boots, and could therefore be no other than Grooms and Footmen they had mounted only to make a shew. I did nothing that I did not first communicate to the Bishop of *Agen*, in whom I did at that time confide as much, or more, than in my own Brother, esteeming him for one of the best friends, and a man of as much integrity and virtue, as any Prelate in *France*. He is descended from the House of *Fregosa* of *Genoa*. I gave instructions to the said Sieur de *Durfort*, and a Letter of Credence, which consisted of these heads, *That I had sent to his Majesty the Sieur de Durfort, who had had the conveniency exactly to number the Army of the Princes, to deliver a perfect account of all that he had numbred and seen.* After which I acquainted his Majesty with the course they steer'd, and the resolution they went withal, to burn all before them; of which I had also given notice to the premier President of *Tholouze*, to acquaint therewith all those who had Houses near unto the City, that they might withdraw their goods, and that they would do well to call in Monsieur de *Negrepelice*, if he was not already there, together with Messieurs de *la Valette*, and de *la Sarlabous*. In another clause of my Letter to the King I sent word, that the person (I do not here name) of the Religion, who had been in the Enemies Camp, had brought news to the Sieurs de *la Cheppelle* and de *Bouzet*, that the Captain of Horse with whom he had conferr'd, had told him that they had designs upon *Montpelier*, and *Pont St. Esprit*, which were sure to take effect, telling his Majesty that I was very well acquainted with the Governor of *Montpelier*, Monsieur de *Castelnau*, for whom I would be responsible with my life, but that I knew not him of *Pont St. Esprit*: but that if his Majesty would please to give a caution to the said Governors to have an eye to those places, it would be a means to awake their diligence, and to make them provide better for their safety and defence. I likewise gave his Majesty to understand, that the Bishop of *Agen*, who was lately come from an Abbey of his in *Languedoc*, near unto *Narbonne*, had told me that all the lower *Languedoc*, from *Montpelier* to *Avignon*, were in very great anxiety, having no one in those parts to command them; and had sent to the Mareschal to entreat him to send them Monsieur de *Joyeuse*; for provided they had a Chief to head them, they should be enow to defend the Country; and that therefore, if his Majesty thought fit, he might do well to send to the Mareschal, to let Monsieur de *Joyeuse* go into the lower *Languedoc*, he having enow other great Captains about him; for as much as the said Sieur de *Joyeuse* would be there better accepted than any other, as the said Bishop had assur'd me. I moreover acquainted his Majesty in my said Letter, that if he would please to command the Monsieur to march with the one half of his Army only, we should be able to fight with greater Forces than those of the Princes; and let his Majesty look upon me as the basest fellow that ever bore arms, in case the Monsieur would come but with the one half of his Army, provided he brought his Reiters along with him, if he did not defeat the Princes, and put an end to the War: that in case his Majesty should not think fit the Monsieur should come, let him then command the Prince *Dolphin* to march with the Army towards the Country of *Rouergue*, with whom I would joyn, and we would find means that the Mareschal d'*Anville* should also joyn with us, and that then about *Tholouze*, or which way soever they should move, we would find an opportunity to fight them at our best advantage.

These were all the heads of my instructions; and to say the truth not a man of them had ever return'd into *France*, unless they had hid their heads in their strong holds, and we had preserv'd the Country. Had they once been broken, or separated, they would have had much ado ever to have rally'd and piec'd again. This good Bishop of *Agen* had told me, that he gave *Narbonne* for lost, and that Monsieur de *Rieux* the Governor was a Hugonot, that he had driven one of the principal Catholics, to whom all the rest of the Catholics ever address'd themselves out of the City; at which the Inhabitants were almost in despair, insomuch that the Catholick Citizens had writ to the Mareschal, to beseech him to write to Monsieur de *Rieux* to permit him to return into the Town; which said Sieur de *Rieux* had sent back many excuses, and that he could not do it; whereupon seeing the Mareschal cold in their behalf, and that he did not enough interest himself in their concern, to cause the Gentleman to be readmitted, the Catholics had apply'd themselves

selves to the Parliament, that the Parliament had thereupon remonstrated the Citizens grievance to the Mareschal, who again at their instance had writ to the said *Sieur de Rieux*; but still to no effect, which had made the people to give themselves absolutely for lost. I told all this to the *Sieur de Durfort*; not that I had included it in my instructions, and much less that I gave him in Commission to tell it to the King, because perhaps it might not be true, but telling him, that to be more certain, he would do well to ask the Bishop of it, and if he would give him leave from him to tell it to the King. He therefore accordingly enquir'd of the Bishop touching that affair, who thereupon told him the whole story after the very same manner he had related it to me, and moreover told him, that he would himself write to the King, which he accordingly did; but the said *Sieur de Durfort* refus'd to receive the Letter till first he had seen the Contents, which he therefore shew'd him, and then the said *Sieur* took it, telling me that he had seen what the Bishop had writ to the King, which was word for word as he had related it to me before. This was all that was compriz'd in my instructions; for as to any letter of Credence, the said *Durfort* carry'd no other from me but onely what was contain'd in those instructions, he telling me freely and plainly, that he would never carry other Letter of Credit, but only Instructions sign'd and seal'd. And upon this foundation it was, that the Mareschal

Monfieur de Durfort sent to the King.

d'Anville writ that defamatory Letter against me, and had I not been withheld by the respect to those to whom he appertains, and the Rank he held in the Kingdom, I should have tried to have taught him how he gave the Lye, without being first well enform'd of the truth. I might justly have given it him, forasmuch as the testimony of the King himself, and the Instructions themselves, would have manifested the truth: but it is sufficient that the King and the Queen knew the contrary to what he had coucht in his Letter, and that my conscience is absolutely clear. We shall see hereafter whether he or I shall do our Master the best service. He is indeed two advantages over me, he is a great Lord and young, and I am poor and old; I am nevertheless a Gentleman, and a Cavalier, who have never yet suffer'd an injury, nor ever will do whilst I wear a sword. I am willing to believe, that the forenamed Bishop at that time knew nothing of the design plotted against me; but his wicked Brother came and stayd with him four or five days, and during that time wrought upon him to consent to this virtuous Conspiracy: of which I shall say no more, for God has begun to shew his miraculous arm in my revenge, and I have that confidence in him, that I hope he will not stay it there.

Now the Princes went the same way that I had advertiz'd the President they intended to march, and executed the resolution of burning all the way they went. I could wish from my heart that my intelligence had not prov'd true; for I have been assur'd by several of very good credit of *Tholouze*, that the Army of the Princes endammag'd them above a million of Livers. I shall not here undertake to give an account of what they did in *Languedoc*, for I do not pretend to meddle with other mens actions; neither how well the Mareschal perform'd his duty; but shall return to a Letter sent me by the King, that I must go forthwith into *Bearn*.

His Majesty sent me a command, that I should gather together all the Forces I was able to make, and that with all possible expedition; which being done, that I must take Artillery from *Tholouze*, *Bayonne*, and *Bordeaux*, and elsewhere where it was to be had, and go to invade the Country of *Bearn*. He writ also to the Capitouls of *Tholouze*, to furnish me with Artillery and Ammunition; but not a syllable of any money, either to pay the Soldier, or to defray the Equipage of the Canon; and God knows whether in such Enterprizes any thing ought to be wanting. An Army resembles a Clock, if the least wheel or spring be wanting, all the rest goes very false, or stands still. I therefore sent *Espalanques* a *Bearnois* to Court, with ample instructions of all that was wanting, and that would be necessary for me to have before I could begin to march. I was constrain'd to do this, by reason that the Letters his Majesty had sent me about this Expedition were so cold, that it seem'd he that contriv'd them, must either have no great mind to have me go thither, or at least if I went, should be able to do nothing to purpose, or that he was an absolute *Ignoramus*. However I took no notice of any thing at all to his Majesty, but onely desir'd him to write an Express, and a pressing Letter, and Command to the Capitouls to lend me two pieces of Canon, and one great Culverine, with requisite Ammunition, for which I would be responsible to them; for the Artillery and Ammunition are properly their own. They had already sent me word, that they had no Artillery ready, and much less Ammunition, by reason that *Monfieur de Bellegarde* had spent most of their stock at *Carla*, and at *Puylarens*, and that the Mareschal *d'Anville* had the rest at *Mazeres*. I writ also to his Majesty, that he would please to command *Monfieur de Valence* to cause a little money to be deliver'd to me for one Muster, or at least for half a one for the

Foot

Foot to buy powder, for that of two years this War had lasted, all the Foot that I had rais'd in those parts had had but two Musters payd them, and the most of them but one; and also that he would send to Monsieur de Valence to send a Treasurer along with me to defray the Artillery, and whilst I waited in expectation of *Espalanges* return, I would take so good and speedy order for the rest, that at his coming back he should find me ready to march.

The King dis-
satisfied with
Monsieur de
Montluc.

These were all the demands I made to the King. His answer was, that he did very much wonder I should so long deferre this Expedition, that he had thought I had been already in the Country; that if I would proceed no otherwise than hitherto I had done in this affair, he would appoint some other to undertake it, and that for three years past I had done nothing to purpose. These Letters were ready to break my heart, and withal put me into such a passion, that I was once resolv'd not to go, but to write to the King to send some other, that had formerly serv'd him better than I, and that might do his business, as Monsieur de Terride had done. Nevertheless I at last thought better on't, and determin'd not to do it, knowing very well that these Letters proceeded not from his Majesties nature, neither from the Queens, nor the Monsieurs, for they had all three writ to me in the same stile: I knew very well that this came from the counsel of my Enemies at Court, and that neither the King, the Queen, nor the Monsieur ever writ so tart Letters as those were, to the greatest Enemies they had. I shewed them to none but Monsieur de Valence my Brother, for fear lest by my Exemple every one should be frighted from their duty; for all of them generally, of what condition soever, very well knew the contrary of what was laid to my charge, and that I had done very well with the little money I had left me. And then it was that I evidently perceiv'd they intended to lay all the miscarriages that had happen'd in those parts at my door; having no friends at Court to take my part, or defend me.

I now see that the greatest Error I committed in my whole life, was that I would have no dependance upon any other, after the decease of my old Master, but the King and the Queen; and find that a man in command is much more secure in depending upon a Monsieur, a Madam, a Cardinal, or a Marechal of France, than either upon the King, the Queen, or the Monsieur; for they will evermore disguise affairs to their Majesties, as they themselves are inclin'd, or think fit, and shall certainly be believ'd by them all; for they only hear and see with others ears and eyes. 'Tis an ill thing, but it is impossible to help it, and he that has done best shall by this means be left behind: for which reason if I could return to my former Age, I would never care to depend upon the King or the Queen, but upon those who are in greatest favour with them: for though I should behave my self as ill as a man could do, they would cover and conceal my faults, seeing that I onely depended upon them, for 'tis their chiefest good, and principal honour, to have servants about them whom they may call their Creatures. If the King would himself only distribute his benefits, he would pair their nails: but whoever has a mind to be taken notice of, and rewarded, let him address himself to Monsieur or Madam, for the King gives them all, and knows not others but by their report. I am sorry I cannot return to my vigorous age, for I should better know how to govern my self than I have hitherto done, and should no more so much build my hopes upon the King, as others that are about him. But I am now grown old, and cannot be young again, and must therefore be content to follow my old humour; for should I now go about to take up another, I should be to seek at which end to begin. 'Tis too late for me to mend, it may serve others though, that I leave behind me; but if the King would be truly a King, and confer no benefits but at the recommendation of his own judgment, oh, how many would be dor'd in their designs, and frustrated in their expectation!

The Sicur de
Montluc's Sons.

I also committed another oversight, in not having one of my Sons alwayes about the King; they were well enough born to be receiv'd, and well enough qualified to win their Majesties esteem. But God took from me my *Mark Anthony* too soon, and since Captain *Montluc*, who was slain at the *Maderes*, either of which would quickly have stop't the mouths of those that durst have censur'd or calumniated my Actions. Their lyes so far off could do me no harm; but were we within a Pikes length one of another, old as I am, I would make their hearts quake in their bellies. Neither did I keep my Sons about me to be idle, but to learn my trade; for the first follow'd arms, wherein he bravely signaliz'd himself, and follow'd me in all my Voyages and Expeditions; the second had acquir'd so great a reputation in *Gnienne*, that it was not my interest to part with him during the War; the third, since his return from *Malta*, has follow'd me in these late Wars, and the youngest also. But I shall leave this discourse, which puts me into passion, to return to the Expedition of *Bearn*. Monsieur de Valence then went to *Bordeaux*,

to ſee if there was any money to be got out the Treafury there; from whence he ſent me word, that not ſo much as a ſingle * Liard was to be had from thence; that nevertheleſs he had prevail'd ſo far as to take up fourteen thouſand Livers, which he payd into a certain Commiſſary that was appointed to attend me, and that in ten dayes time he would procure as much more, but that I was not in any wiſe to expect a penny more; and that the Receiver had been fain to borrow this. Monsieur de Fontenilles went alſo to Tholouze with my Letter of Attorney, to bind us both to reſtore, and pay back the Ammunition in caſe the King ſhould reſuſe to do it; and upon theſe terms they lent me a Canon, a Culverine, and ſome Ammunition. I then diſpatcht away Meſſieurs de Montefpan, and de Madaillan with a hundred Horſe cull'd out of my own Company of Gens-d'armes, and that of Monsieur de Gondrin, directly to Bayonne, to Convey the Artillery that the Vicount d'Orthe was to ſend me from thence; and ſent Monsieur de Gondrin to Nogueroles to begin to form the Army, and with him Monsieur de Saintlorens, to whom I had given the Command of Mareſchal de Camp: and I my ſelf ſtayd four or five dayes behind to ſet forwards the Foot and Horſe, and to give time to the Commiſſaries of proviſions to go thorough the Provinces to execute the Orders I had given them, for the advance of victual for the Army, to which end I delay'd the time but fix dayes only, after which I went in two dayes to Nogueroles.

* A Liard is a
braſs Coin
containing 3
Deniers, the
fourth part of
a Sol.

So ſoon as I came thither we immediately fell to Council to deliberate with what places we ſhould firſt begin. In which Conſultation ſome were of advice, that it would be beſt to begin with St. Sever, others ſaid it would be the beſt courſe to march directly to Pau: but I was of opinion that I ought in the firſt place to fall upon Rabasteins, and for theſe reaſons. Firſt, becauſe that beginning with that, I ſhould leave the beſt Country of Gascony open and free behind me, from thence to be ſupply'd with victual for the Army; and ſecondly, that Rabasteins being the ſtrongeſt Caſtle, the Queen of Navarre had in her poſſeſſion, if I ſhould take it by force (which I foreſaw I muſt do, as being confident they would not eaſily ſurrender) I would put all to the ſword; aſſuring my ſelf, that that proceeding would ſtrike ſo great a terror into all the Inhabitants of Bearn, that no place afterwards would dare to abide a Siege, Navarreins only excepted. And on the other ſide, that thoſe of Tholouze hearing of this good beginning, would not ſpare to furniſh me with any thing I ſhould ſtand in need of, when they ſhould ſee that things ſucceeded well with me; whereas on the contrary, ſhould I begin with St. Sever, I ſhould engage my ſelf in the Lands, a Country only fruitful in ſands, where my men would periſh for want of bread, and could have no relief from Bordeaux, though I ſhould take the place. That therefore it was much better to begin with the ſtrongeſt firſt, and there ſuddenly to employ my Forces, than with the weakeſt, and daily to conſume my men, and waſte my time to little or no effect. This was what I propos'd, which in the end took place in the Council, and was approv'd by all. But I told them, that above all things, to ſtrike a terror into the Enemy, we muſt kill all before us which made any oppoſition, which would make the Capitouls of Tholouze to furniſh and ſupply us with all things neceſſary, ſeeing that it was Good hand, good hire.

A Conſultation
touching the
War of Bearn.

This Council was held immediately upon my coming thither, and the next morning before day I took 25 or 30 Horſe, and went in all diligence to Dacs. Monsieur de Gondrin had ſhew'd me a Letter, that his Son Monsieur de Montefpan had ſent him from Bayonne, wherein he ſent him word, that the Artillery was not ſo ready as we believ'd, but that the Vicount d'Orthe was exceedingly diligent to equip, and make them fit; wherefore ſo ſoon as I came to Dacs I diſpatcht away two Gentlemen to Monsieur de Montefpan, one in the heels of another, to quicken his haſte; and writ to the Vicount to entreat him to advance a day or two before, and to try if he could bring Meſſieurs de Luxe and de Damezan along with him, that we might conſult together of what we were beſt to do: which he accordingly did, bringing the ſaid Sieur de Damezan only in company with him, it being impoſſible for Monsieur de Luxe to return ſo ſoon to Dacs; where I layd before the ſaid Sieur de Damezan what had been debated amongſt us in the Council at Nogueroles, and my opinion, which was there alſo allowed by all to be the beſt, and particularly by Monsieur de Damezan; who told me, that ſhould we march directly to St. Sever, it would be impoſſible to get one Baſque out of the Province, by reaſon they would be neceſſitated to paſs the waters in the Enemies Countrey: but if I went to begin there where I intended, I ſhould no ſooner be arriv'd at Nay, but all the Country of the Baſques, and the Valleys of Sault and Daspe would infallibly come in to me. I was very glad to find him of my opinion, but I was conſtrain'd to ſtay three dayes at Dacs before the Artillery came up to me. At my departure thence I left two pieces of Canon with the Vicount d'Orthe, with Ammunition proportionable, with which he was to march directly

The Siege of
Rabasteins con-
cluded.

to *Pau*, so soon as ever he could hear I had taken *Rabasteins*, it being further concluded, that at the same time I should begin to march, I should send two Companies of Gens-d'arms to meet him with two others of Foot that were at *Mont de Marsan*, to joyn with a thousand he had already with him, what of his own Tenants, and those of *Labour*. I left him also Monsieur d'*Amou* to be assisting to him, with some other Gentlemen of the Country about *Dacqs*, which being done, I set forward, marching with the Artillery day and night.

The Sieur de
Montluc goes to
discover *Raba-*
steins.

Monsieur de *Montamat*, the Queen of *Navarre's* Lieutenant in that Country, was put to a very great *Dilemma* at this preparation, and could not possibly divine which way I would take, whether directly to *Pau*, or to *Rabasteins*; for as for *St. Sever*, he perceiv'd very well by my motion, that I had no thoughts of going that way: but expected I should march either directly to the said *Rabasteins*, or else to *Pau*. I made so good haste, that in two dayes and two nights, with four pieces of Canon, a great Culverine, and two Bastards I arriv'd at *Noguarol*; where Messieurs de *Gondrin* and de *Saintorens* joyning with me, we marcht directly to *Rabasteins*, and in three dayes with the greatest part of our Horse and Foot came before the Town. It continually rain'd, insomuch that all the Rivers were full, which was the reason that the Artillery could not come before *Rabasteins* so soon as the Army; but immediately upon my arrival I took Commissary *Fredeville* and the Sieur de *Leberon*, who in the morning before day had been to discover the place, as Captain *St. Colombe*, Monsieur de *Basillac*, and other Gentlemen of the Country had also done, whom I found of contrary opinions, and in great dispute, touching the manner of the Siege, some of them saying that we must first take the Town, and from within to batter the Castle; the others, and especially all those of *Bearn* maintain'd, that I ought to attaque the Castle from without, and *Fredeville* himself was of that opinion: but I would see it my self; for in such matters I would never trust to any one, and a good besieger of places ought to proceed after that manner; and to that end, taking onely the before-named *Fredeville* and de *Leberon* along with me, went my self to discover the place, where though they ply'd me lustily with their shot, they did not hinder me nevertheless from viewing every part at my own leisure, till at last I withdrew my self out of the storm of Harquebuzé-shot into a little thatcht house close by the Castle; and there I made de *Fredeville* confess, that we were first to attaque the Town, and from within, the Castle; after which we return'd one after another running, for it was hot standing still, and went to conclude with Messieurs de *Gondrin*, de *Basillac*, de *Savignac*, de *Saintorens*, de *Montespan*, de *Maidaillan*, and Captain *Pancillac* Colonel of the Infantry, to attaque the Town.

The remainder of the day I employ'd in causing Gabions and Bavins to be made, and by break of day the next morning had the Artillery planted in Battery before the Town, which in a very few volleys made a Breach. The Enemy had no intention to keep the Town, for they had filled all the houses with straw and faggots, which so soon as they saw our people coming on to the Assault, they gave fire to in an instant, and ran away men, women, and children to put themselves into the Castle. Our men did what they could to save the Town from being burnt, but they shot so furiously from the Castle, that it was impossible to hinder the greatest part of it from being consum'd to ashes. The night following I brought the Artillery into the Town, and began to batter some Lodgings on the left hand, at the end of which was a Turret that cover'd the Draw-bridg and the Gate of the Castle; and by Evening the said Buildings were opened, and the Turret beaten down to the Ground. In the morning by break of day we began to batter the great Tower where the Clock was, which whilst we were doing our Soldiers gain'd the Gate of the Town, which was within ten paces or less of that of the Castle, and that lookt a little into their false-Brayes: but there was a great Terra's a Pike height, and as much in thicknes, made of Bavins after the manner of a Rampire that cover'd their Draw-bridg, so that our people could not do them so much harm as they did us; to remedy which inconvenience we made a Blind of some barrells and planks in that place, which something secur'd our men that lay before the said Portal. All day long our Artillery batter'd the face of the Tower, and in the end the said Tower was opened, after which I made them shoot from the other Battery, which play'd into the Castle, till the next day, which was the third, at noon, but could see no issue of the business. At this time Monsieur de *Fontenilles* and Captain *Moret* came with the piece of Canon, and the great Culverine from *Tholonze*; but they did us no service at all, for the Culverine burst in an hundred pieces, and the Canon was crackt.

I then caus'd two pieces of Canon to be remov'd to the left hand close by the Wall of the Town that pointed upon the other Face of the Castle upon the left; wherein my intention was, if I could, to make the Tower fall on our side, which if I could effect, it would

would choak up the Ditch that was full of water, and fill the false-Brayes on that side, by which means we might go on to the Assault over the ruine, which I made account would infallibly fill the Graffe, for the Tower was very high. All the fourth day I batter'd the face of this Tower with these two pieces of Canon, and in the end beat it down, so that nothing remain'd standing, but the right side, and the corners. I then caused them to shoot at the first Corner which lookt towards the Artillery I had first planted on the left hand, and with two pieces that I was all night removing, at the other Corner that look't towards the Town. In ten or twelve shots the Coins was broken, and the Tower fall'n on our side, exactly in the place where I would have it: but how high, or how thick soever the Tower was, it did not so wholly fill the Graffe, but that we were to descend a great way into it. It is true, that the ruines had drunk up the water, and fill'd a good part of the Ditch, but not so that we were not yet to go very low. The fifth day at night the *Sieur de Basillac*, and the *Baron de St. Lary*, brought me fifty or threescore Pioneers, for all mine were stoln away, and fled; and they had raised these amongst their own Tenants, upon their own Estates which lay hard by. I gave these fellows to *Monsieur de Leberon*, and Captain *Montaut* his Brother-in-law, with thirty or fourty Soldiers that the Captains *l'Artigue* and *Solles* made to take upon them the office of Pioneers, their Captains themselves assisting them at the work. The service they were employ'd about was to take away the Terrass, that the Artillery might look into the Draw-bridg, and batter the side of it, and that the Ball might pass all along by the Flank, and into the Courtine along the Breach within. The Enemy had also made a Barricado in the Chambers above, so that a man could not possibly see any thing on one of the two sides. I gave the charge of removing the two pieces of Canon to the place where *Monsieur de Leberon* drew away the Terrass to the *Vicount d'Uza*, and my self went to take a little repose, for this was the fifth night that I had not had a whole hour of sleep. By break of day I heard the two Canons play, but could not believe it possible that in that one night all the Terrass could be remov'd, at least all that was in our way. Our Artillery began to play its feats all along this Flank, and it cost us a great many shot to break this Barricado, which did us infinite mischief, for they shot desperately into our Canon. I then made the *Vicount d'Uza*, *Monsieur de Leberon*, and Captain *Montaut* to go to rest, and left *Monsieur de Basillac* to assist the Artillery. After this we caused a hole to be made in the Wall of the Town close by our Artillery, that we might come to it in security from without, for from within it was impossible without being kill'd or wounded. The fourth day of our Siege I had given to Captain *Babus* the charge of causing Gabions to be made, who had accordingly taken great pains, and been very diligent in the execution of his Command; but he had caused them to be made so little, that the wind of the Canon had presently shaken them all to pieces, an error that a man must take care to avoid.

Our Cavalry all this while was quarter'd in Villages a league and a half from the Leaguer, where there was accommodation of Hay and Oats for the Horses, with instruction and command to be every night all night long in the field, to prevent any relief from getting in: for the very day that we came to *Rabasteins*, we had taken a great Packet of Letters sent by *Monsieur de Montamat*, to the *Vicount de Caumont*, *Monsieur d'Andax*, and several other Gentlemen to the number of thirty or fourty Letters; wherein he solicited them if ever they desir'd to do an opportune and signal service for the Queen of *Navarre*, and the Prince, to come succour the Country of *Bearn*; for that they were not strong enough to defend the Country if they did not come in to their relief: that he had already writ to them twice or thrice, but had received no answer, that therefore he should send him word when they should be ready, and he would in one night make so long a march as to come and joyn with them, immediately to march altogether into *Bearn*; or that otherwise he must be constrain'd to abandon the open Country, wanting Forces to make head against us; and that he saw he had not now to do with *Monsieur de Terride*. The reading of which Letters made us to pitch upon the following resolution.

First, To send to the *Baron de Larbous*, that he should bring *Monsieur de Gramont's* Company of Gens-d'arms from the higher *Comenge*, to come and joyn with us, that in so doing, he should make a halt thereabouts where the relief was of necessity to pass, and that night and day he should keep his Horse upon the Avenues, to give us continual advertisement of the Enemies motion; and that he should not offer to hinder their passage, but let them pass by, and only put himself in their Rear. I then dispatcht away Captain *Manffan*, a Gentleman of my own Company, to go to the Valleys by which the Enemy was to pass, giving him order with the * *Bat-sain* to raise all the people of the Valleys and Villages, and joyn himself to the *Baron de Larbous* to fall into their Rear. Thus much for the Recruits we expected to come in to us; now on our side, our Cavalry was every

Monsieur de Montamat's Letters taken.

A rude kind of Alarm given to a whole Country, by ringing and tinkling of Pots, Kettles, and Basons.

Order to hinder the relief of Rabasteins.

Design for the Conquest of Bearn.

1562.

Order for the Assault.

The Canon abandoned.

The words of the Sieur de Montluc playing the Pioneer.

night on horseback, and we had Scouts out continually as far as *Nay*, for Monsieur de *Montamat* was of necessity to pass over the Bridge of the said *Nay* to go meet his relief, and in case we had not taken the Castle before the said *Montamat* and his Succours should unite, Monsieur de *Gondrin* with twenty Light-horse, and four Ensigns of Foot, was to stay with the Artillery, and I with the rest of the Camp, when the news of their approach was brought to us, was to march day and night to go and fight them. This was the Order we had concluded on, had any Forces come to relieve them, making account that in case we defeated their Succours, the whole Country of *Bearn* was our own. Which I have here set down, and enform'd my reader withal, that others may take exemple by it, when they shall be engaged upon the like occasion; the young Captains I mean, for the old Soldiers know well enough they are to proceed after this manner. My deliberation moreover was, the Castle being taken, to dispatch away a Gentleman who should post it day and night to the King, to carry his Majesty news of the success, to the end that he might send some Gentleman to the Marschal d'*Anville*, who was about *Montpelier*, following the trace of the Enemy, (where I have not heard of any great harm he did) to bid him write to those of *Tholouze* to send me eight pieces of Canon, of twelve of *Narbonne*, that were yet at the said *Tholouze*, and order him to direct his Letters to the Parliament and the Capitouls, to move them forthwith to defray the charge of conveying the said pieces of Canon to me. Which whilst it was in doing we would go attaque another Castle within two little Leagues of *Rabasteins*, which was not very strong, and from thence would go to pass the *Gave* at a Ford above *Nay*, very well known to the *Bearnois* Gentlemen in our Camp, and take *Nay*, there to establish our Magazine of victual, and to receive Messieurs de *Luxe*, and de *Damazan*, the Vicount de *Chaux*, and d'*Almabartix*, with the *Basques* they were to bring in to us, and so to march before *Pau*, where the Vicount d'*Orthe* was to come with the two pieces of Canon, and the Culverine had been left in his hands at *Dacs*; being confident that all the Country, some for good will, and the rest for fear of their lives and estates, would immediately surrender to us. That having taken *Pau*, and the eight pieces of Canon being come to us from *Tholouze*, we would then march before *Navarreins*, and whoever would have put me to my Oath, whether I should have taken it or no, I should rather have sworn I should than I should not, for we had with us Gentlemen of *Bearn* and *Bigorre*, and principally Monsieur de *Basillac*, who had commanded at the Siege of *Navarreins* for Monsieur de *Terride*, who both then said, and have since affirm'd, that had we assaulted *Navarreins* as briskly as we did *Rabasteins*, we should have carried that with less difficulty than the other; every one that knew them both concluding that *Rabasteins* was by much the stronger place.

But as men design, and God disposeth as seemeth best to him the Events of things, he was pleased to order it very much contrary to what we proposed to our selves: for the fifth day of the Siege, the 23, of *July*, in the year 1562. upon a Sunday about two of the clock in the afternoon, I resolved to give an assault, the Order whereof was after the manner following. That Monsieur de *Saintorens* Marschal de Camp should lead the Companies one after the other up to the Breach, which that he might the better do without confusion, I order'd all the Companies to be drawn by four and four together out of the Town, which upon pain of death were not to stir from their places till Monsieur de *Saintorens* should come to fetch them, who was to stay three quarters of an hour betwixt every leading up, and in that manner to conduct all the Companies one after another; and it was also order'd, that the two Captains who were upon the Guard by the Breach, which were l'*Artigues*, and *Salles* of *Bearn* should go on first to the Assault. As I was setting down this Order one came in haste to tell me, that the two Canons that batter'd the Flank, and that had been remov'd in the night, were forsaken, and not a man durst shew himself upon the Battery, by reason the Artillery it self had ruin'd all the Gabions. I therefore left it to Messieurs de *Gondrin* and de *Saintorens* to conclude the Order of the Fight, that is to say, that the Companies should go on successively one after another, which was to be set down in writing, and my self ran on the outside to the whole of the wall, where I found only ten or twelve Pioneers squat with their bellies close to the ground; for *Tibauville* the Commissary of the Artillery, who had the charge of those two pieces of Canon, had been constrain'd to quit them, and even Monsieur de *Basillac* himself. Seeing then this disorder, I unbethought my self of a great number of *Bavins* I had the day before caused to be brought into the Town, and said to the Gentlemen who were with methese words: *I have heard, and alwayes observ'd, that there is no labour, nor danger, that Gentlemen will ever refuse; follow me therefore I beseech you, and do as you shall see me do.* They did not stay to be entreated, and so we went in great haste directly to the *Bavins* that were within the Town, and lay in the middle of a Street there where not a man durst abide,

abide, and there I took a Bavin and laid it upon my shoulder, as also every Gentleman took one, and there were a great many who carried two a-piece; after which manner we return'd out of the Town by the same way we entred in, and thus I marcht before them till we came to the hole. By the way as we were going I had given order, that they should bring me four or five Halbardeers, which at my return I found already arriv'd at the hole, and made them enter into it. We threw them the Bavins into the hole, which they took with the points of their Halberts, and ran to throw them upon the Gabions to raise them. I dare be bold to affirm with truth that we were not above a quarter of an hour about this work, and so soon as ever the Canon was cover'd, *Tibanville* and the other Canoneers return'd into the Battery, where they began to shoot with greater fury than of all the dayes before, every clap almost overtaking another, every one assisting them with great cheerfulness. If, Captains, you shall do the same, and your selves first put your hands to the work, you will make every one follow your exemple, very shame will push and force them on: and when the service is hot in any place, if the Chief do not go in person, or at least some eminent man, the rest will go very lamely on, and murmur when a man sends them to slaughter. And if you cover honor, you must sometimes tempt danger as much as the meanest Soldier under your Command.

I will deprive no man of his due honor; for I think I have assisted at as many Batteries as any man this day alive, and must needs say this, that I never saw Commissaries of the Artillery more diligent and adventurous than both *Frederville* and *Tibanville* shew'd themselves during the whole five dayes that the Battery continued, in my whole life; for they themselves both levell'd, and fir'd, though they had as good Canoneers as ever I saw handle Linstock in my dayes; and I dare be bold to say, that of a thousand Canon shot we made against this place not ten fail'd of their effect, or were spent in vain.

In the morning I sent for Monsieur *de Gohas*, who was at *Vic-Bigorre*, and the Captains who were set to have an eye to *Montamat*, and the Succours expected by him, writing to him to come away that he might be with me at the Assault, by reason that Captain *Pauliac* Colonel of the Infantry was so dangerously wounded, that we had no hopes of his life. He receiv'd his shot at the time when I went over-night to carry Messieurs *de Leberon* and *de Montaut* to cut off the great Counterscarp, which shot went quite through his Body. My Son *Fabian* was also shot in the chin, and two Soldiers close by my side. I there committed a very great error, for I went in the evening before it was dark, and I believe they were aware that we intended to cut the Counterscarp, for all their Harquebazeers were run together to that place; and the reason why I committed this error was, that having computed with my self how many hours the night was long, I found that it was not above seven hours or thereabouts; and on the other side I saw that in half an hour I should lose all that I had done, if the Counterscarp was not pulled down by break of day, and in that case I should think fit to give an assault that day, they would be so strongly rampir'd and fortified, that with as many more Canon shot as I had made against the place, it would be a matter of very great difficulty to enter. This was the reason why I made so much haste to go and begin the work, that I might have it perfected by break of day; where I recommended the care of it to Messieurs *de Leberon* and *de Montaut*, and the two Captains upon the Guard, by telling them that in their diligence our victory wholly consisted. And in truth they slept not, as I have already said, for by break of day the Artillery began to play, and the Counterscarp was wholly pulled down.

O Camrades, you who shall go to besiege places, you cannot but confess, that both here and in several other places, my Enterprizes and Victories have succeeded more from my vigilancy and prompt execution than my valour, and I on my part am willing to confess, that there was in the Camp braver men than I. But no one can be a Coward that has these three things; for from these three all the Combats and Victories proceed, and all valiant men choose to follow Captains that are provided with these three qualities. And on the other side he cannot be call'd hardy, let his heart be never so good, if he be tardy, backward, and slow in execution: for before he has fixt his resolution, he has been so long deliberating about it, that the Enemy is advertiz'd of what he intends to do, and consequently is provided to prevent his design: but if he be quick he shall even surprise himself. So that there is no great confidence to be repos'd in a Chief that is not endu'd with these three qualities, vigilancy, promptitude, and valour. If a man examine all the great Warriours that have ever been, he will find that they had all those qualities. *Alexander* did not in vain bear the Device I have mentioned before. Examine *Cæsar's* Commentaries, and all the Authors that have writ of him, you will find that in his life he fought two and fifty Battels without ever losing any, saving that of *Dirachium*; but within thirty dayes he had a sufficient revenge against *Pompey*, for he won a great Battel, and

Captain *Pauliac* shot.

Fabian de Montluc shot.

and defeated him. You will not find that in these two and fifty Battels he ever fought three times in his own person, that is, with his own hand, though he was alwayes present there; by which you will understand, that all his Victories were the effects of his conduct, for being diligent, vigilant, and a prompt executer of his designs. But for all this, these qualities are rarely found, and I believe we *Gascons* are better provided of them than any other people of *France*, or perhaps of *Europe*, and many good and great Captains have gone out of it within these fifty years. I shall not compare my self to them, but this I will say of my self, because it is true, that my Master never lost any thing by my sloth or remissness. The Enemy thought me a league off when I came to beat up his Quarters. And if diligence be requir'd in all exploits of war, it is much more in a Siege, for a very little thing will serve to overthrow a great design. If you press your Enemy you redouble his fear, he will not know where he is, nor have leisure to recollect himself. Be sure to wake whilst others sleep, and never leave your Enemy without something to do.

I shall now return to the Assault; our Order being set down, I went and placed my self at the Gate of the Town near unto the Breach, where I had all the Gentlemen with me, of which there might be six or seven score, and still more came up to us, for Monsieur de la Chappelle Lauzieres, who came from *Quercy*, brought a great Troop of Gentlemen along with him. I shall here relate one thing of my own presage, which is perfectly true, That it was impossible for all the friends I had to dispossess me of an opinion I had, that I should in this Assault be kill'd or wounded by a shot in some part of my head; and out of that conceipt was once half in a mind not to go to the Assault, knowing very well that my death would at this time be of ill consequence, if not to the Enterprize in hand, yet to the general design upon that Country; this fancy therefore still running in my head the morning before the Assault was to be given, I said to Monsieur de Las the Kings Advocate at *Agen*, who was of our Council, these words. *Monsieur de Las, there are some who have exclaim'd, and do yet cry out that I am very rich; you know of all the money I have to a Denier, for by my Will, to which you are a witness, you are sufficiently inform'd of my Estate. But seeing the world are not otherwise to be perswaded but I have a great deal of money, and that consequently, if by accident I should die in this Assault, they would demand of my Wife four times as much as I am worth, I have here brought a particular of all the money I have at this day in the whole world, as well abroad at Interest, as at home in the custody of my Wife. The account is of my Steward Barat's drawing, and sign'd by my own hand. You are my friend, I beseech you therefore if I dye, that you and the Councillor Monsieur de Nort will transfer your love and friendship to my Wife and my two Daughters, and that you will have a care of them, especially Charlotte Catherine, who had the honor to be Christned by the King and the Queen his Mother.* Which having said, I deliver'd the Scrowl into his hands, and very well perceiv'd that he had much ado to refrain weeping. By this you may judge if I had not the misfortune that befel me before my eyes. I have no familiar spirit, but few misfortunes have befall'n me in the whole course of my life that my mind has not first presag'd. I still endeavour'd to put it out of my fancy, resigning all things to the good will of God, who disposes of us as seems best to his own wisdom, neither did I ever do otherwise, what ever the Hugonots my Enemies have said or written to the contrary against me.

Monsieur de Montluc's Speech to the Gentlemen going on to the Assault.

The Assault.

So soon as two of the clock, the hour prefixt for the assault, was come, I caused eight or ten Bottles of wine, that Madam de Panjas had sent me, to be brought out, which I gave the Gentlemen, saying, *Let us drink Camrades: for it must now soon be seen which of us has been nurst with the best milk. God grant that another day we may drink together; but if our last hour be come, we cannot frustrate the decrees of Fate.* So soon as they had all drunk, and encourag'd one another, I made them a short Remonstrance in these words, saying, *Friends and Companions, we are now ready to fall on to the Assault, and every man is to shew the best he can do. The men who are in this place, are of those who with the Count de Montgomery destroyed your Churches, and ruined your houses; You must make them disgorge what they have swallowed of your Estates. If we carry the place, and put them all to the sword, you will have a good bargain of the rest of Bearn. Believe me they will never dare to stand against you. Go on then in the name of God, and I will immediately follow.* Which being said I caused the Assault to be sounded, and the two Captains immediately fell on; where some of their Soldiers and Ensigns did not behave themselves very well. Seeing then that those were not likely to enter, Monsieur de Saintorens marcht up with four Ensigns more, and brought them up to the Breach, vvhich did no better than the former, for they stopt four or five paces short of the Counterscarp, by vvhich means our Canon vvas nothing hindred from playing into the Breach, vvhich made those vvitin duck down behind it.

I then presently perceiv'd, that some body else, and other kind of men than the Foot must put their hands to the work ; which made me presently forget the conceit I had of being kill'd or wounded, and said to the Gentlemen these words. *Camrades, no body knows how to fight but the Nobles, and we are to expect no victory but by our own hands, let us go then, I will lead you the way, and let you see that a good horse will never be resty. Follow boldly, and go on without fear, for we cannot wish for a more honourable death. We deferre the time too long, let us fall on.* I then took Monsieur de Gohas by the hand, to whom I said, *Monsieur de Gohas, I will that you and I fight together, I pray therefore let us not part ; and if I be kill'd or wounded, never take notice of me, but leave me there, and push forward, that the Victory however may remain to the King :* and so we went on as cheerfully as ever I saw men go on to an Assault in my life, and looking twice behind me, saw that the Gentlemen almost toucht one another, they came up so close. There was a large Plain of an hundred and fifty paces over, or more, all open, over which we were to march to come up to the Breach, which as we passed over, the Enemy fir'd with great fury upon us all the way, and I had six Gentlemen shot close by me. One of which was the Sieur de Besoles ; his shot was in his arm, and so great a one, that he had like to have died of his wound ; the Vicount de Labatut was another, and his was in his leg : I cannot tell the names of the rest, because I did not know them. Monsieur de Gohas had brought seven or eight along with him, and amongst the rest Captain Savaillan the elder, of which three were slain, and the sad Captain Savaillan wounded with a Harquebuzer shot quite through the face. There were also hurt one Captain du Plex, another Captain la Bastide, both Kinsmen of mine about Villeneuve, who had alwayes serv'd under Monsieur de Brissac, one Captain Rantoy of Damazan, and Captain Sales of Bearn, who had before been wounded with the thrust of a Pike in the Eye. There were two little Chambers about a Pike height or more from the ground, which Chambers the Enemy so defended both above and below, that not a man of ours could put up his head without being seen ; however our people began to assault them with a great shower of stones, which they pour'd in upon them, and they also shot at us, but ours throwing downwards had the advantage of this kind of fight. Now I had caused three or four Ladders to be brought to the edge of the Graffe, and I as turn'd about to call for two of them to be brought to me, a Harquebuzer-shot clapt into my face, from the corner of a Barricado joyning to the Tower, where I do not think there could be four Harquebuzers, for all the rest of the Barricado had been beaten down by our two Cannon that playd upon the Flanck. I was immediately all over blood, for it gusht out at my mouth, nose, and eyes ; whereupon Monsieur de Gohas would have caught me in his arms, thinking I would fall, but I said, *Let me alone, I shall not fall, follow your point.* Upon this shot of mine almost all the Soldiers and the Gentlemen began to lose courage, and to retire, which made me cry out to them, though I could scarce speak, by reason of the torrent of blood that pasht out at my mouth and nose ; *Whither will you go ? Gentlemen, whither will ye go ? will ye be terrified for me ? do not flinch nor forsake the fight, for I have no hurt, and let every one return to his place ;* in the mean time hiding the blood in the best manner I could ; and to Monsieur de Gohas I said, *Monsieur de Gohas, take care I beseech you that the Soldiers be not discouraged, and renew the Assault.* I could no longer stay there, for I began to faint, and therefore said to the Gentlemen, *I will go get my self drest, but if you love me, let no one follow, but revenge me :* Which having said I took a Gentleman by the hand, I cannot tell his name, for I could scarce see him, and return'd by the same way I came, where by the way I found a little Horse of a Soldiers, upon which by the Gentlemans assistance I mounted as well as I could, and after that manner was conducted to my Lodging ; where I found a Chirurgeon of Monsieur de Gohas, called Maistre Simon, who drest me, and with his fingers (so wide were the Orifices of the wound) pull'd out the bones from my two Cheeks, and cut away a great deal of flesh from my face, which was all bruis'd and torn.

Monsieur de Gramont was upon a little Eminence hard by, looking on at his ease, who being of this new Religion, though he had never born arms against the King, had no mind to meddle amongst us. He was aware how upon my hurt all the Soldiers were dishearten'd, and said to those who were with him, *There is some eminent person slain, see how the Soldiers are discourag'd, I am afraid it is Monsieur de Montluc,* and therefore said to one of his Gentlemen call'd Monsieur de Sart, *Go run and see who it is, and if it be he, and that he is not dead, tell him that I entreat him to give me leave to come and see him.* The said Sieur de Sart is a Catholick, who accordingly came, and at his entering into the Town he heard that it was I that was hurt, and coming to my Lodging found my people weeping for me, and me tumbled upon a Pallet upon the ground ; where he told me that Monsieur de Gramont begg'd leave that he might come to see me. To which I made answer,

That

Rabasteins taken by storm.

That there was no unkindness betwixt Monsieur de Gramont and me, and that if he pleased to come, he would find that he had as many friends in our Camp, and peradventure more than in that of their Religion. He was no sooner gone from me, but Monsieur de Madaillan my Lieutenant, who had marcht on the one hand of me when I went on to the Assault, as Monsieur de Gobas did on the other, came to see if I was dead, and said to me; Sir, Cheer up your spirits, and rejoyce, we have entred the Castle, and the Soldiers are laying about them, who put all to the sword; and assure your self we will revenge your wound. I then said to him, Praised be God that I see the Victory ours before I dye. I now care not for death. I beseech you return back, and as you have ever been my friend, so now do me that act of friendship not to suffer so much as one man to escape with life. Whereupon he immediately return'd, and all my servants went along with him, so that I had no body left with me but two Pages, Monsieur de Las, and the Chirurgeon. They would fain have sav'd the Minister, and the Governor, whose name was Captain Ladon, to have hang'd them before my Lodging, but the Soldiers took them from those who had them in their custody, whom they had also like to have kill'd for offering to save them, and cut them in a thousand pieces. They made also fifty or threescore to leap from the high Tower into the Moat, which were there all drown'd. There were two only saved who were hid, and such there were who offer'd four thousand Crowns to save their lives, but not a man of ours would hearken to any Ransom; and most of the women were kill'd, who also did us a great deal of mischief with throwing stones. There was found within a Spanish Merchant whom the Enemy had kept prisoner there, and another Catholick Merchant also, who were both saved; and these were all that were left alive of the men that we found in the place, namely the two that some one help't away, and the two Catholick Merchants. Do not think, you who shall read this Book, that I caused this slaughter to be made so much out of revenge for the wound I had receiv'd, as to strike terror into the Country, that they might not dare to make head against our Army. And in my opinion all Souldiers in the beginning of a Conquest ought to proceed after that manner, with such as are so impudent as to abide Canon; he must bar his ear to all Capitulation and Composition, if he do not see great difficulties in his Enterprize, and that his Enemy have put him to great trouble in making a Breach. And as severity (call it cruelty if you please) is requisite in case of a resolute opposition, so on the other side mercy is very commendable, and fit, if you see that they in good time surrender to your discretion.

The Fortrels of Rabasteins.

Monsieur de Gramont then came to visit me, and found me in a very ill condition, for I had much ado to speak to him, by reason of the great quantity of blood that issued from my mouth; Monsieur de Gobas also immediately after him came back from the fight to see me; saying, Take comfort Monsieur, and cheer up, upon my word we have sufficiently reveng'd you, for there is not one man left alive. He thereupon knew Monsieur de Gramont, and saluted him, who after they had embraced, entreated him to carry him to the Castle, which he did, where Monsieur de Gramont found the taking of it exceeding strange, saying he could never have believ'd this place had been near so strong, and that had I attack'd Navarreins it would have been more easily taken. He would then needs see all the removes I had made of the Canon, which having seen, he said, it had not been requisite that we should have omitted any thing of the Battery. About an hour after he return'd, where he offer'd me a House of his hard by, and all other things in his power, and has since told me, that at that time, and in the condition he then saw me, he never thought I could have liv'd till the next day, and believed he had taken his leave of me for ever. All that day, and all that night I bled continually, and the next morning sent to entreat all the Captains to come and see me, which they did, where having recover'd a little heart, and being able to speak with greater ease than before, I made them the following short Oration.

Monsieur de Montluc's Harangue to his Officers after his being hurt.

"Gentlemen, my Companions and Friends, I am not so much concern'd at my own misfortune, nor the pain I endure, as I am to see the King's affairs disorder'd by this accident, and my self constrain'd to leave you. I did not conceal from you the design I had in this Execution, you all of you heard it. I beseech you therefore that for me you stop not the Career of your victory, but push your fortune still on, for the execution we have done upon these people will strike a terror into all the Country of Bearn: and I am confident you will meet with no resistance but at Navarreins. Lose not then this opportunity that God has given you; for if you do, all the world will say, that your Courages only depended upon mine, and that you can do nothing without me, which though it would be a singular commendation for me, yet I would be very sorry to have it said, out of the honour and friendship I bear to you, which makes me as jealous of your reputation as my own. Make then I beseech you no more account of me than if I was

"already

already dead. At which word I observ'd most of the Company with tears in their eyes; and having paus'd a little to take breath, pursu'd my discourse in these words. "You are here a great many Captains as able to command as I, and you have good and valiant men, who will now redouble their courages to revenge their Chief. I assure my self there is none of you but will give place to Monsieur de Gondrin, as well out of deference to his Birth, as also in regard he is the eldest Captain amongst you. And seeing he is a little infirm, I entreat you Monsieur de Saintforens, and you Messieurs de Goas and de Madaillan to be continually about him, that the Conduct of this Expedition may be order'd by your discretion; for he you see is old, and therefore you who are young must take the pains. And since you are all men of courage, and all aim at one common end, which is his Majesties service, and the advancement of his affairs, maintain, I beseech you a strict and inviolable friendship with one another. My wound, if you perform brave exploits, will be the occasion of your acquiring honor for your selves; and for God's sake my beloved Friends, do not give over this Enterprize in the beginning, and at a time when you ought most to pursue it. Follow your blow in this astonishment of the Enemy, and make it manifest that it was not I alone, but every one of you also, who have an honourable share in the victory. Are you not content with the Election I have made for you of Monsieur de Gondrin? and are you not willing to accept him for your Chief? to which they all made answer that they were, and that it was all the reason in the world he should command. Which having all declar'd, I entreated them to see me no more, that they might not encrease my Fever, but all retire themselves to him, and so they sorrowfully departed from me.

One thing (Lieutenants of Provinces) I can say, and that without bragging or lying, that never any man in my Command was better belov'd of the Nobles than I, and though I was of a peevish cholerick nature, yet so it was that they bore with my imperfections, knowing that I did nothing out of malice. O 'tis an excellent quality that in a Chief! and believe me what great Lord soever you are, if you do not win the love of the Nobles, the Officers and Soldiers, you will never do any thing to purpose. And if your passion sometimes make you say, or do any thing you should not do, (for we are all men) you must repair it. I would fain see any of those Messieurs of France who censure our actions in governing the Nobles of Gascony, undertake the Government, to see if they could so easily, and at all turns manage those Gentlemen as they pretend. There was yet another thing that has evermore preserv'd me the friendship not of the Gentlemen only, but of all those who serv'd under my command, which was that I never thought any thing too dear for my Captains and Soldiers. I have often when I was but Captain my self given away my arms and my cloaths when I saw any one in need. For a Pike, a Halbert, a gray Hat and a Feather, I have gain'd the hearts of some to that degree that they would have run into the fire for me; neither was my Purse ever ty'd up in my Companions necessity, and yet they say I am covetous! He that sayes so of me is nothing acquainted with my nature; and it is the vice, of all others, that I have the least been polluted withall. I dare say that in this last War onely I have given to the Lords and Gentlemen under my Command eleven Spanish Horses, and two Coursers. Which that no one may think to be a lye, I shall name the persons to whom I gave them; not to reproach them with it nevertheless; for they did me honor in accepting them.

First, I gave a Courser to Monsieur de Brassac, who follow'd me in all these Wars at his own charge (a Gentleman of ten thousand Livres a year, but the Enemy ever kept from him all the Estate he had in Xaintonge and Chalosse) for which Courser he would not now take 400 Crowns. I gave another Courser to Captain Coffeil, who bare arms with me twenty years, and was Captain Charry's Lieutenant, after he had first been my Ensign. I gave to Monsieur de Madaillan, who was my Lieutenant, a Spanish Horse he would not part with for 400 Crowns, and another to his Brother he would not now sell for five. I presented the Chevalier de Romegas with a Spanish Horse that cost me two hundred threescore and fifteen Crowns. I gave also to Monguieral Sieur de Cazelles 200 Crowns to buy him a Horse, because his own had been hurt at St. Foy. He is a poor Gentleman, but very valiant, as Monsieur de Sansac will witness, who is one of the oldest, bravest, and most prudent Captains of this Kingdom. And because he had another Horse that unluckily died, I gave him a Spanish Horse, a tall and strong one to carry Barbs, which after the Peace he sold for 1600 Crowns. Captain de la Bastide had another Spanish Horse of me, and the younger Beauville my Brother-in-law another, by reason his had been kill'd under him in a Sally he had made upon the Enemy. I gave another to Captain Mauzan, a Gentleman of my own Company, by reason that in a Rencontre he had near unto Regnesfort, his had been kill'd betwixt his legs, and himself, his Brother, and

Brother-in-law all wounded. I gave another to Captain *Romain* a man at Arms of my Company, a poor Gentleman, but a man of extraordinary valour. I gave another to Captain *Fabian*, he having lost his horse in his return from Court, for which I had often refus'd 500 Crowns. And yet another to Captain *Mons* my Guidon, a poor Gentleman who had layn a whole year in prison at *Montauban*, which horse cost me three hundred and five and forty Crowns. Being sick in bed, and dismissing my Nephew *de Balagny*, who I hope will not shame the Family from whence he is descended, I gave him the *Spanish* Horse that I had ever kept for my own Saddle. Several others I have lost, and three in this last War, particularly one that I design'd for the King, who being sweltered, founder'd under me as I was going to relieve *Mont de Marfan*, which I thought Monsieur *de Montamat* had been going to besiege; and could I reckon all the horses I have given in my life, I think it would exceed my Estate. If you do the same, you Lords who are the Kings Lieutenants, you shall alwayes be well follow'd, for the Soldier abhorres nothing so much as an avaricious Captain.

The State of
Monsieur de
Montluc's Ar-
my after his
hurt.

To return to my Subject all these brave Gentlemen took their leaves of me, and the next morning, which was the third day after my hurt, my Nephew *de Leberon* caused me to be carried to *Marzac*, which is two leagues from *Rabasteins*. I was no sooner departed from the Camp, but that the affection all the Soldiers bore unto me did too soon appear, for all the Gentlemen Volunteers retir'd, and most of the Foot, for which I was exceedingly sorry, and could have been rather content with all my heart they should have totally forgot me. How much (my Companions) did you there prejudice your King and Country? and how great a wrong did you to your own honor? Had you united and maintain'd a good intelligence one with another, as you promis'd me you would, all *Bearn* had been your own. 'Tis an untoward thing this *Æmulation* to command. The same day that I made the Remonstrance to the Nobles, they dispatcht away Captain *Montant* to

The Sieur de
Montluc layes
down his Go-
vernment.

the King, "whom I entreated to present my most humble service to his Majesty, and in my behalf to beseech him, that he would please to provide for my Government, whether I should live or die, for that he was to expect no more service from me: that I had already done enough, and must now make room for others, and that I would now for the time to come seek what I had ever avoided before, which was the privacy and repose of my own House. He found at his arrival at Court, that the King had already dispos'd of my Government above a month before, which till this time never any King of *France* before had ever done: but I ought not to lay the blame upon him. When I heard the news I did not much concern my self at it, though it did a little trouble me I confess, to have such a trick put upon me; for though I had not been shot, I should never more have exercised that Command; and I think he that now has it, which is the Marquis *de Villars*, would as little care to be dismiss'd from it as I; for it is not a *Benefice without a Cure*, to have to do with the Queen of *Navarre*, and the Prince her Son, who is already grown up to a man, the principal Governor, and an Enemy to our Religion; who being what he is cannot want courage, credit, or means, not onely in *Guienne*, but even in the King's Cabinet. Out of which consideration I had before quitted the Government, had it not been that I would not the King should reproach me, that I had abandon'd his service in a time of War, and the greatest necessity of his affairs.

The Marquis
de Villars the
Kings Lieute-
nant in Gui-
enne.
The Prince of
Navarre.

That I may return to speak of my wound, which I do but too well remember, you that are Generals of Armies, and Lieutenants of Provinces, may here observe how much it imports you to preserve your own persons, and not to expose them to hazard, as I did mine in playing the Common Soldier, and the Pioneer. For this unlucky shot of mine was the cause that the Army under my Command moulder'd away to nothing. I do not however intend to say, that you ought to be Cowards, and to hide your selves behind the Gabions, whilst others lie open to the Harquebuzer shot, but only that you may learn to be wise by my exemple, and go discreetly into danger: for upon your loss all the rest depends; as you know it befell that brave *Gaston de Foix* at the Battel of *Ravenna*. I know very well that a good heart, seeing his men misdeemean themselves, cannot forbear leading them the way, and exposing himself to danger, as I did, seeing my Foot go so untowardly to work. Which made me call to the Gentlemen, for I ever found by experience, that fifty Gentlemen will do more than two hundred Common Soldiers. We retain something of honor, which our Fathers have acquired for us, and which gives us a Title to that fair Epithet of Noble.

By the whole account of my life hitherto you have been able to judg whether or no the King had any reason to use me ill, considering that I never spar'd my life (which certainly is the thing most dear to us in this world next to our honors) for his service; and not only my own, but the lives of my Sons also: for of four that I had I have seen three fall in Battel

in

in his Majesties service the fourth only remains, which is the Chevalier, whom though I had design'd for the Church, and the Bishoprick of *Condom*, yet did I alwaies command him to shew himself a *Montluc*; and he had the honour to be entitl'd Chevalier by the late King *Henry* my good Master, who sent him to *Malta*, where he serv'd his Apprenticeship in arms under the Chevalier *de Romegas*; and from whence the Grand Master writ me word, *that immediately upon his arrival he had put him to the test, to try if he was of my race or no, and had found him right.* He was afterward in the Siege the Grand Signior laid before *Malta*, which was the bravest that ever was since Artillerie was first founded. But do not you who serve the King despair of honor and reward by my exemple, and because I was not so well us'd, as perhaps I deserv'd to have been; for this does not proceed from the Kings own nature. You may perhaps be more fortunate, and may not have so many Enemies as I, who for disdainning to be any ones creature, had no Patron to defend me; and on the other side have been perhaps too liberal of my tongue, in speaking freely what I thought. 'Tis dangerous sometimes to speak truth, and I could never lie nor dissemble. Yet shall I not be so ingrate as not to acknowledg my self highly oblig'd to the Kings my Masters for the benefits and honours they have conferr'd upon me, who from the condition of a private Gentleman, have rais'd me to the greatest Employments in the Kingdom: but I can also say that I purchas'd those honours at the price of my blood. Now you must know that having recover'd a little, and finding my self something better of my wound, I writ a Letter to the King, which I have thought fit to insert in this place, of which these were the Contents.

S I R,

I Have thus long deferr'd to prefer my Complaints, both by reason of the great indisposition upon me, and also because my friends were long before they would let me know of your Majesties unkindness in taking from me the Government of *Guienne*. Had your Majesty pleas'd to have had but two months patience only, you would have found that so soon as I had settled the Country in peace, I was resolv'd most humbly to beseech your Majesty to provide for that Government, by reason of my age, and the great wound I have receiv'd, and then without disgracing me, your Majesty had had sufficient argument to have deputed another in my place. But by the manner of doing it, your Majesty has evidently manifested to all the world, that you have stript me of it for some forfeiture of mine, either as to matter of arms, or for some foul play I have practis'd upon your Majesties Treasure, by which means my honour is like to be brought into dispute throughout the whole Kingdom, which I cannot think I have deserv'd, and therefore am very much at a stand, as many others will be, to guess from whence the great distaste your Majestie declares to have taken against me should proceed; unless (out of the little hopes I had to be for the future serviceable to you) for having often importun'd your Majestie to make choice of some other in my stead; and as to that, your Majestie has since commanded me to reassume my former Authority, and to continue my administration. Neither can it be upon any jealousy your Majestie can have entertain'd, that I have embezell'd your Majesties Treasure; for you would never have punisht me for a crime whereof you could not as yet be assur'd that I was guilty; and I have that confidence in your Majesties bounty and wisdom, that you would not easily have given credit to reports so remote from all probability; for in the time that I have been your Majesties Lieutenant in these parts, several Commissioners in Extraordinary, and several of your Receivers General, with other Officers of your Majesties Exchequer, have made their Accounts, and had I been found in any of their Papers, I have friends at Court that would not have fail'd to have set a mark upon such places, where my name was any way concern'd. But hitherto I have not been put to any distress in proving their accounts, forasmuch as it cannot be found, that I have ever taken upon me to touch one penny of your Majesties money, not only in this your own Province, but also at *Sienna*, and in *Tuscany*, where I had much greater conveniency of doing it than I could have here. And your Majestie may particularly please to remember, that having done me the honor for three years last past, to order the pension of six thousand Livers a year I pay to the Cardinal of *Guise*, should be discharg'd out of the Exchequer, I was so far from meddling with your Majesties money without your leave, that I would never make use of that assignment. And of all this your Majesty may be fully satisfied at the return of the Commissioners you have sent into these parts, who I am very certain will not bring back my name in any of their accounts, or if they should, there would yet be nothing prov'd against me, and therefore it cannot be imagin'd that your Majestie should be dissatisfied with me upon that account.

The Sieur de Montluc's Letter to the King, which contains an abstract of his whole life.

The King styles
the Sieur de
Montluc the
Conservator
of Guienne.

The Battel of
Ver.

Relief sent to
the King.

Taking of the
Isles.

If peradventure your Majesties displeasure should proceed from a belief that I have committed some fault in point of arms, this opinion would also be very contrary to that your Majesty had of me, at the time when you were pleased three or four times to write me word, that I was the Restorer of *Guienne*; and I assure my self your Majesty has not forgot the reasons why you were pleased to grace me with that honorable Title; but will, I hope please to remember, that it was because in the first Commotions at *Tholouze*, the City having been disputed for three dayes together, and in that dispute two Thirds of the City won by the Rebels was at my coming deliver'd, the Assailants at the sight of me only put to rout, and many of them taken and punished according to their desert, insomuch that to this day, the Inhabitants of the said City look upon me as the Conservator of their lives and estates, and the honor of their Wives. With like diligence and good fortune the City of *Bordeaux*, to which I went in two dayes and two nights from *Tholouze*, and where by the way I fought with, and routed the Forces that were gather'd together to hinder my passage, was by me immediately reliev'd. Having rescued *Bordeaux* from the same danger that I had before *Tholouze*, without staying longer than two dayes there, I cross't the River with sixscore Horse, believing that Monsieur de *Burie* would come up to me, as indeed he did, but it was four hours after the fight, where he found that I had defeated six Ensigns of Foot, and seven Cornets of Horse, commanded by Monsieur de *Duras*. And after this victory the said Sieur de *Burie* and I went to besiege *Mont-segur*, which was battered, and taken by assault, as was also *Penne of Agenois*. I after this in two daies took *Leffoure*, by reason that the late Captain *Montluc* had surpriz'd four hundred men of the Garrison of the said City, whom he had put all of them to the sword; and immediately without resting day or night I pursued Monsieur de *Duras* so close, that I compell'd him to fight, before our Foot could come up to us; nay, I scarcely gave leisure to Monsieur de *Burie* to come time enough to be present at the Engagement, where we succeeded so well, that a handful of men defeated three and twenty Ensigns of Foot, and thirteen Cornets of Horse. After which I sent your Majesty ten Companies of *Spanish* Foot, of which we had made very little use; but that did good service at the Battel of *Dreux*, as also did ten Companies of *Gascons*, which I sent your Majesty by Captain *Charry*, and your Province of *Guienne* remain'd quiet, and clear from all troubles, not a man daring to lift up his head but for your Majesties service; so that with good and just cause your Majestie conferr'd upon me the Title of Conservator of *Guienne*.

As to the second Troubles, I had long before sufficiently advertiz'd your Majesty, and the Queen your Royal Mother, of what you afterwards saw come to pass, and though by your command I had twice or thrice letters sent me, that I was very ill enform'd: I did not for all that slack my vigilancie, nor neglect to stand upon my Guard, that I might not be surpriz'd; but the same day that the Insurrection hapned at *Paris*, without other intelligence than my own, and upon *Michaelmas* Eve, I put my self into *Leffoure*, the most important City of all *Gascony*, in so opportune a season, that I frustrated the design of six hundred men, which were to have been let in at the Postern, and after having preserv'd the Town in your Majesties obedience, knowing you stood in need of relief, as your Majesty afterwards sent me word, I made so good haste in raising of men, that in 29 dayes after the said *Michaelmas* day I sent your Majesty twelve hundred Horse, and thirty Ensigns of Foot, which were conducted by me as far as *Limoges*, and from thence by the Sieurs de *Terride*, de *Gondrin*, and de *Monfals*; when though it seem'd to many, that *Guienne* would be left a prey to the Vicompts, who had very great Forces; nevertheless at my return I found them so much work to do, that they gain'd nothing either upon me, or upon the Province: and with the few Forces I was able to gather together, I went afterwards into *Xaintonge*, where at my arrival those who had taken arms at *Marennnes* were defeated by *Madaillan*, and the Seneschal of *Bazadois*, who after meeting with Monsieur de *Pons*, took *Marennnes*, with the Isles of *Oleron* and *Alvert*. With the like diligence was the Isle of *Rhé* recover'd by my Nephew de *Leberon*, whom I sent thither, and had your Majesty been pleased to have furnisht me with what you promised of money, Artillery, and other Ammunitions of War, I had put fair to have reduced *Rochelle* it self to your Majesties obedience, before the Peace that was at that time concluded.

As to what concerns the last Troubles, it is true, that they broke out at a time when I was sick, and scarce recovering from the danger of death, yet I did not nevertheless forbear to put my self into the field, and to get together all the Horse and Foot I possibly could, and hearing that the Forces of *Languedoc*, *Provence*, and *Dauphené* were coming to fall into our Country, I went out accompanied with Monsieur de *la Valette* and d'Escarts, and some other Officers, to meet and fight them, and in so doing approacht them so near, that had not their Camp-master Captain *Moreau* been fortunately taken by us, we had all

all been cut off, and defeated; for beſides that the Encounter had been in a place where the Horſe could not poſſibly have come to fight, they had moreover fought us at the advantage of fix to one, we being no more than five and twenty hundred, and they above twenty thouſand men; all which will be made good by the teſtimony of the ſaid Sieurs *de la Valette*, *d'Escarts*, and other Captains, who were all of opinion, that the beſt we could do was to retire; and when we were all reſolv'd to coaſt the Enemy, to keep them a little in, and to try to get ſome advantage over them, the younger *Montſales* brought letters from your Maſteſty to all the Captains to march towards *Montpenſier*, and to me that I muſt return, which I accordingly did, both out of regard to my own ſickneſs, and alſo to preſerve the Country, as I have done ſo long as the Forces were in my hands. Being afterwards at *Cahors*, to which place I went with an intent to fight the Vicounts, I was advertiz'd that *Pilles* was about *Agenois* with a great number of Horſe, whom thinking to ſurprize, I marched day and night to fight him, which had alſo ſo fallen out, had it not been that *Montſieur de Fontenilles*, and Captain *Montluc* with ſome Light-horſe met with five or ſix Cornets of the ſaid *Pilles* his Cavalry, whom they charg'd with ſo great fury that they put them to rout, which made the ſaid *Pilles* the ſame night paſs the River *Dordogne*, and retreat towards the Body of their Army.

As to the coming of the Count *de Montgommery*, 'tis very well known, that at my departure from *Mont de Marſan*, which in two hours time I had beſieg'd, aſſaulted, and taken, *Montſieur d'Anville* carried away all the Forces in order to ſome deſigns he had in *Languedoc*, leaving me no more but my own Company, with thoſe of *Mefſieurs de Fontenilles* and *de Gondrin*, and five Enſigns of Foot, with which I was fain to make ſhift for the defence of *Leſtoure*, *Florence*, *Ville-neufue*, and *Agen*; and although the ſaid Mareſchal afterwards call'd from me the forenam'd two Companies, and that I was left alone with my own, yet did I not for all that forbear to put my ſelf into *Agen*, when the Army of the Princes drew near, without being reliev'd by any but the *Sieur de Fontenilles* onely, who indeed came and brought his Company to my aſſiſtance. From which Town of *Agen* the Princes Army were very much incommodated; and whereas they had thrown a Bridge of Boats over the *Garonne*, with a deſign to paſs into the Country, and of *Condomois* and *Agenois*, to make as it were a City; I broke their Bridge, and ſo ſhatter'd it to pieces, that they could never recover any more than two of the Boats, with which they repaſſed the River, but ſo leiſurely withal, that had your Maſteſty been pleaſed to have ſent me never ſo few Forces, I could have kept them well enough from ever uniting again. And whereas during the time of the ſaid Princes being in theſe parts, they had poſſeſſed themſelves of certain Caſtles in the Country of *Agenois*, I retook them, and reduced them all to your Maſteſties obedience.

Your Maſteſty has ſince commanded me to go make War in the Country of *Bearn*; wherein I ſo promptly obeyed your Command, that though it was very hard to raiſe men, by reaſon that every one took the Peace for concluded, notwithstanding in leſs then fifteen dayes I ſet on foot five and forty Enſigns of Infantry, and ſix hundred Light-horſe, with which I reſolv'd to invade the Country, either to force *Montamat* to a Battel, or to ſuffer his Towns and Caſtles to be taken one after another before his face, as any one may judg it muſt of neceſſity have fall'n out. For having begun with *Rabaſteins*, as it was neceſſary I ſhould, for the reaſons I have before laid down, though it was one of the ſtrongeſt places of all *Gnienne*, I carried it in eight dayes time, playing at once in my own perſon the parts of Pioneer, Canoneer, Soldier, and Captain. Where in making my approaches I was like to have loſt my youngeſt Son, who was ſhot cloſe by my ſide, as alſo was Captain *Paullac*; and when it came to an Aſſault, ſeeing the two firſt Companies did not go on as I deſir'd they ſhould have done, I went my ſelf to the Breach, accompanied with the *Signieurs de Goas*, and the Vicount *d'Uza*, and followed by about a hundred or fixſcore Gentlemen, of which two and forty were hurt, I my ſelf being one of the number of thoſe that were wounded, and in ſuch a part that I ſhall carry the marks of it to my Grave. And although this action joyn'd to others of the like nature, that I have perform'd during the Reigns of the Kings your Father and Grandfather, make me hope for no other advantages than what was before in the proſpect of my ambition, namely a gracious acceptance, and an honourable acknowledgment of my ſervice from the ſaid Kings my Maſters; I had reaſon however to believe that your Maſteſty would have my performances in ſome little eſteem. Moreover I repreſented in my perſon before your eyes an old Soldier of threeſcore and ten years of age, your Maſteſties Lieutenant General in theſe parts, and one who onely in giving the word of Command to others, without engaging in his own perſon, might have ſufficiently perform'd the duty of his charge; but who nevertheleſs out of the zeal he had to render your Maſteſty Victorious in all your Enterprizes, put himſelf into the rank of the meaneſt Foot-Soldiers, and in the greateſt danger

danger of death, where several Gentlemen also ran the same fortune, esteeming it a great honor and happiness to follow one of the oldest Soldiers, not to say Captains of *France*. I also thought your Majesty might have consider'd, that as in the first Tumults, the first Victories your Majesty obtain'd were by my hand, I had likewise in these last Commotions rendred you victorious in the last Enterprize of War that was perform'd in the Kingdom: But when I expected a Letter at least, such as your Majesty is accustomed to write to the meanest Captain in your Kingdom, all the fruits of my great labour, and long expectation, was only to hear that you had depriv'd me of my Government, and (which was worse) without sending me so much as one syllable to signify your Royal intention, insomuch that I saw the man already come who was to succeed me, before I had any intimation of my being cashier'd from my Command. Nay, at the very same time, that by an universal Law throughout the whole Kingdom your Majesty has restor'd to their Estates and Employments all such as have been depriv'd of them, I may say that by a particular Law made for me alone, I am degraded from an Employment wherein I have so long maintain'd my self with my sword in my hand. But though I had been stript to my Doublet, I should yet remain clothed with a Robe of Honor, to wit, the Reputation of having born arms from my Childhood for the service of your Crown, with all the fidelity that the Kings my Masters could themselves desire. I am sure every one will frankly confess that I have been in as many Combats, Battels, Rencounters, Enterprizes both by day and night, Assaults, Takings, and Defences of Towns, as any man this day alive in *Europe*; and for such am known in Foreign Nations as well as at home, and yet I can say with truth (for which the Glory be attributed to God, and the honor to the Kings my Masters, who were pleased to employ me) that whether it were through my good fortune the influence of their Majesties arms, or any other accidents conducing to it, I was never defeated in any place, where I had the honor to command in Chief, nor never at-
 raqu'd my Enemy but I beat him. Several persons of honor yet living will also bear witness of my behaviour at the Battels of *Pavie*, the *Bicoque*, and *Serizolles*, where I had the Command of all the Harquebuzers, and also in what esteem the late *Sieur de Lautrec* had me, for having seen me in his own presence fight betwixt *Bayonne* and *Fontarabie*; as also for having serv'd under him in a Command of Foot in his Expedition into *Lombardy*, and the Kingdom of *Naples*, in which services I received no less than four Harquebuzer shots. There are also several men of honor yet alive, who very well remember how I carried my self at the taking of the County of *Oye*, in the quality of Camp-Master to all the *French* Foot; and others are able to testify in what esteem I was with the Prince of *Malphe*, and the late *Mareschal de Brissac*, for having seen me in *Piedmont*, at all hours, and upon all occasions both night and day venture my life for the service of this Crown, as others can witness, that at the time when the disgrace befel our people in the *Lower Bullen*, I alone with a very small number of men maintain'd the fight, and at the time when your Majesties Royal Father, my good Master of blessed memory, gave me for lost, I came out in despite of the *English*, and brought off with me two and twenty Colours of ours, that had been taken, insomuch that one only remain'd in the hands of the Enemy. If *Monsieur de Guise* were now alive, he would not conceal what he saw me do at the taking of *Tbionville*, no more than will *Monsieur le Mareschal de Ville-neufve*, who can witness if it was not I who took the Tower, from whence ensued the loss of the Town. All the Captains of *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Germany* will for ever honor me for what I did at the Siege of *Sienna*, where I was the late King your Father's Lieutenant, as I was afterwards in *Tuscany*, where I lost nothing, but remain'd victorious over the Enemy, and had my services so highly accepted by your Royal Father, that besides that at my return from *Sienna*, he conferr'd upon me the Order, which in those dayes was a mark of great and extraordinary service, he moreover gave me the County of *Gauvre* for term of life, which since, and after the death of my said Royal Master, at the calling in of your Majesties Demeasns was taken from me, without the least murmur or shew of discontent on my part at my being so depriv'd.

All these things, Sir, I have thought fit to represent unto you, forasmuch as your Majesty may peradventure not have heard of them, and that in speaking of me in your Majesties presence I may by some have been otherwise represented, and have had other Characters given of me than I deserve. I know that sometimes they have made as if I were a Thief, and that otherwhiles, and for the most part have talkt as if for three years last past I had done nothing of any moment. Wherein, Sir, they have abused your Majesty more than they did me; for all the ill tongues in the world cannot deprive me of the honor I have acquir'd, whereas by their importunity they may have induced you to do a thing that I fear may be of ill exemple to men of my Trade; forasmuch as those who have of late been
 call'd

call'd to Offices and Commands, and who desire to advance themselves by the exercise of arms, will be apt by my exemple to apprehend, that long services, and the glory by those services acquir'd throughout the world will not stand them in so much stead as the evil tongues of their Maligners, and such as would put a bar to their preferment, may do them harm.

It remains, Sir, that for the conclusion of my long and tedious Letter I must humbly beseech your Majesty to excuse me, if after such a blow of fortune I have been constrain'd to address my Complaint, and to sigh out my grievance to you, and you alone; and have been oblig'd to do it, as well to make my self better known to your Majesty, than I have been in times past, as also most humbly to beseech you, that for the time to come, when your Majesty shall be importun'd to use either me, or any other of your good and faithful servants so unkindly, you will please to reserve evermore one ear for the accused, before you resolve upon doing any thing that may wound or dishonor them. As for what concerns my self, out of the desire I have ever had to see your Majesty prosper, I am very glad if in these last troubles you have been so well, and so successfully serv'd in all parts of your Kingdom by all those your Majestie has employed as by me, who on this side have preserv'd your Cities, and the Country committed to my charge, have beaten your Enemies as oft as I could get opportunity to fight them, and taken Towns by assault, with the extreamest peril of my life. And though it has been said, that I have done nothing considerable, yet I beseech your Majestie to believe that no man has surpass'd me in good intention, and a hearty desire to serve you. After which (since such is your royal pleasure) I am willing to retire without other mark of all my labours, and the services of so many years, but the sorrow for the loss of my Children sacrific'd to your Crown, and seven Harquebuzer shots, which will serve continually to put me in mind of the humble and affectionate devotion I have ever had to perform the best and most obedient service to your glorious Predecessors; which also I shall ever retain for your Sacred Majestie, to whom I pray Almighty God to give all prosperity, health, and happiness, &c.

This was my Letter, which more perplexed the Monseurs, who at that time govern'd the Court, to comment upon, than it did me to write it. And that unknown to me was afterwards printed and publisht; for my friends, and such as best knew what I had done for the conservation of *Gaienne*, were as much, or more offended, than I. And I would have it known, that both then and since, had I as disloyal a heart as they have, who after the first Commotions represented me to the Queen for a *Spaniard*, I had yet means, and interest enough to have done a great deal of mischief: But I neither am, nor ever will be other than a good *Frenchman*, and a true Servant to the Crown. I also know very well that none of these doings proceeded from the King, who never withdrew his favour from me. But a young Prince involv'd in so many affairs has much ado to please all the world; to which may be added, that several who could hurt me no way but with their tongues, had a very great influence, not over his Majestie (who never lov'd the Hugonots, what ever he might pretend for his own repose) but with the Council. O that Kings and Princes ought to be very tender of disgracing a man, who has ever been loyal and faithful to them, and who is a man of spirit: for it might light upon such an one, as may put their affairs into a very ill posture, of which within these fifty years we have seen too many examples, to the great loss and detriment of the King of *France*, as I have said before, when speaking of the traverses and ill offices that several great Captains have receiv'd at Court. How many are there, that had they been used after this manner, would not only have quitted all, but perhaps have done a great deal worse: for a man that does his duty, and finds himself ill rewarded, it goes to his heart. I have heard that either King *Francis*, or *Lewis* (I know not which of them it was) one day asking a Gentleman, a *Gascon*, as I am, *What would debauch him from his service?* *Nothing Sir,* reply'd the other; *unless it be a despite.* And it is also an old saying, that *Out of spite a man would turn Turk.* Notwithstanding, all this unkindness could never make me either *Spaniard* or *Hugonot*. I have ever lov'd my honor too well for that, and will go down to my Grave with that fair white Robe, without suffering the least ugly spot upon the name of *Montluc*; and every one that has any regard to his honor ought to do the same. If his King and Master will not make use of his service he may sit at home, and look on to see how others behave themselves. If he be a man of valour, fortune that cast him down, will raise him up again; she is not alwayes angry. How many great Lords and valiant Captains have we seen cultivating their Gardens at home in a time of action, whom the King has been constrain'd to recall into his service, and could have wished he had never remov'd them from him?

A *Gascon*
Gentleman's
answer to the
King.

The miserable
condition of
such as revolt
from their
Princes.

I have seen a great many in my time, both on the King's side, and also on the Emperor's, who have turn'd their Cassocks, and some very lightly, and upon very slender occasion: but they obtain'd no great advancement by it, and being amongst us, were lookt upon for such as they were. I believe our Enemies did the same. Every one loves the Treason well enough, but they hate the Traitor. When that brave Prince *Charles de Bourbon* was constrain'd to side with the Emperor, and to give himself to the Devil, because God would have nothing to do with him (for doubtless he was compell'd and necessitated to it) we were told that even the *Spaniards* themselves lookt askew upon him; and the poor Prince after he had done a great deal of mischief lost his life. When after he was slain at *Rome*, it was a common dispute, whether the Pope, the King of *France*, or the Emperor was most glad of his death; the first, because he held him besieg'd; the King, in that he was deliver'd from a capital Enemy; or the Emperor, for being rid of a banisht and necessitous Prince, that lay upon his hands, and was a burthen to him; though he had only nourisht him with promises, and nothing else. These scurvie despites proceed too far; am sure mine never did, nor ever shall make me do any thing contrary to my duty, or to the prejudice of my honor. If I was young, and that the King would not make use of my service, the world is wide enough, I would seek my fortune elsewhere; but never at the expence of my Prince, nor at the price of my own honor. The King having receiv'd my Letter, sent me in answer a great many good words, for they cost them nothing; the end will shew whether the Province will be better govern'd, and his Majestie better serv'd, and whether they who have succeeded me (though they are great persons, and great Captains) have done, or shall do hereafter better than I.

The Army dis-
banded.

But to return to the place where I left off; my Wife came to fetch me from *Marsac*, from whence she carried me in her Litter to *Cassaigne* near unto *Condom*, where to refresh me I was for three weeks together so crucified with the Cholick, that it had like to have cur'd me of all other diseases. In this condition I had the comfort of Monsieur de *Valence* my Brother, who never left me till he saw me out of danger of death; and several Lords also both Catholick and Hugonot came to see me. Before Captain *Montaut* arriv'd at Court the Queen dispatcht away Monsieur de *Beaumont*, Steward of the Prince of *Navarre's* Household, by whom she sent me word, that in case I was in the Territories of the Queen of *Navarre*, I should forthwith retire, and put my men into Garrison. See what a sudden change was here! I askt him if there was a Peace concluded, to which he made answer, no; but that it was hoped there suddenly would. *Why then should the King, said I, put his Army into Garrison? Is not the Country already sufficiently ruin'd and destroy'd? If I do this when the Peace shall come, and that we are to disband our Horse and Foot, not one of them but will plunder his Host for a farewell, seeing themselves dismissed without money. Seeing then it is so, that they are order'd to be put into Garrisons, I will even disband them for all together, and send them every man to his own house.* To this end then I desir'd Monsieur de *Valence* to write, and sign a Letter (I being in no condition to do it) to Monsieur de *Gondrin* forthwith to dismiss the Army, both Horse and Foot, and that every one in four dayes should be retir'd to his own home; which was accordingly perform'd. Monsieur de *Beaumont* himself carried the Letter to Monsieur de *Gondrin*, and five weeks after the Queen sent to me to disband the Army, which I had done before, and by so doing had sav'd the people above 500000 Livres, as the Country it self will witness. I had sav'd the pitiful 4000 Francks that I had from the King untoucht, saving a hundred Crowns, that I took out to give Captain *Montaut* to defray his Journey to Court. And thus it was that I robb'd the Exchequer, and poll'd the People. Such about his Majestie as favour the Hugonots, do not care how deeply they charge me with Calumnies; but I would have the world to know, and do here declare, that in so many years that I have commanded, and in all the great Employments wherein I have been I could never enrich my self 20000 Francks, and yet they stick not to affirm, that I have pill'd and poll'd 300000 Crowns. I could wish it was true, provided it had been from the Hugonots our Enemies. God be praised for all. These slanderers shall never have that advantage over me as to make me hang down my head, but I will walk with my face erect, like a man of honor. The Treasurers and Receivers are yet living: let his Majesty enform himself of them: let him examine their accounts, where if he find any one single Lyard converted to my profit, his Majesty does not do well if he do not bring me to my Trial. It is no wonder his Majesty is so ill serv'd, as 'tis reported he is, considering he makes no exemple; he is then to blame himself, and not those that do it. And as to Impositions and Taxes upon the People to enrich my self, and to fill my own Coffers, his Majesty in this case ought yet to be more severe against me than in the other, by how much the people are more to be pittied than the King; who if he want money knows how to make his people find it. 'Tis a priviledge

our

our Kings have so soon as they come out of their Page-ship, as one said of *Lewis* the Eleventh; which makes me conclude, that the King ought to inflict a more severe punishment upon those who flea his people, than if they purloin'd from his own Exchequer. The Commissioners have given an account of all sorts of men who have rais'd money, let them look if they can find me in their Papers, and if any be come into my purse. I confess I have dispos'd of some Hugonots Estates, who pretended to sit still at home, but were worse than the others who were in arms: neither was it reasonable, that they should be better used than the poor Catholics, who were gnawn to the very bones; and had I not done it, the Gentry would have taken it ill, and the common Soldier would have revolted: for where there is nothing to be got but blows men will hardly go volunteer to the Wars. Moreover they would have said I had held intelligence with the Enemy, by which means I should not have had a man to follow me; and I had rather have died than to have had such a repute. Had the King's Officers seized of these mens Estates, they would have extracted no less than a million of Francks: but there was juggling amongst them, and they held intelligence with one another. I have had my share; but it has ever been fair prize, and onely taken from such as carried Provisions and Merchandize to the Enemy; and yet I do believe all I made bold with being put all together, would not amount to above 3000 Crowns. Would to God that all the Chiefs of *France* had gone as roundly to work for the service of the King and Kingdom as I, and that by war they had desir'd to establish peace; which if they had, not a man in the Kingdom would have dar'd to have professed himself a Hugonot. But I shall leave this unpleasing discourse.

A little while after the Peace was published, the articles of which were very much to the Enemies advantage. We had beaten, and beaten them over, and over again; but notwithstanding they had evermore such an interest in the King's Council, that all the Edicts continually ran very high in their favour. We got the better by arms, but they alwayes over-reached us in those confounded writings. Ah, poor Prince, how wofully are you serv'd, how ruinously are you adviz'd! If your majesty take not heed, your Kingdom from the most flourishing, will be made the most miserable that ever was; which though it was in the Reigns of your Grandfather and Royal Father, assaulted with many and potent Enemies, and continually engag'd in war, wherein I have ever faithfully serv'd, yet matters still went on in excellent good order, and Commands were not prophan'd, as in these dayes. I pass by the injury your Majesty does your self, in giving your Enemies so great advantages by these fine Edicts. I shall not meddle with the corruption of your Courts of Judicature, nor the abuses in your Treasure, I only beg leave to say something concerning the ordering of your *Militia*; for should I plunge my self further into what has caused the ruine of your Kingdom, I should be forced to speak too loud, and that of no little ones.

I know, Sir, very well, that your Majesty will not do me the honor to read my Book; you have other employment, and your time is too pretious to be lavisht in reading the life of a Soldier, but perhaps some one who shall have read it, in discourse may give your Majesty some account of what it contains. For which reason I have assum'd the boldness to direct this short discourse I am about to make to your Majesties observation, and I beseech you take a little notice of it, forasmuch as therein are laid open the causes of those disasters I have seen happen in our Kingdom within these fifty years; in the beginning of which I first took up arms in the Reign of your Grandfather, King *Francis* of blessed memory, during whose Reign a Custom was introduced, which I conceive to be very prejudicial to your State. Your Majesty may alter it, and in so doing do a great right to your self and your Kingdom, as to the concern of arms. A young Prince, as you are, for birth the greatest and the first of Christendom ought evermore to learn of old Captains. Your Majesty is naturally martial, and have a generous heart, and therefore will not, I hope disdain the advice of an old Soldier, your Subject, and Servant. I remember the time when your Majesty took a delight to talk with me in private, then when you went your Expedition to *Bayonne*, and then very well perceiv'd that your discourse exceeded the capacity of your age, and to such a degree, that I dare be bold to say, might your Majesty have had your own way, all things had succeeded a great deal better: for though you had done nothing but only shewed your self, and have let your people see, that you was in person in your Army, you had at least gain'd the hearts of many, and astonish'd the rest, and consequently had, without dispute been much better serv'd in this your Majesties maturer Age. I do believe it was one of the greatest errors they made you commit (for it was not your Majesties fault that you was shut up when your Armies marcht.) The people of your Kingdom are a good and an affectionate people, and rejoyce to see their King, so that your presence would have inspir'd a great many, and particularly of our Country of

Guienne with wiser and more loyal Councils than some of them have since embrac't. But I proceed to my discourse.

Sir, when your Majestie conferres the place of a President, a Chancellor, a Lieutenant Criminal, or any other Office of Judicature upon any one, it is evermore with this reservation, that they shall not execute any of these Charges till first they shall be examin'd by your Parliaments, which are full of wise and learned men : and oftentimes your Majesty gives order, that they shall first be examin'd by your Chancellor, before they present themselves before the Parliaments, which are to determine of their Capacities, and whether or no they be sufficiently read in the Law, not to be in danger of erring in the Arrests and Judgments they are to make in their Administrations, that so right may be done to those of your Subjects to whom it shall duly appertain. This, Sir, is a good and an equitable way of proceeding, for you owe us Justice impartial, and according to the weight of the Ballance. 'Tis a right to which we are born, and the chief thing you owe indifferently to all ; and therefore it is admirably well done, to make them pass those strict and severe Inquisitions that are requir'd in the Chambers of your Parliaments assembled. Yet can it not be ordered so, that Justice in all things is alwaies duly executed.

Disorders in the Kingdom of France through the defect of inexperienced Officers.

You ought, Sir, to do the same in all other Offices and Commands you confer in your Kingdom ; and yet I see that the first that makes suit to your Majesty for the Government of a place, a Company of Gens-d'arms, or of Foot, or the Office of a Camp-master, without considering what loss or detriment may thereby ensue, either to your own person, or your Kingdom, you easily grant it, perhaps at the recommendation of the first Lady that speaks for it, and that perhaps your Majesty has danced with over night at a Ball ; for whatsoever affairs are on foot, the Ball must trot. Sir, these Ladies have too much credit in your Court. O how many mischiefs have, and do daily arise, from having so lightly conferr'd these Commands ! And although your Majesties proceeding be prudent, and just in exposing your Officers of the long Robe to the utmost test, it is not however of so great importance to your State. For what loss can you sustain if they be ignorant ? it falls not upon you ; for he that gains the Tryal though contrary to Law and right, pays you the same duties that he did who is nonsuited in his cause : by which means you lose nothing of your Revenue, it is still in the Kingdom ; and what imports it to you whether *John* or *Peter* be Lord of such, or such a Mannor so long as you have your Fee-farm rents still duly paid you ? We are all your Subject : But the error and ignorance of Governors and Captains who obtain Places and Commands with great ease, at the first word of the first that asks, is infinitely prejudicial to your Kingdom, and herein I am very confident all the great Captains and men of honor that are zealous for your service will be of my opinion.

If your Majesty give the Government of a Place to a man of no experience, and who has never been in such a Command before, see what will follow. First it is an old saying, that *When the eye sees what before it never saw, the heart thinks that which before it never thought*. If therefore a Siege be clapt down before him, how is it to be expected that he should disengage himself ? how is it possible he should understand and discover the designs of the Enemy, on what part they can or will assault him ? which there is a way to do without a Spy, as I have made it to appear by what I did at *Sienna*. How should he know how to fortifie and secure himself, and in short do a thousand, and a thousand things that will be necessary to be done, if he have never before been engag'd in such affairs ? Such as have been ten times besieg'd are apt enough to be startled at it, and oftentimes so astonisht that they know not where they are. Now when your Majesty hears that your place is going to be beleaguerr'd, you will presently fall to raising an Armie, as you have good reason to do, not daring to rely upon the small experience of this young Governor, and perhaps shall be constrain'd to go in haste in your own person, or at least to send one of my Lords your Brothers ; where either the Town must be lost, or you must hazard a Battel, where your self, or one of your Brothers who shall command your Armie may be slain, together with several Princes of you blood, and a great number of your best Captains. Consider then, I beseech you Sir, the mighty loss and misadventure that depends upon your easie conferring such a Command upon a man, without first knowing what he is able to do. For if he is a man of experience, and that he has manifested himself in all places where he has been under good Leaders, to be a man of courage and understanding ; so soon as he shall enter into the place, he will presently fall to considering of the strength, and weakness of it, recollecting what he has seen done elsewhere, where he has been engag'd under another, and what he has seen such and such a Captain do upon the like occasion ; and thereupon will suddenly take order for the defects of the place, and begin to fortifie. He will also demand of you an Engineer, will enform you

The diligence requir'd in a Chief.

of

of the Ammunition both of Victual, Arms, and Artillerie that he has found there, and will never cease soliciting till you have supplied him with all things necessarie, knowing very well what an inconvenience the loss of the place would bring upon you. When so soon as your Majestie shall have furnished him with all he desires, and that by his foresight he shall have provided against all the defects of the place, he may then know what he has to trust to, and shall have leisure to consider what he has to do, without precipitation, which I have ever observ'd to be very dangerous in war, unless it be in an affair that requires extreme hast and diligence.

And herein two things present themselves to your Majesties consideration; the first, that when your Enemy shall have heard of the valour of your Governor, and his great experience, together with the great foresight and diligence wherewith he has been careful to remedie the defects of his place, and the good discipline he there maintains; is it to be supposed, that he will venture to attacke a man qualified with the forenamed virtues? I do believe there is no Assailant in the world but would think of it twice before he would once resolve to do it, and if he call a Council about it, he will find that hardly one old Captain will advise him to go on to his own ruine; and if the Chief be a circumspect and experienced man, the counsel of the young hot-headed fellows must not be preferr'd to that of the old Soldiers, for they better understand the business of the world than the others do; and are unwilling to hazard the honor they have got; forasmuch as men look only upon the last of our actions, without much regarding what they have perform'd before. So much concerning the first. Now the second thing that presents it self to your Majesties consideration, is, that your Majestie reflecting upon the valour of the person you have entrusted with defence of your place, his diligence, and experience, will be at quiet within your self, knowing very well that such a man will do no unhandsome things, but will be tender of his own honor, as well as careful of his trust: by which means you shall have time to raise your Armie at leisure, and shall come to encamp your self in an advantageous place, where if your Enemy come to assault you, he shall be defeated; and on the other side, if he offer to assault the Town, you lye so close in his Rear, that let the Breach be never so wide, he dares not go to the assault, forasmuch as whether he enter or no he is certain to be defeated, for you surprize him in disorder; which will make him very warie of attempting any thing, where his ruine is so manifest before him; and either force him to raise his Siege, and betake himself to some other Enterprize, or else come to assault you in your Fort; which also he will have a care of doing, as was the Emperor Charles at the Camp in Provence, at the time when your Majesties Grandfather was fortified in the plain field, and that the Enemy made a shew of attacking *Marseilles*. You are evermore to take heed of committing errors in the beginning of a War; for if your affairs have once a disrepute upon them in the beginning, your Majestie may be assured, that your Soldiers will lose courage, and every one will seek an opportunity to run away, insomuch that you are never to hope your Army shall do any thing to purpose after. Of which I shall give your Majestie some Exemples, that you may see of how great importance it is to have a good Governor in a Town of War. Of these Exemples, the first shall be Charles Duke of Burgundy, who after having lost two Battels against the *Swiss* at *Morat*, came with his baffled Army to sit down before *Nancy*, which he thought to surprize, René King of *Sicily*, and Duke of *Lorraine* never dreaming that he would come to besiege that place; by which means it was totally unprovided, both of Victuals, Ammunition, and Men. King René had with him five or six *Gascon* Gentlemen (for these Princes of *Lorraine* have ever had a great kindness for our Nation) namely Captain *Gratian Daguerre*, a poor Gentleman of this Country call'd *Pons*, another call'd *Galan*, and another whose name was *Roquepines*; the others were slain during the Siege, where these brave *Gascons* did so valiantly behave themselves, that with some of the Country people that put themselves into the Town, and some Gentlemen of the said Country, they defended the Town, and endur'd the last extremity of famine, by that means giving King René leisure to go himself into *Switzerland* to fetch his relief. King Lewis the Eleventh of France would not openly assist him, by reason of the League he had contracted with the Duke; but (as you Princes ordinarily do) he favour'd him underhand, and disbanded four hundred men at arms, that were advanc'd as far as *Pont St. Vincent*, within two leagues of *Nancy*; so that when the Duke saw the *Swiss* coming upon him, he raised the Siege, and there lost both the Battel and his life. Had John d'Albert King of *Navarre*, when he saw the Forces of *Ferdinand* coming to fall upon him, put one or two good Captains into *Pampelona*, he had not so poorly lost his Kingdom, as he did; for there wanted only a good man to have stopt the Career of the *Spaniard*, the place was good enough. But he lost the Kingdom both for himself and his Posterity; for it is in too good

That the valour of a Governor withholds an Enemy from coming to attacke him,

The Duke of Burgundy defeated before *Nancy*.

The loss of *Pampelona*.

a hand ever to retrieve it. These are two Examples of Antiquity that I have receiv'd from the old Captains of that Age; and I have heard others related, which I could here set down; but I leave those to the Historians, who are able to give a better account of them than I, and will now present your Majesty with some of my own.

King *Francis* your Granfather laid Siege to *Pavie*, where I was; he found within it Antonio de Leva a Spaniard, and a man that by a long practice in arms had gain'd as great experience as any other Captain that has been these hundred years. He had within but three Ensigns of Italians, and three thousand German Foot. His Majesty held him above seven months besieg'd, in which time he had given several assaults, though the place was not very strong; but this Captain by his industrie and valour supply'd all other defects, and defended it so long, that he gave Monsieur de Bourbon time to go fetch relief out of *Germany*, and come and fight a Battel with the King, which he won, and took the King prisoner; and had the said *Sieur de Bourbon* in the heat of this victory turn'd his Forces towards *France*, I know not how matters would have gone; and all these successes beset the Emperor for having made choice of this old Warriour, who put a stop to our Kings fortune. Of recent memory the valiant Duke of *Guise* put a shameful baffle upon the Emperor *Charles* at *Metz*, whom he constrain'd ignominiously to raise his Siege, whereupon his great Army vanish'd into nothing, through the sole virtue of the Chief that oppos'd him. And again in these late Commotions his Son, the Duke of *Guise* that now is, has preserv'd *Poitiers*, a great City without a Fortref, which had it been taken by the Admiral, he had commanded all *Poitau* and *Xaintonge* to the very Gates of *Bordeaux*, wherein the virtue of this young Prince very much reliev'd your Majesties affairs, and was signally serviceable to the whole Kingdom. In like manner your Majesties Victory at *Moncontour* was demurr'd by the choice your Enemies made of Captain *Pilles* left in *St. Jean*, where the valour of this Chief, who very well understood how to defend his Post, set the Hugonot affairs again on foot, who by that means had leisure to steal away, and to come to fall upon us in *Guienne*. I have been told, that he was well assisted by a Captain, a very brave Soldier, call'd *la Mote Puiols*; but had they let me alone at the Battel of *Ver*, I had taken order with him for ever making war against you more; for I had my sword at his throat, when some body, I know not who, pull'd him away from me, and sav'd him. If the Admiral was upon his confession, he would not deny but that my sole person hindred him from attacking *Agen*, which is no tenable place; doubt not then Sir, but that the valour of one single man is able to give a stop to a torrent of success.

Franget at
Fontarabie.
The *Sieur de*
Vervins at *Bul-*
len.
Sanfac at *Mi-*
randa, and
Montluc at
Sienna.

Your Kingdom is the best peopled of any Kingdom in the world, and you are rich in great and faithful Captains, if you please to employ them, and not take in such as are incapable of command. *Charles* the Emperor, as I have oft been told, made his boasts that he had better Commanders than the late King *Francis*; and in truth he had very good ones, but ours were nothing inferior to them. You have choice enough, Sir, to put into your Frontier places. Do but consider of how great moment was the loss of *Fontarabie*, through the little experience of Captain *Franget*, and how dear the loss of *Bullen* cost your Father through the little experience of the *Sieur de Vervins*, who was Governor there. And on the contrary, you may, Sir, please to remember (for I am certain you have heard it) what honour and advantage accru'd from the election your Royal Father, my good Master, made of that old Cavalier Monsieur de *Sanfac*, who so long sustain'd the Siege at *Miranda*; and the choice he was pleas'd to make of my poor person for the defence of *Sienna*, which was honourable to the *French* name. The security of a place, Sir, depends upon the Chief, who may make every one to fight, so much as the very Children, which will make an Enemy very unwilling to attack him. Behold then, Sir, how much it imports your State, your People, and your own Honour: for it will evermore be said, and recorded to posterity, that it was *Charles* the Ninth who lost such and such a place; from which Fame God defend you. It shall live in history for ever, and all the good and evil that befalls you in your Reign shall be recorded, and the evil rather than the good. Be then, Sir, circumspect, and consider of it thrice before you deliver to any one the defence of a place, and do not think it sufficient that the man is valiant, he must also be a man of experience.

Of Captains of
Gens d'arms.

As to what concerns a Captain of Gens-d'arms, you make no more of creating him at the request of the first that recommends him to you, than you would do of a Searjeant of the Chastelet of *Paris*, who afterwards coming to be present at a Battel, you shall give him such a Post to make good, where the poor man not knowing how to take his advantage, either through want of courage or conduct, shall make you lose this Post, and by that means not only encourage the Enemy to save the day, but shall moreover discourage your own people; for four running Cowards are sufficient to draw all the rest after them,

even

even the Leaders themselves. And although they be brave enough in their own persons, and would make head; yet, if they know not how to command, nor understand which way to play the best of their Game, all will run into confusion; for that it at that moment depends wholly upon him, and not upon the General, who cannot have his eye in all places at once; and in the noise and confusion of a Battel, it is impossible he should provide for all things. He then who has the Charge of a Post, or the Command of a Wing, if he want experience, and have never before been engag'd in such affairs, how is it possible to be expected that he should either command, or execute? And here's a Battel lost, and your own person, if you are there, either kill'd or taken; for I have never heard of any King of *France* that ever ran away. Neither is any better to be expected in any other Enterprize that shall be committed to the execution of such a man. Take heed then, Sir, to whom you give your Companies of Gens-d'arms; 'tis fit that the young ones should be Apprentices, and learn of the old. I know very well that Princes are to be excepted from this Rule, who have ordinarily brave Lieutenants, who in effect are the Chiefs, for the said young Princes in their own persons are not usually there.

Your Majestie has also Mareschaux de Camp, and Camp-Masters both of Horse and Foot, both of them employments of great importance, for they are to discover all things, and in case the Armies lye near they are to make their discovery together, for the one can do nothing without the other, and together must bring you back an account of what is to be done for the ordering of the Battel, both Horse and Foot, after having viewed the situation of the place, and the Ground where the Horse is to be drawn up, and the Foot also; and being agreed together, are to bring you back a report of all; whereupon you shall in your Council conclude what you have to do: but you are of necessity to ground your resolution upon their intelligence, which if they be not men of experience, O Sir, how many Errors will they cause you to commit! It is therefore very necessary that the men who discharge these Offices should have three qualities; of which the first is a long experience; for if they be men long beaten to the practice of Arms, and that they have been eye-witnesses of some miscarriages in the Armies wherein they have serv'd, provided they retain it; that very observation will make them circumspect and careful of falling into the like error. The second quality requir'd in men that are entrusted with these Offices, is, that they be bold and adventurous (for your Mareschaux and Masters de Camp, of all others must not be Cowards) or at least if they are not more valiant than ordinary, (for I do not desire they should be *Rowlands*) they must not be afraid of blows; for if these men be timorous, you are not to expect that your Army should do any thing to purpose; by reason that they will evermore quarter your Army in fear and apprehension, and consequently alwaies encamp at a disadvantage; by which means if your Adversary General be a man of Judgment, and practis'd in such affairs, he will easily discern your Armie to be in fear, as I my self have often judg'd in exercising this Command, by the meer observation of the Enemies manner of encamping, and have seldom been deceiv'd. Which is a thing of all others of the greatest danger, forasmuch as nothing so much encourages both the Officers and the Soldiers of an Armie, as to know that their Enemy marches and encamps in fear. The last qualitie requir'd in this sort of Officers, is, that they be circumspect and diligent; which three qualities will render them perfect and complete. They must not be men that love to sleep *a la Francoise*, nor slow dreaming people, that are long and tedious in resolving, they must have their feet, hands, and understandings prompt and quick, and their eye evermore at watch; for upon their vigilance and providence depends the safety of the whole Armie.

It is moreover necessary, that in the Election your Majesty or your Lieutenant shall make of such persons, you narrowly pry and examine that there be no unkindness, or dissimulation betwixt them; for where there is Enmity, there is evermore envy, and that being betwixt them, the one will never approve what the other shall do, and they will be eternally in dispute, from whence nothing but mischief can ensue. There is no Trade so full of jealousy and juggling as this of ours, and betwixt men that do not love one another there is nothing but contradiction; whereas on the contrary, if they be good friends, the one will evermore supply the defects of the other, and they will argue what is fittest to be done, amicably, and without doing one another the least ill Office: for they are by the Rule of Discipline, whether in quartering the Army, or in discovering the Enemy, to be alwaies together. They are also before the Kings Lieutenant to dispute about the Quarters, and to shew their reasons why they take them up in that place, and are likewise to appoint to what Post the Cavalrie is to retire in case of a Charge, whether to the Avant-Guard, or to the Battel, though it ought more properly to be to the Avant-Guard, by reason that the Cavalrie is a member belonging to it. It is also necessary that they

Of Mareschaux
and Camp-
Masters.

they judg well of the Enemies Avenues, and accordingly where to plant the Artillery, where to encamp the Battel, and where the General shall take his place; and in case of an Alarm, where to plant the Guard, and where to place the Centinels; in short, all things pass through their care and conduct.

When these, together with him that commands the Army shall be perfect in all this, and shall have order'd all things as they ought to be, they can never be surpriz'd: forasmuch as they shall so well have provided for all things necessary; that not a man in the whole Army but will know what he has to do; which being granted, every one will confess that Army cannot possibly fall into any disorder: for all the losses that such bodies usually sustain proceed only from negligence and supineness. This good order in quartering ought evermore to be observ'd, whether far off, or near to the Enemy, and also upon a March, which being done, the Army can never encounter any accident or novelty that can discompose it, when the Enemy shall be near at hand: but if they shall deferre to do it till necessity requires, they will not find the Soldiers either so ready, or so well dispos'd; and besides it sometimes falls out, that they think the Enemy at a great distance, when he shall rise earlier than they, and come to beat up their Quarters. Moreover they ought in such a case to maintain a better intelligence betwixt themselves than upon a march, and then the Master of the Ordnance is to be joyn'd with them, and indeed upon these three persons next to the General the loss or gain of a Battel depends. Judg you then, Sir, whether these Employments are to be dispos'd of with so great facility, since the loss and overthrow of your Armies proceed from their insufficiency or negligence. When ever your Majesty or your Lieutenants shall make Election of such persons, your hearts ought to tremble with fear at so unadvised a choice. And you ought to consider of it more than once.

Captains of
Foot

You have, Sir, next your Captains of Foot, to whom you give Commissions at the fancy of a Monsieur or a Madam, who recommend them out of a desire they have to preferre their own Relations and Creatures, and to oblige others. From these Commands ill bestow'd, almost as many mischiefs may proceed as from the former; whether it be at the defence of a Breach, or in leading a Foot Company in a day of Battel, or in any other Enterprize of importance to your affairs: for if he who takes upon him such a Command, is not such as he ought to be, he will be defeated through his own fault, and all the men lost that are under his Command, where the damage and dishonor will be yours, and the boldness and courage of your Enemy will every day encrease. Of which your Majesty both has seen, and do now see the Experience. At the time when I first entred into arms, the Title of a Captain was a Title of honor, and Gentlemen of good Families were proud of it: But now-a-daies every Plow-boy and Carter that has commanded but in the quality of a Corporal takes upon him that Title. You will say, Sir, perhaps, that we who are your Majesties Lieutenants are in fault for this, but you must pardon us if you please: for it proceeds principally from you, who have begun to conferre these Commands upon little people, so that now the Gentlemen disdain them. In your Grandfathers time the Foot Companies consisted of a thousand men, which was a noble Command, and that was no small ease to your Treasure, there being not near so many foot Officers requir'd as I have said elsewhere: but now it is a very great disorder, and for which your Majesty would do well to find out some remedy, that so many Captainets may return to be common Soldiers. And the same medly is at this day observ'd amongst your Knights of the Order, which is a very great confusion.

Now, Sir, what does all this mean? but that to determine of differences and Suits in Law your Majesty makes all your Judges to pass a strict Examination, though you your self can lose nothing by the sentence, let it go which way it will; whereas where it immediately concerns your own life, and the lives of my Lords your Brothers, and of all the Princes and great Captains of your Armie, and consequently the ruine of your Kingdom, your Majesty without any manner of difficulty, or consideration, conferres Commands and Governments upon the first that make suit for them. Sir, there is an old saying

*Si le Fol un conseil te donne,
N'en fay refus pour la personne:
If the Fool good advice deliver,
Slight not the counsel for the Giver.*

Which I bring in here to excuse the advice I intend humbly to offer to your Majesty, and which you ought to take in good part from me, who am at this day the oldest Captain in your Kingdom; and who from the passages I have seen in my time, ought in reason to have gain'd some experience for the time to come. The Counsel that I will presume to give

give you, is, that your Majestie would take exemple by the Examination whereby the bodies of your Parliaments are compos'd, where the severall members are first to present themselves before your Chancellor, your President and Counsellors, to be examin'd of their sufficiency, who if they thereupon be found incapable, they are sent back to studie till they be wiser, and have rendred themselves worthy of the Employments to which they pretend.

Before then, Sir, you dispose of any Command, upon which so many inconveniencies visibly depend, never conferre it at the importunity of any man alive, till first you have put the person upon his Examination, remanding him before your Doctors, which are the old Captains who have gain'd experience by a long practice in Arms. You may have some old ones, who have not much stirr'd from their own Houses, I do not take such for old Captains, but worse than those the Chancellor sends back to studie : for it is a saying, *Too old to mend* : but I mean that you should call to be assisting at your inquisition such as have ever follow'd the wars, and that are markt for such with a great many Paragraphs, that is to say, with Harquebuze shots, or cuts, and slashes with the sword upon his face and bodie ; which are signs that he has not alwaies sate idle by the fire side. To this end, Sir, 'tis fit you should have a Chancellor ; and Sir, it is most reasonable that that Chancellor be the Monsieur your Brother, although he be yet very young ; for in three or four years that he has born Arms he has won two memorable Battels, so that with the good understanding and judgment he is Master of, and being descended of so good a Race, it is impossible but he must have retain'd a great deal : for he has heard great Doctors in our Faculty dispute before him. Your Majestie must therefore have no other Chancellor of Arms but him ; you shall still, Sir, be superior, for no one can take that from you, and 'tis you onely that can confer honor upon others. As God has made you to be born a Prince to command so many millions of people, he has also distinguish'd you by some particular Endowments from the rest of men. When then any one shall make suit to you for any of the foremention'd Commands, your Majestie would do well to assemble your Chancellor and your Doctors ; and if you be there present in person, it would be better if your Majestie would take the pains your self to interrogate them if they know the person in question, where he has serv'd his Apprentiship, and under whom, (for oftentimes *Like Master, like Man*) and what act of honor he has perform'd ? I doubt not but these old Cavaliers will frankly tell your Majestie the truth, as knowing very well of what importance it is to have a Captain a Fool, a Coward, or a Novice ; and according to their characters and opinion you may conferre upon him the Command he pretends to ; for he has then pass'd the inquisition. And that your Majestie may be deliver'd from importunities, do, Sir, as I did once at *Alba in Piedmont*. Every day my horses were borrowed of me (for we had a little kind of a Truce) This vext me, and I knew not how to avoid it : but at last I commanded my Trumpet to go and make proclamation throughout the Town from the Governor, (which was my self) that I had made an Oath never any more to lend my horses, and that therefore I had caused it to be thus proclaimed, that no one might be ignorant of my vow. After which I was no more importun'd. Do you, Sir, the same ; some day in a great Company declare openly before all the Lords and Ladies of your Court, that you have taken an Oath never to dispose of any Command or Government, but by the advice of your old Cavaliers and Captains. This will presently be spread abroad ; for what you Kings and Princes say and do disperses it self with marvelous swiftness ; and this will also produce another great effect, which is, that such as are freshmen in Arms, knowing they cannot get in at the Window, will endeavour to signalize and make themselves known to such as are to open them the door, and every one will contend who shall do best.

O if your Majestie will but please to do this, how many brave Captains will you have in a little space ! you will have more valiant Leaders then are again to be found in all the Kingdoms of *Europe*. And this also will produce two things, which of all others you ought most to desire in your Militia ; of which the first is, that when this Governor or Captain shall have been preferr'd by the testimony of your old Cavaliers, given either to your Majestie, or to the Monsieur your Brother, he will look upon it for so great an honor, that he will determine within himself, if he have never so little courage, rather to lose a thousand lives, than be guilty of the least cowardize, or commit the least offence : for he will evermore think, that should he misbehave himself, he should do an injury to those who nam'd him for the Employment he has obtain'd, and that your Majestie might justly reproach them with their oversight in that nomination : by which means they will endeavour to do the best they can that they may obtain honor, and that your Majestie may preferre them to a better Command ; knowing that they must again pass the in-

A pleasant story of the Sieur de Montluc.

fiction

fiction to arrive at it, and the examination of your old Captains, where if they shall have behav'd themselves amiss, they will evermore make a true report, and will be asham'd to advise your Majestie to create such a one Maistre, or Marechal de Camp; whom they have seen misdeamean himself in the quality of a simple Captain.

The second advantage that will derive it self from this strict way of examination, is, that you will hereby stop the mouths of those importunate Lords and Ladies, who upon so light foundations make suit to you for Commands, upon which so many mischiefs depend, being assur'd before hand, that your Majestie will not grant them without the parties being well examin'd before your Chancellor and Doctors, but will refuse them, as you would do him that should ask of you the Office of a Councillor of the Parliament of *Paris* before he has passed the Test; for the Court would not admit him. I have heard that formerly your Father hearing that they had refus'd to admit one, who by some Lady was recommended to them, should say, *that one Ass might very well pass amongst so many Spanish horses*: but they would not believe him. Sir, put those by whom you desire to be serv'd to the Test. I once saw a Gentleman (as I remember he was a Provençal) whose custom it was when any servant came to make him a tender of his service, he would presently put him to trial, and putting a sword into his hand, would command him to defend himself, without permitting him nevertheless to thrust at him, where if he found him a man firm, and resolute, he would presently entertain him; if otherwise, he would tell him he was not for his turn. By which means he had evermore brave and resolute men about him, for every one knew his custom, and no one would offer himself but he was stout and hardy; for he was a rude Gamester. This was an Examination practis'd by a Subject of yours, and a Law he establish'd within himself, for every man is a King in his own House; as your Grandfather was answer'd by the Collier. Establishing this severe Inquisition of the merits of men, all *Europe* would presently know it, and so many importunate Suitors will be astonish'd at such a Law, and will think of nothing but how to learn, instead of courting Monsieur or Madam, and you will be rid of these impertinents whom you send about their business, and the other may go render themselves worthy before they offer to pretend to Employments too big for them, and that till they have given a better account of themselves, they cannot honestly pretend to, because they do not deserve them.

The Character
of a little
Monsieur of
the Court.

There will also another conveniency arise from this way of proceeding, which is, that those you choose and honor with these Charges and Commands will hold them immediately from your self, or your Doctors, and not from the Ladies and the little Monsieurs of your Court, who better understand how to set the finger of their Watches to the hour of the day, than to level a piece of Canon against a Tower, or so much as to discharge a Musket, and yet by their haughty carriage, and stately motion, a man would think that all should tremble before them. I once heard one of these pretty fellows talk at such a rate, as if he had almost himself alone carried away the honor of the Battel of Monsieur de *Biron*, and that Monsieur de *Tavannes*, nor even the Monsieur your Brother had done nothing comparable to him. Now, as I was saying, these Gentlemen who shall have the honor to hold their Commands immediately from your self after this manner, will think themselves much more highly honour'd; wherefore, Sir, in truth these are things you ought more to desire to see regulated, and to have a more especial regard unto, than all the rest that concerns military discipline, by how much all the Events of War, whether good or evil, under God, depends upon the choice you shall make of men of Command.

I shall not here speak of Generals of Horse, nor Colonels of Foot, by reason those are two Employments that are only to be conferr'd upon Princes, or men of very extraordinary quality, who though they be young and of little experience, it imports not much, provided the Camp-Master be an experimented man. And pursuing this method, your Majesty will soon see the confusion that is crept into your Armies vanish and gone; and the ancient splendor and beauty of your Companies of Gens-d'arms restor'd. One thing I perceive, that we very much lose the use of our Launces, either for want of good horses, of which methinks the Race visibly decays, or because we are not so dextrous in that kind of fight as our Predecessors were; for I see we quit them for the German pistols, and indeed fighting in gross Battalions, these are much more ready than Launces are; for if they be not fought in file the Launceers are apt to encumber one another; and also that open kind of fight is not so safe and certain as in close Bodies.

To return to my discourse; you may please to take notice, Sir, that all such as desire to advance themselves by Arms, will cover to be brought upon the Chequer of Examination. And in my opinion it would be well and prudently done of your Majestie to keep a List

of

of all the brave and qualified men you have in your several Provinces, to the end, that a vacancy of any Command falling, you may think of those persons, and worthily supply it : by which means such as know themselves to be in your List will be highly encouraged, and endeavour with all the power they have to do you some notable piece of service : and such as are not in, will expose themselves to a thousand dangers to be put into it. This Book you should call the Book of Honor, and when you hear any one highly applauded, after having examin'd the particularities of his Exploits, your Majestie would do well to give publick Order to have his name entred into your List. I remember I have heard when I was very young, that *Lewis* the Twelfth did after this manner, especially by those of the long Robe, and that the Office of Chief Justice of *Agens* (a place of great profit and honor) being vacant, he remembered himself of a good Lawyer, who had made him a very eloquent Oration at *Orleans*, whose name he had set down in his List, and in pure Gift gave him the place. He likewise did the same in all Employments ; and I have seen the same way practised by that great *Odet de Foix*, under whom I serv'd in the beginning of my Arms : he knew the names of all the Captains and remarkable persons ; and when any one had perform'd any signal Exploit, he presently bookt him down.

But, Sir, withal you must oft turn over this Book, and not content your self with taking the names of such persons only, but employ and advance them according to their quality and desert, and encourage them by some gracious expressions in their favour ; or if he be a poor Gentleman give him money, which if you please to do with your own hand, five hundred Crowns will be better taken than two thousand from the hands of a Treasurer ; for something will evermore stick to their fingers. One time King *Henry* your Royal Father, and my good Master (whom God absolve) had order'd me two thousand Crowns, and he that was to pay it, was not asham'd to detain five hundred : but he met with a Gascon that was not wont to be so serv'd, nor to pay such large Fees. He knew I would complain of him to the King, and was more overjoyed that he could perswade me to receive it, than I was of the receipt. If your Majestie would give with your own hand, these tricks would not be put upon men of desert. It was said in your Grandfathers time, that his Predecessor alwaies did so, and had a Chest full of Baggs stuf with Crowns, in some more, in some less, which he himself distributed according to the quality of the person, or of the service he had perform'd. I know some will tell you that this is too much below a King ; but Sir, do not believe them, for these are the people that would have the moulding of all the Paste, and would that your liberality should pass thorough their hands, to the end that they might nim from your bounty. Only one thing give me leave to tell your Majestie you should not give all to one, nor to a few persons ; I beseech you, Sir, pardon my plainness, you have given one Gentleman of *Guienne* enough to have satisfied fifty pretenders. I will not say but that the man was brave and valiant, but there were who deserv'd it as well, or better than he ; and who notwithstanding had nothing at all. Your Majestie may please to take what I say in good part : I have one foot in the Grave, and 'tis the affection I bear to your Crown, that prompts me to say what I do. I am Neighbour to the *Spaniard*, but he never had other than *Flours-de-Lis* from me. I could say a great deal more, if I durst, for in truth there is but too much to say, and but too many things to be reform'd. I must now speak a little with your Majesties permission to the Monsieur your Brother, your new Chancellor in arms.

'Tis to you then (my Lord) that I address my self, and I should be sorry this Book should go out of my hands without some honorable testimonie of your Grandeur. You are descended from the greatest Family in the world ; there is no Record, but that these ten last descents have ever been hardie and warlike ; and but very few from the first Christian King have been otherwise, although Races have gone out, and that others have seiz'd upon the Crown, which is exceedingly admirable ; for of four Generations of Gentlemen you shall hardly find two Descents together valiant : Which ought to make us believe, that God has a particular providence over this Kingdom, seeing he has given so great Gifts and Graces to those who are his Vicegerents, as to the Kings your Grandfather and Father. And although you are no King, you nevertheless share in the blessing that God has so liberally conferred upon your Royal Family. O (my Lord) you have great reason to think, and to assure your self, that Almighty God has design'd you for great ends, as is already discern'd by the victories he has given you in your younger years, which are such as therein his Almighty arm has been manifestly seen, and that you have obtein'd them more thorough his Divine Will, than any power of man. Every one must therefore of necessitie confess that this Kingdom is the Care of Heaven, that the

Ecc

King

King your Brother is God's Lieutenant, and that You are his. Behold what fair and honourable Titles!

I must now take the boldness to talk a little to you. You are (my Lord) the prop upon whom he reposes and relies; you are he who are to command the Arms which are to carry him into all hazards, perils, and fortunes. You are the Trumpet which is to give us the signal what we are to do. You are our refuge and our hope, by whose testimony we are to expect from the King the recompence of all our services. 'Tis you who are to recommend us to his Majesties knowledg, and who as a true Chancellor of the Sword are to make him a true Report of what we have done for his service; and who when we are dead and gone ought to present our Children to him, if we have behav'd our selves as men of honor ought to do. Finally you have all the eyes of *France* upon you, upon you (my Lord) who command Armies, and who have so often bang'd and bang'd again the Rebellious Hugonots. All Christendom knows that it is you, for the King is constrain'd, since his Council will have it so, to make war in his Cabinet. Since then you hold so high a place, upon which all other Offices and Commands that concern Arms depend, and that we are all to stand or fall by you for the Kings service, and your own, your Highness ought to repose your entire confidence, and to lay out your whole care upon us who follow Arms: for all other conditions of men participate nothing with yours, forasmuch as all the rest depend upon men of the long Robe. Of such there are a great many in the Kings Council: you have nothing to do with these people, neither indeed is it proper you should; for *too many irons in the fire never do well*, and it is an old saying, *All covet, all lose*.

If your Highness will please a little to reflect upon what I take the boldness to represent before you, you will find that it will be necessary, seeing you are in so high a Station, to weigh and consider what it is that may help to maintain and support you in so great and so honorable a Command, than which nothing can be greater. Shall it be from these young Captains that you are to expect it? no certainly; for in these kind of people there is no manner of experience, but rather levity and folly. Shall it be from men of the long Robe? You are yet less to expect it from them than from the other. They will talk like fresh-water Soldiers; they meddle but too much that way, and upon the Green-Cloth will be prating of Arms, that they no more understand than the Carpet they prate upon. From whom then? It is from the old Captains who have been exercised in Arms, and have passed the rude trial of Battels, Combats, Skirmishes, Sieges, and Assaults. They will have cause to remember what they have seen, and will no doubt be mindful enough of the losses they have sustain'd, as also by what error and default the misfortune befell them. If they have been well beaten they will have cause to remember, and if they have been victorious they will hardly forget it. If you take advice of such men you cannot fail of keeping up your greatness, and of encreasing your reputation and renown: for of such you will learn to know how rightly to command, and shall retain from them what they shall represent before you, when giving an account of what they have seen. You cannot employ your time better than to learn prudence to such a degree, that Posteritie may triumph in your Name; and I know you are of too good a Race, not to covet that your renown should flourish after you are dead.

There may peradventure be some old Captains about you, who have neither done nor seen any great matters; for having lov'd their Houses and their Riches better than the exercise of Arms. Truly (my Lord) there are too many Gentlemen of this humour, and the King would do well to degrade such dunghil-bred Gentlemen from all Nobilitie, who can command nothing but their Hounds and Greyhounds, whilst others are seeking danger in the field, and think it sufficient that they can wind a Horn. There is also another sort of men, who for want of understanding cannot retain what they have seen. They can perhaps say I was at the Battels of *Cerizolles* and *Dreux*, *Farnac* and *Moncontour*, but they are not able to give any account how Monsieur d'*Anguien* won the first, and how Monsieur de *Guisse* sav'd the second; the Errors the Admiral committed in the two others, your Highness noble resolution, and finally all that passed, with the reasons both of the one and the other, nor any thing of all this; so that you would say they had never heard talk of it, no more than the most stupid loggerheaded Lancequenet that was there. These are not the men you are to rely upon. You are not nevertheless to reject these people, for you are to make use of all sorts of men, especially in matters of war.

The men you ought to have about your person, and of your Cabinet Council, should be such old Captains as have reputation to be men without fear, vigilant, and prompt of execution. Such a Captain there may be, as may have done one brave thing in his life; but who by his slowness may have lost a hundred fair opportunities, where honor and advantage

vantage might have been obtain'd. Yet will I not say that you ought absolutely to despise these people : I am not so imprudent as to intend any such thing ; for so peradventure I may singe my own wings, though what I am you will see in my Book. I dare presume to say, that at this time good and valiant Leaders do not grow by clusters, nor are to be sold by the dozen. You should, Sir, do something for every one of what degree soever ; not for all alike, but according to every man's merit and renown. I know some will tell you, that if you draw so many about you, they will put you upon making great demands of the King ; (for Soldiers are bold beggars) and that peradventure his Majestie may take offence at it ; but for this there is a remedy good enough in the old Rule.

*Qui n'a de l'argent en bourse,
Qu'il ait du Miel en Bouche.*

Who in his Pocket has no Money,
In his mouth must carry Honey.

By speaking them fair, and vouchsafing obliging language, you will entertein them in hopes that you do not forget them, but that when an opportunitie presents it self, you will be ready to do them the best Offices in your power. A kind reception, a gracious smile, a friendly embrace, will keep them in breath. But if there be such a troublesome importunate fellow, that will not be satisfied with your gracious answers, you may conclude, that that man neither serves the King nor you heartily, or out of any great good will or affection to your person. Such people will never do you any good ; and if the chance of war do not of it self free you from them, there are waies enough to shake them off ; and whosoever he is that serves his Prince more out of avarice than affection, is unsound at the heart : For an avaritious servant when he sees he cannot satisfy his appetite of getting will desire to change his Master, thinking to get more by another, and to that end will corrupt others by the complaints that he will daily make to the rest, of the ill usage they receive. Avoid then (my Lord) having to do with such kind of people, and sometimes before their venom have poison'd the rest : for such men do all they possibly can to make their Prince hated, to the end that they may cover their own private malice under the colour of a publick Odium, and such are easie to be known. Such I have known, and such you daily see, who although they bow under the burthen of the Kings bounty never cease asking, nor ever will.

Moreover (my Lord) to nourish the good will, and cherish the affection of Gentlemen and Captains, you may do well sometimes to write to them, that they may be certain they are in your favour and remembrance ; for this will make them believe that you have a desire to perform something more and greater than before, and that you intend to pursue your fortune. And from this I will tell you what will follow, they will shew your Letters to their Relations and Friends, who so soon as they shall see them, and that you have such a one in so great esteem as to honor him with your Letters, they will lay out all they can wrap and wring to put themselves into equipage to follow him, by which means one servant will bring you twenty or thirty more, out of the hopes they shall conceive, that in doing you service, you will be as gracious to them. And this will cost you no great trouble, your Secretaries will ease you of that, and but waving one hours recreation, you will sign more Dispatches than would serve the whole Kingdom. If it be to a man of very great qualitie, a word or two under your own hand in a Postscript will be no great trouble : but then it must not be too common, at the same time, nor in the same terms ; a fault that I have evermore observ'd in the Secretaries of Princes, and particularly those of our own Nation : for they communicate their Letters to one another, and finding them all run in the same stile, make afterwards no great account of the favour.

If (my Lords) you shall not please to do as I advise you, see what will follow. When the Captain sees that you make no account of him, nor have him not in your remembrance, he will think you are satisfied with the fortune God has already bestowed upon you, and that therefore he is no more to hope that you shall have any ambition to be greater than you are ; but that every man must think of retiring to his own house, without caring any more for Arms. And after a Soldier, let him have never so little a Competencie to live upon, has once begun to relish the pleasure of his own House, his Wife, his Hawks, or his Hounds, and that he is once suffer'd to take that bent, it is a very hard matter to draw him out of the Chimney-corner to go again to the Wars, and to perfwade him to forsake his soft and warm feathers, to lye abroad upon the hard and cold Turf ; and if you get him out with much ado, it will be with a very ill will, and he will be alwaies

That a General ought to write frequently to his Captains.

* A Frank Archer is one of the Train-Band of a Parish, that seldom sees service but upon extraordinary occasion; and by being upon the List is exempted from all Taxes.

hankering homewards to see his Wife and Children. He shall never hear the report of a Musket, but, like a * Frank-Archer, he will think himself slain. In all these things custom is all; Canon and Harquebuz-shots astonish such as are not used to them, but after a man has once or twice heard them rattle about his ears, he cares not so much. There is nothing so prejudicial to War, as to let Soldiers and Officers lye idle and rust. Hang up your Headpiece, or your Cuirassie against a wall, and in a little space it will be all rust and cobwebs: it is the same with men of war, if they be suffer'd to lye still and do nothing. Wherefore your Highness ought to have a special care of this; for keeping your Captains waking with your Letters, and some little benefits from the King, you will hold every one in expectation, and ready to march so soon as his Majesties Summons, or your Command shall be brought to them. To this end give your Secretaries order to put you in mind, for otherwise the Ladies, or the delights of the Court, will put it out of your head. You are young, and 'tis fit you should taste the pleasures of the world; it is but reasonable you should know what they are; we have done it before you, and those who are to follow after will do the same. But go soberly to work.

By this Alarm you shall give your Soldiers with your Letters, you will discover to all the world that you will not forget the facultie that God has given you, nor suffer your Talent to lye idle; and every one who has an inclination to arms will resolve to attend you to the utmost stretch of your fortune. You will make it appear, that since God has already laid his hand upon your shoulder, you will try if he will not lay it upon your head also: you ought to have an opinion that he will be pleased to do it, and to take the verse in the Psalm for your Motto. *Caelum Caeli Domino: Terram autem dedit filiis hominum*: which is to say, that God has reserv'd the Heavens for himself, and has left the Earth for us to conquer. This Verse was not made for such little Companions as I am, but for Kings and such Princes as you are: and yet give me leave to tell you, that although I am a poor Gentleman, and have not the spirit of a King, yet had God pleased to preserve my Sons, and have granted me a little better health, I should have thought, with the help of my friends, provided we had been at peace at home, to have got some corner of the world or another to my own share, and if I could not have got a great piece, I should at least have had a Gobber; or at the worst I should only have lost my labour and my life, both which I should have thought well laid out for the purchase of honor. Had my Son liv'd I do verily believe he would have brought about the design, that the Admiral knows he had in his head, and that he may acquaint your Highness withal. You are young, your Brother has the great piece, you are to go seek your fortune elsewhere, and instead of being a Subject, make others Subjects to you. Since then such a poor fellow as I am have the courage to soar so high, and that the Sons of Labourers and Forge-men (as I have heard) have by their virtue arriv'd at Empire, what are you to hope for who are the Son and Brother to the greatest King in Europe? you ought to look for no less when occasion shall present it self, and that you shall see your time. A magnanimous Prince is never to rest contented, but still to push on his fortune; the world is so wide there is enough to conquer; and the King your Brother has power enough to assist you. You are in your age of undertaking, and you are fortunate. I am sorry that you have laid aside the great and brave name of * Alexander, who, if I mistake not, was the most valiant Warriour that ever bore arms.

* For he was Christened Edward Alexander, which he afterwards chang'd for Henry, and was Henry the third of France.

His Majestie will help to set some foreign Crown upon your head. If then God shall do you the grace to put an end to these miserable domestick Broils, set your designs on foot, and try to immortalize your Name. Employ those many Servants you have in conquering something; and seeing my age, and the wounds I have receiv'd will not permit me to serve you in so brave an Enterprize, I shall at least humbly advise you never to stop the Career of your Arms, but still to attempt greater and more difficult undertakings, taking the device of the Emperor Charles, who cut out so much work for your famous Ancestors. In case you cannot arrive at the utmost aim of your Ambition, you shall at least advance the better half way to your desires. I have no hopes, being a maim'd Valetudinary as I am, my self to serve you in these honorable designs; but I leave you three little Montlucs, which I hope will not degenerate from their Grandfather and their Fathers. More I have not to trouble your Highness withal; and also it is time to put an end to my Book.

The Sieur de Montluc's wounds.

Behold here (fellows in Arms) you who shall read my life, the end of the Wars in which I have serv'd five and fifty years together that I had the honor to be in Command for the Kings my Masters. From which services, that I might not forget them, I brought away seven Harquebuz-shots for a Memorandum, and several other wounds besides, there being not a limb in all my body that has escaped, my right arm only excepted. But I have by those wounds purchased a renown throughout Europe, and my name is known in the remotest

most Kingdoms, which I esteem more than all the riches in the world; and by the Grace of God, who has ever been assisting to me, I will carry this reputation along with me to my Grave. This is a marvelous contentment to me when I think upon it, and call to mind how I am step by step arriv'd to this degree of honor, and thorough so many dangers am come to enjoy the short repose that remains to me in this world, in the calm and privacy of my own house, that I may have leisure to ask God forgiveness for the sins I have committed. Oh if his mercie was not infinitely great, in how dangerous a condition were all those that bear arms, especially that are in command; for the necessity of war forces us in despite of our own inclinations to commit a thousand mischiefs, and to make no more account of the lives of men than of a Chicken: to which the complaints and outcries of the people, whom we are constrain'd in despite of us every day to swallow up and devour, and the Widows and the Fatherless that we every day do make load us with all the curses and execrations, misery and affliction can help them to invent, which by importuning the Almighty, and daily imploring the assistance of the Saints, 'tis to be fear'd lye some of them heavie upon our heads. But doubtless Kings shall yet have a sadder account to make than we; for they make us commit those evils (as I told the King in discourse at *Tholonze*) and there is no mischief whereof they are not the cause: for seeing they will make warres, they should at least pay those who venture their lives to execute their passions, that they may not commit so many mischiefs as they do. I think my self then exceedingly happy, in that God has given me leisure to think of the sins I have committed, or rather that the necessity of war has enforc'd me to commit. For I am not naturally addicted to mischief; above all I have ever been an enemy to the vice of impurity, and a sworn adversary to all disloyalty and treason. I know very well and confess, that my passion has made me say, and do things for which I now cry *Mea culpa*; but 'tis now too late to redress them, and I have one that lies heavier upon my heart, than all the rest. But had I proceeded otherwise every one would have flirtd me on the nose, and the least Consul of a Village would have clapt too his Gates against me, had I not alwaies had the Canon at my heels; for every one had a mind to Lord it. God knows how fit I was to endure such affronts; but all's done and past; my hand was ever as prompt as my tongue, and it was but a word and a blow. I could have wisht, could I have perswaded my self to it, never to have worn a sword by my side, but my nature was quite otherwise, which made me carry for my device, *Deo Duce, Ferro Comite*. One thing I can truly say of my self, that never any Kings Lieutenant had more commiseration of the ruine of the people than I, in all places where ever I came. But it is impossible to discharge those Commands without doing mischief, unless the King had his Coffers cramm'd with Gold to pay his Armies; and yet it would be much to do. I know not if those that succeed me will do better; but I do not believe it. All the Catholicks of *Guienne* can witness, if I did not alwaies spare the people: for I appeal from the Hugonots, I have done them too much mischief to give me any good testimonie; and yet I have not done them enough, nor so much as I would; my good will was not wanting. Neither do I care for their speaking ill of me, for they will say as much or more of their Kings.

Miserable condition of a Soldier.

The Sieur de Montluc's nature.

But before I put an end to this Book of mine, which my name will cause to be read by many, I shall desire all such as shall take the pains to read these Commentaries, not to think me so ingrate that I do not acknowledg, after God, to hold all I have of Estate and Preferment of the Kings my Masters, especially of my good Master King *Henry*, whom God absolve. And if I have in some places of my Book said, that wounds were the recompence of my service, it is not at all intended to reproach them with the blood I have lost in their quarrels. On the contrary I think the blood of my Sons who died in their service very well employed. God gave them to me, and he took them from me. I have lost three in their service; *Marc Anthony* my eldest, *Bertrand* (to whom I gave the name of *Peyrot* (which is one of our *Gascon* names) by reason that *Bertrand* did not please me) and *Fabian Seigneur de Montesquieu*. God gave me also three others. For of my second Son I had *Blaize*, and of my youngest *Adrian* and *Blaize*, whom God preserve, that they may be serviceable to their Kings and Country, without dishonouring their Race; that they may well study my Book, and so imitate my life, that, if possible, they may surpass their Grandfire; and I beseech your Majestie be mindful of them. I have left them, amongst my Papers, the Letter your Majestie was pleased to write to me from *Villiers* dated the 3. of *December* 1570, which contains these words. *Assure your self, that I shall ever be mindful of your many and great services, for which if you shall in your own person fall short of a worthy recompence, your posterity shall reap the fruits of your merit; as also they are such, and have so well behav'd themselves in my service, that they have of themselves very well deserv'd my acknowledgment, and that I should do for them what I shall be very ready*

The Sieur de Montluc's acknowledgment.

The death of the Sieur de Montluc's Son.

The King's Letter to the Sieur de Montluc.

to do whenever an opportunity shall present it self. Sir, this is your Majesties promise, and a King should never say or promise any thing but he will perform.

Honor done to
Marc Anthony
de Montluc.

Honor done to
the great Cap-
tain Gonsalvo.

I do not then by any means reproach my Masters; and I ought also to be satisfied, though I am not rich, that a poor Cadet of *Gascony* is arriv'd at the highest Dignities of the Kingdom. I see several at this day who murmur and repine at their Majesties; and for the most part those who have done little or nothing make the greatest complaints. In others who have really deserv'd something it is a little more pardonable: all that we have, of what degree soever we are, we hold it of the Kings our Masters. So many great Princes, Lords, Captains, and Soldiers, both living and dead, owe to the King the honors they have receiv'd; and their Names shall live by the Employments they have receiv'd from the Kings they serv'd, and were not only enterr'd with those honorable Titles, but have moreover honour'd those who are descended of them, and mention will be made of their virtue whilst any Records of honor remain in the world. I have list'd a good number in my Book, and have my self had Soldiers under my Command, who have been no better in their Extraction, than the Sons of poor labouring men, who have liv'd and died in a reputation as great and high as they had been the Sons of Lords, through their own virtue, and the esteem the Kings and their Lieutenants had of them. When my Son *Marc Anthony* was carried dead to *Rome*, the Pope and all the Cardinals, the Senate and all the People of *Rome*, payd as much honor to his Hearse as if he had been a Prince of the blood. And what was the cause of all this, but only his own Valour, my Reputation, and my King, who had made me what I was? So that the name of *Marc Anthony* is again to be found in the Roman Annals. When I first entred into Arms out of my Page-ship in the House of *Lorrain*, there was no other discourse but of the great *Gonsalvo*, call'd the great Captain. How great an honor was it to him (which also will last for ever) to be crown'd with so many Victories? I have heard it told, that King *Lewis* and King *Ferdinand* being together, I know not at what place, but it was somewhere where they had appointed an Interview, these two great Princes being sat at Table together, our King entreated the King of *Spain* to give leave that *Gonsalvo* might dine with them; which he accordingly did, whilst men of far greater quality than he stood waiting by. So considerable had the King his Masters favour, and his own valour made him. This was the honor he receiv'd from the King of *France*, who in recompence for his having depriv'd him of the Kingdom of *Naples* put a weighty Chain of Gold about his neck. I have heard Monsieur de *Lautrec* say, that he never took so much delight in looking upon any man, as upon that same. O how fair an Exemple is this for those who intend to advance themselves by Arms! When I went the second time into *Italy* as I pass'd through the Streets of *Rome*, every one ran to the windows to see him that had defended *Sienna*, which was a greater satisfaction to me than all the Riches of the Earth. I could produce several Exemples of French men, of very mean Extraction, who have by Arms arriv'd at very great Preferments: but out of respect to their Posteritie I shall forbear; but it was the bounty of their Kings that so advanc'd them for the recompence of their brave services.

It is then just that we confess, we could be nothing without their bountie and favour; if we serve them, 'tis out of obedience to the Commandment of God, and we ought not to try to obtain rewards by importunities and reproaches; and if any one be ill rewarded, the fault is not in our Kings, but in them who are about them, that do not acquaint them who have serv'd well, or ill; (for there are many of both sorts) to the end that his Majesties largesse should be rightly placed. And there is nothing that goes so much to the heart of a brave and loyal Subject, as to see the King heap honors and rewards upon such as have serv'd him ill. I am sure it is that that has vext me more than any disappointment of my own. I have often heard some men say, the King or the Queen have done this, and that for such a one, why should they not do as much for me? The King has pardoned such a one such an offence, why does he not also pardon me? I know also that their Majesties have said, *They will no more commit such over-sights, we must wink at this one fault*: but it was the next day to begin the same again. However a man ought never to stomach any thing from his Prince. The honor of such men lies in a very contemptible place, since they more value a reward or a benefit than their own reputation or renown, and are so ready to take snuff if they fail of their expectation. And moreover (as I have already said) they are commonly men that have never strook three strokes with a sword, and yet will vapour what dangers they have pass'd, and what hardships they have endur'd. If a man should strip them naked, one might see many a proper fellow that has not so much as one scar in all his body. Such men, if they have born arms any while, are very fortunate, and at the day of Judgment if they go into Paradise, will carry all their blood along

along with them, without having lost one dram of their own, or having shed one drop of any others here upon earth.

Others I have heard, and of all sorts of men, even to the meanest, complain that they have serv'd the King four, five, or six years, and notwithstanding have not been able to get above three or four thousand Livers yearly Rent : poor men they are sore hurt. I speak not of the Soldiers only, but of all other conditions of men his Majestie makes use of. I have heard my Father, who was an old man, and others older than he, report that it was a common saying at Court, and throughout the whole Kingdom in the Reign of *Lewis* the Twelfth.

*Chastillon, Bourdillon,
Galliot, & Bonneval,
Gouvernent le sang Royal.*

and yet I dare be bold to say, that all these four Lords who govern'd two Kings, put them all together never got ten thousand Livers yearly Revenue. I have formerly said as much to the *Marechal de Bourdillon*, who thereupon return'd me answer, that his Predecessor was so far from getting 3000 Livers a year, that he sold 1500, and left his Family very necessitous. Should any one ask the Admiral to shew what his Predecessor, who govern'd all, got by his favour, I durst lay a good wager he could not produce 2000 Livers yearly Revenue. As for *Galliot* he liv'd a great while after the others, and he peradventure might in that long time rake together three or four thousand Livers a year. For what concerns *Bonneval*; Monsieur de *Bonneval* that now is, and Monsieur de *Biron* are his Heirs, and I believe they can boast of no great Estates. O happy Kings that had such Servants. 'Tis easie to discern that these men serv'd their Masters out of the love and affection they bore to their persons and the Crown, and not upon the account of reward; and I have heard that they evermore rather begg'd for the King's own Domestick Servants, than for themselves. They are gone down to their Graves with honor, and their Successors are not nevertheless in want.

Since I have spoken of others, I will now say something of my self. Some perhaps after I am dead will talk of me, as I talk of others. I confesse that I am very much oblig'd to the Kings I have serv'd, especially to *Henry* my good Master, as I have often said before, and I had now been no more than a private Gentleman, had it not been for their bounty, and the opportunities they gave me to acquire that reputation I have in the world; which I value above all the treasure the Earth contains, having immortaliz'd the name of *Montluc*. And although during the long time that I have born arms, I have acquir'd but very little wealth, yet has no one ever heard me complain of the Kings my Masters : marry I have spoke at mouth of those about them, when in these late Troubles I was calumniated by them, as if I could have done all things with nothing. Believe me the wounds I have receiv'd have administred more comfort than affliction to me; and one thing I am sure of, that when I am dead they can hardly say, that at the Resurrection I shall carry all the blood, bones and veins I brought with me into the world from my Mothers womb, along with me into Paradise. As for Riches I have enough. It is true, that had I been bred up in the School of the Baylif of *Esperon*, I should have had more; the story is not amiss, and therefore I shall insert it here.

Lewis the Twelfth going to *Bayonne* lay in a Village call'd *Esperon*, which is nearer to *Bayonne* than two *Bordeaux*. Now upon the great Road betwixt these two places, the Baylif had built a very noble House. The King thought it very strange, that in a Country so bare and barren as that was, and amongst Downs and Sands that would bear nothing, this Baylif should build so fine a House, and at supper was speaking of it to the Chamberlain of his Household; who made answer, that the Baylif was a rich man: which the King not knowing how to believe, considering the wretched Country his house was seated in, he immediately sent for him, and said to him these words. *Come on Baylif, and tell me why you did not build your fine House in some place where the Country was good and fertile?* Sir, answer'd the Baylif, *I was born in this Country, and find it very good for me.* Are you so rich, said the King, as they tell me you are? *I am not poor*, replied the other, *I have (blessed be God) wherewithal to live.* The King then askt him, *how it was possible he should grow so rich in so pitiful a barren Country.* Why, very easily Sir, reply'd the Baylif. Tell me then which way said the King, Marry Sir, answer'd the other, *because I have ever had more care to do my own business, than that of my Master, or my Neighbours.* The Devil refuse me, said the King (for that was alwaies his Oath) *thy reason is very good; for doing so, and rising betimes, thou couldst not choose but thrive.* O how many Sons has this Baylif left behind him to inherit this virtuous humour! I was never any of those.

I do really believe, that there is never a little Pedlar in the world, who, having trotted, run and moyl'd as I have done, but would have enricht himself to a Merchant. And there is never a Treasurer nor a Receiver (let him be as honest as he would) in the Kingdom, that had had so much money pass through his hands, as has done through mine, but more would have stuck to his fingers. I have been seven or eight times Captain of Foot, which is none of the worst Commands for getting of money; and I have known several Captains in my time, who have enricht themselves meerly out of their Soldiers pay. I was not so ignorant, nor so raw a Soldier, neither did I want dexterity, but that I could have done the feat as well as they; neither was it any such hard matter to learn, for with a good Quarter-master, and some few other little helps the business had been done. I have since been three times Camp-master, in which Employment God knows I might have had Skip-jacks enow to have made Muster, and intelligence enough with the Commissioners. I could have discover'd when any thing was to be got, as soon or sooner than any man in the Army, I had nose good enough. I was after Governor of a place, where I could have had fourscore or a hundred men at my devotion to have passed Muster, as Messieurs les Gouverneurs know well how to do: by which means, having been so long in these Commands as I have been, and made so many Musters as I have done in my life, with a little good husbandry, Good God! what a Mountain of Gold might I have had! I never think of it but it makes me wonder at my own honesty, that could resist so many temptations. I was moreover the King's Lieutenant in *Sienna*, and another time at *Montalpin*; where I had wayes enow to have lin'd my pockets, as others in the like Commands have done: for it had been no more but to have had intelligence with three or four Merchants, who should have affirm'd that the Corn of the Garrison had been bought by them, and taken up upon their Credit, and it had been done. God knows what profits are made of these Magazines. I could then have made demands upon the account of borrowing, and have deputed some who would have been ready to have taken the Employment upon them, to have brought in a hundred or two hundred thousand Francks in Debentures. But instead of this his Majesty owed us five payes when we came out of *Sienna*, whereof I found means to acquit him of three so soon as we came to *Montalpin*. Afterwards the second time that I was sent thither, in the place of Monsieur de *Soubize*, I stay'd six weeks by the Kings Command at *Rome* with the Pope, and his Majesties Ambassadors and Agents. It was at the time when the Duke of *Alva* made war with his Holiness, and all the Sea-coast was ready to be abandon'd, and *Gressette* was not able any longer to subsist, having not a grain of Corn, no more than the other Garrisons. I found at *Rome* some *Siennois* Gentlemen, that marcht out of *Sienna* with me, who brought me acquainted with a Banquer call'd *Julio d'Albia*, a *Siennois* also, who upon my own bare word lent me 600 (a) Moges of Corn, which are 300 Tuns or Barrels, at twelve (b) Muids the Barrel, conditionally that I should monthly pay him 600 Crowns at every Muster. This money I could no way raise but out of the deductions I reserv'd from the Musters, and instead of putting it into my own pocket, I accordingly paid him all, the last payment only excepted; for there was no more money, nor means to have any; so that we made no Muster. I might have made my advantage of this, for I furnisht several places that stood in need, according to the authority I was invest'd withal; and I sav'd half the Corn, which I lent to the Country people, who were more distrest for bread than the Soldiers. There it was that I began to play the Usurer; but it was at the expence of the King's Conscience; for, for every Muid that I lent them then, I receiv'd two at the Harvest; and indeed it was double worth at the time when I lent it, and yet a penny of this profit never came into my purse, for I left it all to the King. I stay'd yet seven months longer in these parts, without receiving so much as one Pay; during four months of which I made my men live of twenty ounces of bread a day out of the profits I made of the Corn, saving as much as in me lay my Masters money. The other three Months I paid the Soldiers with good words, and the liberality of my Bonnet, as I had done at *Sienna*. Some time after *Don Francisco* arriv'd, who found Corn yet in the Magazine. I moreover dealt with the Dutcheſs de *Castro*, Wife to the Duke who was slain at *Piacenza*, who knew Monsieur de *Valence* my Brother, at the time when he was in the service of Pope *Paul Farnese*. Pope *Paul Caraffa* had made a Prohibition, that no manner of Grain should be carried out of *Romania*; but this Dutcheſs under hand permitted certain Merchants to bring it by night into our Territories, where our merchants met, and bought it of them. I carried this practice very close, of which I could have made a very great advantage to my own private profit; but never so much as one Liard came into my purse.

(a) A Moge is a Measure containing about six Bushels.

(b) Muid de bled, (mesure de Paris) contains twelve Septiers, the Septier two Mines, the Mine 6 Boisseaux, the Boisseau 4 Quarts, which amount to about five Quarters, a Coomb, and a Bushel of London measure.

I could have brought the King a Bill of two or three hundred thousand Francs debt, as did Signior *Jourdano Corso*, and others whom I shall forbear to name, who were well paid. I was neither so simple, nor my opportunities were not so few, but that I could have done it as well as any of them. I have been his Majesties Lieutenant in this Province of *Guienne*, and have been much up and down abroad in the world, but never saw any Country equal to it, either in Riches or Conveniencie of Living. And having such an Employment, I could have had intelligence with the Receiver of the Province, (those kind of men desire no better) and have stufft my own Coffers; for what upon Musters, Garrisons, and Equipages of the Artillerie, I could have made infinite advantages. How many Impositions might I have laid upon the Country? for the King had given me power to do it, which would have turn'd to my particular benefit: for although his Majesty in that Commission doubtless intended those Levies for his own service; I could, if I would have put the charge upon him, and have converted a great part of them to my own proper use. I could if I would have fir'd Towns, and have sent a *Will with the wisp* up and down to the Towns and Villages to whisper the principal Inhabitants in the ear, that they must either give me money to free them, or that otherwise I would cause them to be undone, and come quarter Soldiers upon them, who should eat them to the very bones: for they know men of our Trade are seldom weary of ill doing. I could also have sent to tell the Hugonots, who liv'd at home under the protection of the Edict, that unless they greased me in the fist, I would cause them all to be ruin'd and pull'd in pieces; and what would they not have given me to have secur'd their Lives and Estates? for they did not greatly confide in me, hearing how I had handled them before. But instead of making use of such Artifices of these to enrich my self, I let the Captains and Gens-d'arms, and others who serv'd the King, and askt it of me, take all; reserving very little or nothing to my own benefit. And even that which I had at *Clairac* I took by the King's permission. Let others therefore rest content. If God would please to let me be once cured of this great Harquebuzeshot in my Face, I think yet, that should the War break out again, I should be one to mount to horse; and I think it is not far off; for so long as there are two Religions, *France* will evermore be in division and trouble. It cannot otherwise be, and the worst on't is, 'tis a War that will not be ended of a long time. Other quarrels are easily compos'd, but that for Religion has no end. And although the Martial sort of men are not very devout, they however side, and being once engag'd stick to their Party. In the posture that affairs now stand, I do not think we are at an end. However I have this satisfaction in my self, that I have to my utmost oppos'd it, and done my best endeavour to settle the peace of the Kingdom. Would to God that all those who have been in Command had conniv'd no more than I. But we must let God work his own will. After he has sufficiently scourg'd us for our sins he will burn the Rod.

The fertility of *Guienne*.

And now, you Lords and Captains, who shall do me the honor to read my Book, let me beseech you not to read it with prejudice, but believe that I have deliver'd the truth, without depriving any one of his due and merited honor. I make no question but that some will bring some things that I have here related into dispute, to see if they can catch me tripping in point of truth; forasmuch as they will find that God has never more accompanied the fortune of any man, for the Employments I have gone thorough, than he did mine. But let me assure such, that I have omitted an infinite number of passages and particularities, by reason that I never committed any thing to writing, nor ever kept any memorial, as never suspecting my self to become a Writer of Books. I ever thought my self unfit for that Employment, but in the time of my last hurt, and during my sicknesses I have dictated this that I leave you, to the end that my name may not be buried in oblivion; nor so many other gallant men, whom I have seen perform so many and so brave exploits: for the Historians write only of Kings and Princes. How many brave Gentlemen have I here set down, of whom these people make no mention, no more than if they had never been? He who has writ the Battel of *Cerissoles*, though he does name me, yet it is but slightly, and in *transit* only; and yet I can honestly boast, that I had a good hand in that Victory; as also at *Bullen* and *Thionville*. Which they take no notice of at all, no more than of the valour and gallant behaviour of a great number of your Fathers and Kindred, whose names you will find here. Do not then think it strange if I have been so fortunate as I have written, for I never minded any thing but my Command, and have ever acknowledg'd that all my successes came from God, into whose hands I ever resign'd my self and all my affairs; although the Hugonots were pleas'd to report me for an Atheist. They are my profest enemies, and you ought not to believe them. And although I have had my imperfections and my vices, and am no more a Saint

Negligence of Historians.

The Sieur de
Montluc's Prayer
when he
went to fight.

than other men, (they had their share too though they pretended holiness and mortification) yet I have ever placed my hope in God, evermore acknowledging, that from him alone I was to expect my good or evil fortune, attributing to his bounty and assistance all the successes of my life. Neither was I ever in any action whatever wherein I have not implored his Divine assistance, and never passed over day of my life, since I arriv'd at the age of man, without calling upon his Name, and asking pardon for my sins. And many times I can say with truth, that upon sight of the Enemy I have found my self so possess'd with fear, that I have felt my heart beat, and my limbs tremble (let us not make our selves braver than we are; for every man upon earth apprehends death when he sees it before his eyes) but so soon as I had made my prayer to God, I felt my spirits and my strength return. The prayer which I continually used, from my first entering into Arms, was in these very words. *My God, who hast created me, I most humbly beseech thee to preserve my judgment entire, that this day I may not lose it; for it is thou that gavest it me, and I hold it from no other but thee alone. If thou hast this day appointed me to die, grant that I may fall with the resolution of a man of honor, which I have sought for through so many dangers. I ask thee not my life, for I desire nothing but what pleases thee. Thy will be done, I resigne all things to thy divine wisdom and bounty.* After which having said my little Latin prayers, I declare and protest in the presence of God and men, that I suddenly felt a heat creep over my heart and members, so that I had no sooner made an end, but that I found my self quite another man than when I began. I was no more afraid, and my understanding again return'd to perform its Office, so that with promptitude and judgment I discern'd what I had to do, without ever losing it after in any Engagement wherein I have ever been.

How many are departed this life, who were they now living could witness, if ever they saw me astonish'd, or lose my judgment in any action of war, whether at an Assault, or in any other Rencontre or Battel. Messieurs de Lantrec, de l'Escut, de Barbezieux, de Monpezat, de Termes, du Bié, de Strozzy, de Bourdillon, de Brissac, d'Anguien, de Boitieres, and de Guise could have given testimony of me; for they had all had me under their Command, and have all seen me in a thousand and a thousand dangers, without the least sign of fear or amazement. Who, could they again return to life, would be good witness of the truth of what I have deliver'd; and yet they are not all dead, under whom, and by whom I had the honor to serve, and to be commanded, who although they were much younger Captains than I, it was nevertheless fit I should obey them. Monsieur le Duc d'Aumale, and the Marechaux de Cossé, and de Vielle Ville are of this number; and I beseech you (my noble Lords if my Book peradventure fall into your hands) to do me right, and declare whether what I have here deliver'd be true, or false; for you have been eye-witnesses of part of it; and I fancie that after my death you will be curious to see what I have writ. There are others also who are able to give me the lye, if I have said ought but true; namely Signior Ludovico de Biraga, and Monsieur le President de Birague, who never abandoned that brave Marechal de Brissac. Several others are yet living who have been my Companions in Arms, and many others who have serv'd under my Command; all which are able to affirm the truth of what I have said, and whether whenever there was a debate about any Execution, I did not alwayes think nothing impossible; but on the contrary concluded things feasible, which others concluded impossible to be effected. I undertook it, and brought it about, having evermore that stedfast assurance in God, that he would not forsake me, but open the eyes of my understanding to see what was to be done to make my Enterprize succeed. I never thought any thing impossible but the taking of Thionville, of which the honor is to be attributed to Monsieur de Guise alone, and in truth there was more of fortune than reason in that success, though the said Sieur de Guise was ever confident he should carry it, and so he did.

Fellows in arms, how many and how great things shall you perform if you put your whole trust in God, and set honor continually before your eyes? discoursing with your selves, that if it be determin'd you shall end your dayes in a Breach 'tis to much purpose to stay behind in the Graffe. * *Un bel morir, (sayes the Italian) tutta la vita honora.* 'Tis to die like a beast for a man to leave no memory behind him. Never go about to deprive another man of his honor, nor ever set avarice and ambition in your prospect: for you will find that it will all come to nought, and end in misery and disgrace. I do not say this that I have any mind to play the Preacher, but meerly out of respect to truth. How many are there in the world, who are yet living, and whom I shall forbear to name, that have had the reputation of valiant men, and yet have been very unfortunate in their undertakings? Believe me the hand of God was in this, and though they might implore his divine ayd, their devotion was not right, which made the Almighty adverse to them.

If

* A brave
death illustrates
a man's
whole life.

If therefore you would have God to be assisting to you, you must strip your selves of ambition, avarice, and rancour, and be full of the love and loyalty we all owe to our Prince. And in so doing although his quarrel should not be just, God will not for all that withdraw his assistance from you : for it is not for us to ask our King if his cause be good or evil, but only to obey him. And if you are not rewarded for the services you have performed, you will not stomach your being neglected, by reason it was not your intention nor design to fight upon the score of ambition and greatness, nor out of a thirst of riches; but upon the account of fidelity, and duty that God has commanded you to bear to your Prince and Sovereign. You will rejoyce to find your selves esteem'd and belov'd by all the world, which is the greatest Treasure a man of honor ought to cover. For great Estates and high Titles perish with the body, but a good Reputation and Renown are immortal as the Soul. I now see my self drawing towards my end, and languishing in my bed towards my dissolution, and 'tis a great consolation to me, that in spite of Death my name shall live and flourish, not only in *Gascony*, but moreover in foreign Nations.

This then is the end of my Book, and of thus far of my life, which if God shall please longer to continue to me, some other may write the rest, if ever I shall again be in place, where I shall perform any thing worthy of my self; which nevertheless I do not hope for, finding my self so infinitely decayed, that I never again expect to be able to bear arms. I have however this obligation to the Harquebuze shot, which has pierced through and shatter'd my face, that it has been the occasion of writing these Commentaries, which I have an opinion will continue when I am dead and gone. I entreat all those who shall read them, not to look upon them as proceeding from the Pen of an Historian, but of an old Soldier, and a *Gascon*, who has writ his own life truly, and in the rough stile of a Soldier. All such as bear arms may take exemple by it, and acknowledge that from God alone proceed the successes or the misfortunes of men. And seeing we ought to have recourse to him alone, let us beseech him to assist and advise us in all our afflictions, for in this world there is nothing else, of which the great ones have their share as well as the meanest of us all. Wherein he manifesteth his own greatness, in that neither King nor Prince are exempted from his correcting hand, and who stand not continually in need of him and his divine assistance.

Do not disdain, you who desire to follow arms, instead of reading *Amadis de Gaule*, and *Launcelot du Lake*, to spend sometimes an hour in reading what I have done, and in taking notice of what I have been, in this Treatise that I leave behind me. By which means you shall learn to know your selves, and betimes to form your selves to be Soldiers and Captains; for you must first learn to obey, that you may afterwards know how to command. This is not for silk-worms, and spruce Courtiers to do; nor for those that are in love with their ease, but for such as by the ways of virtue, and at the price of their lives will endeavour to immortalize their names, as I hope, in despite of envy I have done that of *Montluc*.

Here the Signieur de Montluc had put an end to his Book; but since, the short Supplement following was found amongst his Papers.

I Here thought I had at once put an end both to my Writing, and my Life; never imagining that God would ever again have enabled me to get on horse-back to bear arms; but he was pleased to order it otherwise. For some time all *France* was happy in the enjoyment of Peace and repose, whilst I alone was afflicted with sickness, and tormented with my great wound, which together confin'd me for the most part to my bed: notwithstanding by little and little I recover'd my health, being more glad to be discharg'd of my Government, than if that heavy burthen had still layn upon my shoulders. The *Marquis de Villars*, who has now the charge upon him, will no doubt acquit himself of his trust, as an old Cavalier, and a great Captain ought to do.

Now I ever said with my self, hearing news from Court (for I had yet some correspondence there) that the Hugonots were too much caressed, for any good to come of it, and saw very well that there was some mischief a brewing. The King by his Letters, which I have yet by me, and also in discourse to several of my friends, was pleased to declare, that he was no way dissatisfied with me, that he desir'd to manifest how much I was in his favour and esteem, and that my own indisposition had been the only reason of his putting the *Marquis de Villars* into my place. I was content to believe it to be so; for we must believe as our Kings will have us, or otherwise we offend them. Now although I was no more the Kings Lieutenant, notwithstanding all the Nobles, and all the

Estates of *Gaienne* ever paid me a very great respect, and very often came to visit me; at which times we never parted without some discourse of what the times would come to: for we thought the Hugonots were grown very insolent, and spoke almost as high as in the first Troubles. Had I been as young and lusty now, as I was then, I should have made some of them have held their prating, at least in *Gascony*, where I was.

The Execution
upon St. Bar-
tholomew's Eve
at Paris.

A year or thereabout being passed over in this manner, news was brought of what had hapned upon St. *Bartholomew's* day at *Paris*; where the Admiral was so unadvised as to engage his person, out of vanity to shew that he govern'd all. I wonder that so circumspect and so wise a man, and a man so well beaten to the affairs of the world should commit so gross an error. He paid dear for it, for it cost him his life, and many others. And indeed, to speak the truth, he had brought great troubles upon the Kingdom; for I know that all, nor the one half of the mischief was never contriv'd by the Prince of *Condé*. The said Prince communicated but too much of his designs to me at *Polissy*, and I do believe, that would I have given ear to him, he would have told me all. I acquainted the Queen with every syllable of it; but she enjoyn'd me silence. She did not then think that things would have come to that pass, that they afterwards did. I know very well, and it is very well known to all the world, that she was accused for the cause of the Commotions, that hapned in the first Troubles; and the Prince did her the wrong to send her Letters into *Germany*, to shew them, and cause them to be printed and published in all places: which nevertheless did not much advance his affairs. The said Lady the Queen being at *Tholouze*, did me the honor to talk with me above three hours upon that subject, and said a great many things to me, that I shall be so wise as to keep to my self. So it is, that it is a very easie matter to reprehend, and find fault with those who have the management of the affairs of the world, especially affairs of so great importance as she had, having the King and his Brothers so young upon her hands, and all the Princes being banded against one another; and afterwards this specious Cloak of Religion, which has equally serv'd both Parties to shadow and palliate their Revenge, and to make us devour one another. I pray what apparence could there be, that she should have any intelligence with the said Prince? what she has since done has sufficiently manifested the contrary. But I shall wave this discourse (for perhaps I say too much) and return to my former subject.

The Naval
Army before
Rochelle.

Every one was astonisht to hear what had hapned at *Paris*, especially the Hugonots, who could not find ground enough to fly over, the most of them escaping into *Bearn*. The rest turn'd Catholics, or at least seem'd to do so. For my part I did them no harm on my side; but they were every where used exceedingly ill. I then thought that our Naval Army, which at that time lay before *Rochelle*, was design'd for something else than to go into *Portugal*, and then sounded the bottom of the Design: but I could not imagine why they had only wounded the Admiral at first, having the design that I afterwards saw they had. For had all the Hugonots the next day resolv'd with the great ones of their Faction, it had been easie for them to have retir'd from *Paris*, and to have put themselves into some place of safety: But they were blinded, and God depriv'd them of their understandings. I shall not here take upon me to determine whether this proceeding was good or evil; for there is a great deal to be said on both sides, and besides it were now to no purpose, for it would do no good. Those that follow after us may speak to better effect, and without fear. For the Writers of this Age dare not speak out, but mince the matter; for my part I had rather hold my peace, and say nothing.

Charles the
IX. at *Meaux*.

Though I had at this time no other Command than that of my own House and Family, yet was the Queen pleased to do me the honor to write to me, and to send me word, that there was a dangerous Conspiracy discover'd against the King and his Crown, which had been the occasion of that which had hapned. I know very well what I thought: 'tis a dangerous thing to offend ones Master. The King never forgot the time when the Admiral made him go faster than an amble betwixt *Meaux* and *Paris*. We lose our understandings when we come to the pinch of affairs, and never consider that Kings have greater stomachs than we to resent an injury, and that they are apter to forget services than offences. But let us talk of something else, this will be sufficiently canvased by others, who will be better able to undertake it than I.

Rochelle the
Refuge of the
Hugonots.

All the King and Queens care was how to take *Rochelle*, the only refuge of the Hugonots. God knows whether I did not send the Queen my advice touching this affair. At the Voyage of *Bayonne*, and afterwards at her coming into *Xaintonge*, I had propos'd it to her, to make her self Mistress of it, without noise, or breeding the least disturbance; and by what I gather'd from Monsieur de *Jarnac* (to whom I discover'd my self a little, and not too much) I think there would have been very little difficulty in the business. She

was

was evermore afraid of renewing the War; but for ſo delicate a morſel one would not have been nice of breaking the Faſt. It might have been done, and afterwards it had been to much purpoſe for them to have complain'd. There would have been wayes enow found out to have appeas'd the people; for what could any one have ſaid, if the King would have built a Citadel in his own City? But it is now too late to repent that overſight. This City has furniſht the Hugonots with means to renew the Wars, and will ſtill do it, if the King does not take it from them, to which end nothing ſhould be omitted. For thorough the conveniencie of this City they manage the intelligences they have in *England* and *Germany*, and take great prizes upon the Sea, with which they maintain the War. They moreover keep the *Iſles*, from whence they extract a Maſs of money, by reaſon of the Salt. The Queen ſhall pardon me if ſhe pleaſe, ſhe then committed a very great error, and moreover another ſince, not to ſupply us with means to execute her Command then when ſhe ſent us to beſiege it: For *Rochelle* at that time was not the ſame that it is now, and I think I ſhould have frighted them.

The impor-
tance of Ro-
chelle.

And now behold all the world before *Rochelle*, and I alſo was invited to the Feaſt amongſt the reſt: So God help me, when I took the reſolution to go thither, I made full account there to end my dayes, and to lay my bones before the Town. Being come thither I was aſtoniſht to ſee ſo many men, ſo many minds; for they were ſtrangely divided in their inclinations, and a great many there were who would have been ſorry the Town ſhould have been taken. The Siege was great and long, and many handſome actions were there perform'd, but *well affaulted, better defended*. I ſhall not take upon me to give the Narrative of the particularities of this Siege, for I was no more than a private perſon, and I will ſpeak ill of no one. The Monſieur that commanded in chief at this Siege, and has ſince been King, knows very well, that having done me the honor to talk with me, and to aſk my advice, I told him frankly what I thought. By this Leaguer all men who were preſent at it, and thoſe who come after us, may judg, that places of ſuch importance are either to be taken by famine, blocking them up, or foot by foot with time and patience. There was here a great fault committed, in hazarding ſo many men in Affaults, and another greater in keeping ſo ill watch, that ſupplies of powder came in by Sea, as they continually did: but to tell you my opinion, (which was alſo that of a great many others) they had been our own in ſpite of the beſt they could have done for their defence, and muſt have come out to us with Ropes about their necks; for the Succours the Count de *Montgomery* brought them were retir'd, and we were upon the point to grapple with them, for they were reduced to the laſt neceſſity of all things. But at the ſame time Monſieur de *Valence* my Brother was in *Poland*, to labour the Monſieurs election to that Kingdom, as he did. And I think the glory of that buſineſs is due to him: but it was alſo the cauſe that every one thought of entring into Capitulation with the Rochellors, as at laſt they did. The Deputies of *Poland* there came to ſalute the Monſieur for their King, and every one retir'd to prepare himſelf to ſee the Solemnity of this new Crown; ſo that after having loſt a vaſt number of men at this Siege, we left the Rochellors ſtill in poſſeſſion of their City. It ſeem'd by ſome words the Monſieur caſt out at his departure, that he was not very well ſatiſfied with this new Kingdom: for my part I think it was a great honor both to him, and to us all, that ſo remote a Kingdom ſhould come to ſeek a King in ours. Monſieur de *Valence* my Brother got a great deal of honor in this Negotiation, and his Orations are very fine, I make no doubt but he will infer them in his Hiſtory.

The Sieur de
Montluc goes to
the Siege of
Rochelle.

The Monſieur
elected King of
Poland.

During theſe unhappy Wars, and this Siege, where I loſt ſeveral of my Kindred and Friends, the Admiral de *Villars*, who was the Kings Lieutenant in *Guienne*, did in my opinion the beſt he could; and in truth there was not much to do, for the Hugonots were ſquandred here and there like a Covey of flown Partridges. But having taken a little heart by the length of this Siege, they made ſome attempts, which made me for my laſt miſfortune, to loſe my Son *Fabian* Signieur de *Monteſquien*, who in forcing a Barricado at *Noguarol*, *Fabian* de *Montluc* ſlain. receiv'd a Harquebuze ſhot whereof he died. Although he was my Son, I muſt needs give him this teſtimony, that he was loyal and brave; and I verily believ'd that the ſorrow for his death would have ended my dayes, but God gave me courage to bear my loſs; not with that patience I ſhould have done, but as well as I could.

In the mean time all *France* was full of Triumphs to honor the departure of the new King of *Poland*, whiſt I remain'd at my own houſe, without other company than my own ſorrows, ſaving that ſometimes I was viſited by my friends, and the Gentlemen of the Country. The King about this time made a new removal, which was very prejudicial to the Province of *Guienne*. Thoſe who follow after us will learn to be wiſe by the overſights of others; and the error that his Maſteſty here committed, was, that he divided the Government of *Guienne* into two parts, wherein he gave all on this ſide the *Garonne* towards *Gascony*

Gascony to Monsieur de la Valette, and that on the other side to Monsieur de Loffe. This was a very great mistake in the Kings Council; and more especially in the Queen, who would again divide it into three parts; to give one to Monsieur de Gramont. 'Twas pitty that so many wise head-pieces had not taken notice what inconveniences had already accru'd by giving so much power to Monsieur d'Anville before, by reason of the little intelligence there had been betwixt him and me, of which I have elsewhere given an account; and seeing all the forces of the whole Province, under one head, had enough to do to cause the King to be obey'd, what was to be expected from them, when separated, and under several mens Commands? This sows jealousie and dissention amongst them, which in the end grows to absolute breach; and all at the expence of the King and his people. The effects soon discover'd themselves; for Monsieur de Loffe undertook the Siege of *Clerac*, a paltry Town, that had never dar'd to shut her Gates against me; where Monsieur de la Valette was also present, but it was only in the quality of a looker on; where in the end he did nothing worth speaking of; neither indeed am I at all concern'd in that affair; so that what I say is only to enform the King, that to be well serv'd he ought never to divide a Government, but commit it entire to one Lieutenant only. His Kingdom is wide enough to satisfie the ambition of those who are greedy of Employments; and, with his Majesties pardon, they ought to stay their time, there will be enough for all.

The death of
Charles the 9th
of France.

Some time after we heard so many strange things, that me-thought I saw the Enterprizes of *Amboise* again on foot; for they talkt of prodigious things, and such as I should never have believ'd, if all was true that was said; which whether it was or no, I leave to others to examine. A little while after, news came of the Kings being sick, and of several great persons at Court being committed to prison, which made me think my self happy that I was so far off; for a man is often trapt when he least expects it, and when he knows no reason why. In the end of all, news came of the death of the King, which was in truth a very great blow to the Kingdom: for I dare be bold to say, that had he liv'd he would have done great things, and to his Neighbour's cost would have remov'd the Scene of War out of his own Kingdom. Wherein if the King of *Poland* would have joyn'd with him, and have set on foot the great Forces he had been able to have rais'd in his Kingdom, all would have bowed before them, and the Empire would again have been restor'd to the House of *France*. His death did very much astonish us, by reason of the great designs he had, as it was said, in the Kingdom, and I do believe the Queen never found her self in so great a perplexity since the death of the King her Husband my good Master.

The Sieur de
Montluc at-
tends the
Queen to
Lyons.

Her Majesty did me the honor to write to me, and to entreat me to assist her in her great affliction, and to preserve the State till the coming of the King her Son. Wherefore to gratifie her Majesties desire, though I was overburdn'd with years and infirmity, as also to divert my own grief for the death of my Son, and especially to manifest to her the desire I had to keep the promise I had made to her at *Orleans*; I went to *Paris* to receive her Majesties Commands, and from thence attended her to *Lyons*, where I had the opportunity of discoursing with her at large concerning several things which I have since seen discover themselves nearer at hand, and which it will be a great work in her to redress.

Henry the 3d.
of France, and
King of Po-
land returns
into France.

The King being return'd, they made him commit a very great error, at his first footing in the Kingdom; for instead of composing all differences and disorders in the State, and establishing peace and tranquility amongst us, which at that time had been a very easie matter to do; they perswaded him to resolve upon a War. And they yet perswaded him to a greater inconvenience, for they made him believe, that entering into *Dauphiné* all places would immediately surrender to him, whereas notwithstanding he found, that every paltry Garrison made head against him: but I have nothing to do to give an account of those transactions. At his coming he was pleased to be exceedingly gracious and kind to me; and yet he was not so to all; and indeed I observ'd him to be much alter'd in his humor, from what he was wont to be. There were there some publick Councils held, but there were also others that were private, and very closely carried.

The Sieur de
Montluc crea-
ted Marechal
of France.

Now his Majesty calling to mind the services I had done for the Kings his Grandfather, Father, and Brother; some of which he had heard of, and others had himself also seen, he was resolv'd to honor me with the Estate of Marechal of *France*, and to make me rich in honor, since he could not do it in matter of wealth and estate. Having therefore caus'd me to be call'd for, and being come, to kneel down before him, after I had taken the Oath, he put the Marechal's Staffe into my hand: Which having done, in returning my most humble thanks, I told him, *That I had no other grief in this world, but that I had not ten good years in my belly, wherein to manifest how much I desir'd to be serviceable to his Majesty and Crown in that honorable Command.* Having receiv'd his Commands, and those of the Queen, I return'd into *Gascony* to make preparation for war, for all things tended that way:

way : but I very well perceiv'd by the tediousness of my Journey, that I was rather to think of dying my self, than of killing others : for I was no more able to endure long Journies, nor to undergo any great labour. And moreover I very well foresaw, that the same would happen betwixt the Kings Lieutenants and me, that had hapned before betwixt me and the Marechal d'Anville.

Sometime after the Parliament of *Bordeaux* writ me a Letter, that the Hugonots were playing prancks upon the River *Dordogne*, that some course must be taken with them, and that therefore they entreated me to draw a little nearer to them, that some order might be taken to prevent them from proceeding to greater mischief. I hereupon accordingly came to *la Reolle*, where President *Nesmond*, to whom I was totally a stranger, Messieurs *de Merville*, *de Monferran*, and *de Gourgues* came to meet me, and there propos'd to me a great many things. I was not to seek in my answer, neither did I want sufficient excuses, particularly that some promises that had been made me had not been made good ; to which I also remonstrated to them my Age and indisposition ; and moreover the said Sieurs *de Merville* and *de Monferran* coming to my bed-side, I shew'd them my wounds, acquainting them withal with the Oath I had made never more to bear arms ; but in the end I could not deny them, and they made me break my Oath. They being then return'd to make preparation for the attacquing of *Genfac*, I went thither. Presently after Monsieur *de Monferran* brought a brave Troop of Gentlemen out of his Government, (as also several others came in from other parts) together with a considerable number of foot, so that we carried the Suburbs and the Barricado's at the very first assault. Messieurs *de Duras*, *de la Marque*, and *de la Devese*, there went on in their Doublets only, with their Swords in their hands up to the very Gates of the City, which was very madly done of them, for the Harquebuzes shot flew very thick ; but they did it in emulation of one another, and to shew that they were men without fear : but (as ill fortune would have it) Monsieur *de Monferran* receiv'd a Harquebuzes shot quite through the body, of which he died ; which was great pity, for he was a Gentleman of extraordinary valour, and mightily belov'd of the Country, which will find a great miss of him..

The Enemy seeing themselves coopt in after this manner, and the Canon ready to play, sent out a great Rogue, whom they call'd Captain * *Tonnellier*, but a very good Soldier, as it was said, who capitulated and surrendred the place ; in which Monsieur *de Ransan*, Brother to Monsieur *de Duras*, was placed Governor. I must now give an account of an accident that befel me at this Siege, which had never hapned to me before. After the death of Monsieur *de Monferran* I thought fit to dispose of the Command he had in the Army to Monsieur *de Duras*, conceiving that he being a Gentleman of so good a Family, as he was, he would be very well accepted by all : but every one was not well pleased with my choice. From which another mischief also arose, which was, I was told, that the Gentlemen who were come along with these Messieurs, to serve me upon this occasion, highly complained of some words which I had spoken of them, as false as the Devil himself. The words were unhandsome and dirty, for which reason I will not blot my paper with them ; but they were all in so high a mutiny upon it, that they were ready to mount to horse, and leave me engag'd with the Canon. I therefore sent to entreat them to do me the favour as to take the field bettimes in the morning, where I had something to say to them ; which accordingly they did. I was so early that I went by Torch light, so impatient I was to ease my heart ; where the Gentlemen being all drawn round about me, with my hat in my hand, I spake to them to this effect.

Gentlemen,

" IT is now many years that many of you have known me, having born arms under my Command, both in our own domestick troubles of *Guienne*, as also abroad in foreign Countries : others also that are here present, I make no question, have heard talk of me, of my chollerick disposition and hasty humour ; but I assure my self not one of you, as many as you are, ever knew, or ever heard, that I was of a detraactive or an injurious nature ; and although I am not without my faults, yet have I never been guilty of that. How comes it then to pass, that you have done me the wrong to believe that I should be so indiscreet as to speak of you with such contempt, as I am told has been reported to you ? Believe me I am so far from being guilty of such an injury to you who are Gentlemen, that I would not have spoken such a word of the meanest Soldier in the Army. I have ever lov'd and honour'd the Gentry, for under God it is they who have help'd me to that honor and reputation I have acquir'd amongst men. You know very well, Gentlemen, that in the quality I now stand I am out of Combat, and therefore shall not give the lye to any ; but I do assure you it is nothing so, and that I never ut-

The Sieur de Montluc's Harangue to the Gentlemen in mutiny.

The Gentlemen discontented.

Monsieur de Monferran slain.

* Or Cooper.

" ret'd

"ter'd such a syllable; neither would I have done it for the world. Methinks at this
 "age, and after having seen so much as I have done, I should know what it is to live in the
 "world, and be careful of offending so many persons of honor, and Gentlemen of good
 "and noble Families. Now (Gentlemen) I have understood the resolution you have ta-
 "ken to retire to your own houses, for which I am very sorry; as also that you dislike
 "the nomination I have made of Monsieur de *Duras*. Wherein I shall so far comply
 "with your satisfaction, as not to impose him upon you contrary to your liking, and
 "seeing you are dissatisfied with my choice shall no more name him to you. His Majesty
 "shall appoint some other in the place of the late Monsieur de *Monferran*, whom I lament
 "from my soul. In the mean time, Gentlemen, do not deny me this one favour at least,
 "to convoy the Canon to some place of safety; which if you shall not think fit to do
 "for my sake, who have so many years been your Leader and Captain, yet do it for the
 "affection and service you owe to the King your Lord and Sovereign. As for my own
 "part, I will also go retire to my own house; for my age, my wounds, and other in-
 "firmities will no longer permit me to bear arms, nor to undergo the labours requir'd
 "in war. Love me always I beseech you, and remember your old Captain and fellow-
 "Souldier.

This Remonstrance of mine gave satisfaction to all, insomuch that they all told me
 with one voice, *that in truth this story had given them very great offence, it being reported*
to them by one that carried the name of a Gentleman: but they now believ'd nothing of it,
that they were my servants, and ready not only to convoy the Canon, but also to follow me
wherever I would please to command them. I thought fit to commit this passage to writ-
 ting, to the end that those who follow after may learn how to behave themselves upon
 the like occasion. Had I upon the instant known the man that had rais'd this fine
 report of me, I doubt I should have shew'd him a scurvy trick: but the Canon was car-
 ried back, which they attended till they saw it lodg'd in safety, and so we took leave of
 one another, and departed every man to his own home.

I had not been long at my own house before I had every day very strange news brought
 me from Court, and of great designs that were laid by the greatest men of the Kingdom:
 but when I heard that the King of *Navarre* made one amongst them, and was stoln a-
 way from Court without taking his leave, I from that time forward concluded that *Gui-*
enne was again to suffer many miseries; for that he being a great Prince, young, and who
 gave visible hopes of being one day a great Captain, would easily gain the hearts of the
 Nobles and the People, and would keep the rest in awe. So God help me a thousand
 mischiefs were eternally before my eyes, so that I was often in mind to withdraw my self
 to avoid the affliction of hearing so continual ill news, and of seeing the ruine of my na-
 tive Country. To which end a certain Priory was evermore running in my head, that I
 had formerly seen situated in the mountains, part in *France*, and part in *Spain*, call'd
Serracoli; to which place I had some thoughts of retiring my self out of the Tumult of
 the world. I might there at once have seen both *France* and *Spain*; and if God lend me
 life, I know not yet what I may do.

The End of the Seventh and last Book of the Commentaries
of Messire Blaize de Montluc Marechal
of France.

BLASII MONLUCI FRANCIÆ MARESCHALLI

TUMULUS.

Iliadis rursum nascatur conditor altæ.
Hoc tumulo rursum conditur *Æacides*.

FLOR. RÆMONDUS Senat. Burdigal.

Quæris qui siem? MONLUCIUS Nomini
meo satis est nomen.

Conjugi conjux.

P. C.

MONLUCIUM hæc urna tegit. Cujus varios casus, terra marique exhaustos labores
Gallia testabitur, hostes prædicabunt, posteri mirabuntur. Urbium propugnator, oppugna-
tor, Hostes sæpius fudi, vici, subegi. Patriam in sua viscera versam quoties restitui? Imis
functus, maxima consecutus. Terrarum orbem fama complexus. Fatis urgentibus lubens
& integerrima mente cessi.

Avo, Patri Filius, Nepos Blasius Monlucius

P.

Rerum humanarum vices quis non miretur? festinantibus Pater fatis, tardantibus Avus in cælum
receptus. Ille ferro, hic morbo. Ille in insulis Oceani Atlantici; hic in Gallia, hominibus exemptus.
Ille me unicam, vix primos edentem vagitus superstitem reliquit. Hic tres liberos Gallicæ florem nobilitatis,
tria Martis pignora, vivens amisit & eluxit. Utérque bellum & lituos spirans. At juvenus patris seda-
tior, senectus avi præfervidior. Ex æquo tamen eadem utrique gloria. Ore facundus, corde catus, manu
promptus, militibus pariter utérque gratus, militarem veterum ducum adorem triumphalibus laureis utérque
supergressus. Avus nunquam victus, pater etiam moriens hostiam victor extitit. Adlucete filio & nepoti vestro
virtutis egregiam facem sanctissimæ & fortissimæ animæ, invicta avita pietatis columnina: & me vestigia
per vestra euntem ad æternum stirpis nominisque nostri decus tot inter rerum caligines, & errorum flexus, iti-
nere inoffenso perducite.

ΕΙΣ ΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΤΑΤΟΝ ΤΩΝ
Κελτῶν Βλάσιον ἢ Μονλέκον. Ἐπιτάφιον.

Γ' ἄλλος μὲν, ῥά μιν τε, καὶ εὐρέῃ ἔδνεα κόσμῳ
Ἡνέριζεν Καῖσαρ, Καῖσαρ τόνδε βροτῷ.
Γάλλος τ' Ἰταλίῳ τε, καὶ ἔδνεα κόσμῳ ἔπερσε
Μονλέκῳ, ἢ ἀνὴρ δ' ἐκταλέν, ἀλλὰ Θεός.

Ἄλλο.

Τὴν μαθ' ὃ ξεῖν ὡς Μονλέκῳ ἐνθάδε καί
Οὐδὲ μαθεῖν μεζόν τ' ἐδὲ βροχίον ἔχει.

Ἄλλο.

Ἐνθάδε Μονλέκῳ μεγαθύμῳ λείψανον καί
Ὅς παλάμας ἀρεῆς, αὐτῷ Κυλλωνίᾳ ἔχον.
Ἐμάνηλ ὁ Μισγίλιθ τ' ὑπάτης ἦν Βερ-
διαλέων γενοῖσας βελόνης, ἔθηκε.

Εἰς τὸ αὐτόν.

Ἐν πολέμοισι μέγας Μονλέκῳ ἐνθάδε καί
Σῶμα δὲ πρὸς μελὶ σῆμ' ὀλίγον κατέχει.

Ἔργα δὲ καὶ ἀρετῶν καὶ τὸ κλέος ἔρανόμηνες
Οὐδὲ τάφῳ δεχέσθαι, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐδὲ αἰδῆς.
Φῶτας δ' ἰφθίμους αἰδῆσιν ἀναπῆται ὁ Ἄρης,
Οὐκ ἔχον τὸ γέρας καὶ τὴν ἀνὴρ μεγαλήτορ.

Στέφανῳ ὁ Μανιαλδός.

Εἰς τὸ αὐτόν.

Τίτῃ ὀφελὸς πελεμῶντα βέλη λευκωρῶν φάλαγγες,
Καὶ βλαβεράς παλάμας Ἄρεθ' ἀνδροφόνους.
Νῦν γὰρ Ἄρηι φίλῳ Μονλέκῳ αὐτὸς ἀπώλε,
Τὸν ὃ πολυχρονίᾳ γένεθ' ἦρε νόσθ.
Ἦτοι πανδαμάτωρ Κρόνῳ, Ἄρεός ἐστιν ἀρείων,
Καὶ πολὺ ῥομφαίᾳ ὑψότερα δρεπάνῃ.
Ἀλλ' ἀρετὴ τ' αὐτῷ Κρόνῳ διωαμέων κρατέουσα,
Φαίδιμον ἄνδρα μέγα νεκρὸν ἐλάττει.

Ἰωάννης ὁ Γαιωνίθ' ἐποίησε.

CCC

TOMBEAU

Tombeau de M. B. de Montluc.

Tombeau de Messire Blaise de Montluc.

CE Marbre icy (passant) le grand Montluc enferme,
 Un tel homme que luy, dedans si peu de terre
 Ne peut estre compris : ce tombeau labouré
 Clost seulement son corps, dont il est honoré.
 Mais juge par sa mort, le dommage & la perte,
 Que la Gasconne a fait depuis venue & deserte.
 Et franc de passion, voy comme le laurier
 Ceignant son front reçoit honneur de ce guerrier.
 Ce grand guerrier qui fut la garde de son Prince,
 Le soutien & l'appuy de toute la province.
 Où lieutenant de Roy & en guerre & en paix
 Tesmoins de sa vertu, il fit tant de bons faits,
 Qu'il a laissé mourant ce beau doute à tout aage
 Quel des deux il estoit plus vaillant ou plus sage.
 En bataille rangée, il deffit par trois fois
 L'ennemy de son Roy, il remit sous ses loix
 La Guyenne revoltée aux factions civiles.
 Par force il emporta, & print cinquante villes,
 Le premier à l'assaut en témoignant la foy
 Qu'il avoit à son Dieu, qu'il avoit à son Roy.
 Par degrez il acquist d'une honorable peine
 Tous les tiltres d'honneur, de soldat, capitaine,
 Colonel, Lieutenant, Vice-Roy, Marechal.
 Et tousiours commandant, à soy tousiours esgal,
 Dedans soy retenant sous égale balance.
 La vaillance d'Ajax, de Nestor l'éloquence,
 De l'homme plus couard il animoit le cœur :
 Et au plus couragieux faisoit venir la peur
 A sa seule parole, à sa seule presence.
 Il fut chaud & actif, remply de vigilance
 En tout il se monstra, & par tout invaincu,
 Et ne sceut onc vainqueur que c'est d'estre vaincu,
 Où fut-ce par la force, ou par la courtoisie,
 Tant il avoit d'honneur sa belle ame saisie.
 L'Italie le sçait, où de son brave cœur.
 Mainte marque il laissa, & courtois & vainqueur.
 Et le sçait, l'Angleterre, & la France & l'Espagne,
 Et cette nation, que l'onde du Rhin baigne.
 Brave s'il eust voulu de l'invincible mort
 Il eust encore peu faire languir l'effort.
 Mais voyant la veru faire place à l'envie :
 L'honneur à la faveur, il desdaigna la vie
 Et desira mourir au monde vitieux,
 Pour aller immortel vivre dedans les cieux.
 O vous, de qui i jamais l'amitié ne varie
 Pleurez-le ses amis, vous mirant en sa vie.
 Vous lasches envieux guidez d'un autre sort,
 Pleurez ensemblement, & sa vie & sa mort.
 Sa vie vous osta tout l'honneur & la gloire,
 Et sa mort vous ravit l'esperoir de la victoire,
 Ayant si bien sceu vivre, & encore mieux mourir.
 C'est à luy désormais à qui faut recourir
 Pour le patron des deux, afin qu'on y contemple
 De belle vie & mort un admirable exemple.
 Heureux trois fois Montluc, qui vivant si longs jours,
 As eu pour compagnons, avecque toy tousiours

Et l'heur & la vertu : & qui malgré l'envie,
 Vois d'un los immortel ta memoire suivie.

Sur le Tombeau de son cœur.

Icy de Montluc vainqueur
 Est enclos le brave cœur.
 Ou plustost affermer i'ose
 Qu'il est icy tout entier,
 Car tout ce cœur grand guerrier
 Estoit, & non autre chose,

Siste Hospes, & perlege. Magnus ille Montlucius
 hic jacet & quiescit mortuus, qui vivens nusquam
 quiescere poterat. Hæc te scire volebam,
 quandoquidem illud postremum per me ut scires
 ipsemet voluit, moriensque commendavit.
 Abi, & bene precare.

I, du Chevesque de Condom

Epitaphe de Blaise de Montluc Marechal de France, & de M. Antoine, Pierre, & Fabien ses enfans.

CEluy se plaint en vain qui dit que nostre vie,
 (Theatre infortuné de mainte Tragedie)
 Est serve du destin : que le lasche & le fort
 Pesle-mesle sans choix sont ravis de la mort.
 Ainçois que de Pluton la chartre tenebreuse
 Va plustost devorant une ame genereuse
 Que celle qui moisit d'un languissant séjour
 Dans son corps inutile, & mange en vain le jour.
 Un jour du vertueux vainc une longue vie
 De celui qui la passe aux vices asservie.
 Un acte valeureux est l'embellissement
 Du tableau de la vie, & luy sert d'ornement,
 Ores qu'il fait tout seul, & ne pert point sa grace
 Lors que la mort le vis de nos couleurs efface.
 L'honneur plus d'appelle une ligne, un seul trait.
 Que le labeur entier d'un vulgaire pourtrait.
 C'est le fait d'un grand maître à bien tirer sa vie
 Et la rendre d'honneur de tout poinct accomplie.
 L'œuvre artistement fait garde ses liaisons.
 Sa grace, sa beauté, & ses proportions :
 Le temps ne destaint point son raicunissant lustre,
 Ains contre ses efforts il se rend plus illustre :
 De l'indocte tableau la honte & le mépris,
 Et une obscure mort en est seule le pris.
 C'est un fait Atlantée, estre endossé d'années,
 Qui ne les fait marcher d'honneur accompagnées.
 L'honneur de la vieillesse est l'estançonement,
 C'est son fonds, c'est son champ, c'est son propre element :
 Cet aage est un tombeau sans la belle lumiere
 De la vertu, qui doit luy estre familiere.
 Celui qui maîtrise d'appetits ebontez
 Se precipite au sein des fausses voluptez
 Est sous l'escorce humaine une idolle mouvante.
 Non homme, ains seulement sa peinture vivante.
 Nostre vie est un songe, une ombre decevant ;
 C'est un nuage vain poussé au gré du vent,

Une

Tombeau de M. B. de Montluc.

Une fucille d'Autone à la premiere haleine
Des Aquilons que doit s'abbattre sur la plaine.
Que l'on soit donc d'honneur, non des ans envieux :
Que s'ils nous sont donnés de la faveur des cieux,
Il les faut soulever d'une vivante gloire,
Dont la Parque ne puisse arracher la memoire :
Comme a fait ce Montluc, Montluc ce grand guerrier,
Qui honore son front d'un belliqueux Laurier,
Et de Palmes sa main, palmes victorieuses
Le signal verdoyant des armes glorieuses.
C'est ce Montluc, qui fut aux combats nompareil,
Le plus prompt à l'espée, le plus sage au conseil,
Capitaine invincible, ayant sous ses bannieres
Rompu cent & cent fois mille bandes guerrieres.

Son berceau fut Gasconne, où les peuples ardans
Naissent, meurent soldats, & dépendent leurs ans :
Indomptables, hautains à secourir leurs Princes,
Et replanter les bords de leurs belles Provinces.

Il estoit descendu d'ayeuls braves & forts,
Praticqs en toute guerres, entreprenants, accorts,
Eschauffez d'un beau sang & d'une noble envie
Ou de vaincre aux combats, ou d'y verser la vie.
Le los de nos ayeuls va nostre cœur haussant,
Ainsi de la vertu de son pere se sent

Le ieune Lyonneau, qui ja desia menace
De ses ongles tranchans des fiers taureaux l'audace.

L'aigle à grand peine esclôs de son liêt maternel
Oze attaquer des cerfs le peuple au pied isnel :
Il assaut des dragons l'engeance venimeuse
Ee eschange sa vie en mort victorieuse,
Ainsi ce chevalier avant que la saison
Luy frist sur la iouë une crespè toison
Espoinçonné d'honneur, il voulut chaud apprendre
Fier de cœur & de mains en sa ieunesse tendre
Le mestier de Bellone, ayant devant ses yeux
De ses preus devanciers les gestes glorieux,
Bien tost on s'apperceut que sa vertu cognoie,
Sa vaillance aux dangers, sa prudence chesnoie
Aux affaires douteux voloit devant ses ans
Iune soldat ja vieux de gestes triomphans.

Comme l'on void la nuit à la robe estoillée
Qui n'a point sa clarié de nuage voilée
Des cheifs journaliers affublant les travaux
Et d'un profond repos adoucissant leurs maux
Ardente estinceler de mille flammes vives,
Que Ibetys a levé dans le frais de ses rives,
Entre toutes bluete un feu plus radieux,
Horrible, perruqué qui menasse les cieux,
Qui menasse la mer & la terre d'orage :
Ainsi du grand Montluc le Martial courage
Terrible flamboyait entre tous les soldats
Actif, laborieux, vray champion de Mars.
La Toscane en trembloit, la superbe Italie,
Angleterre, Piedmont, Flandres, la Germanie,
Sa grand' picque en sa main guide des bataillons
Estoit l'horreur, frayeur des peuples Bourguignons,
Sous les feus ondoyans de l'acier de sa targe
Le Fran ois gros de cœur ne craignoit point la charge
De l'arrogante Espagne, ayant plus cher mourir
Et vair son estomac d'un coup mortel ouvrir
Que recevoir le froid d'une peur pallisante,
Comptable des bonheur d'une ame peu vaillante.

Son seul regard rendoit le soldat si hautain
Qu'il sembloit ja tenir la victoire en la main.

Il n'y a point d'honneur ny tiltre militaire,
Dont ne l'ait ennobly, non la faveur prospere
De fortune, mais bien sa fameuse valeur,
Qui a tousiours vaincu des armes le mal-beur :
Ayant e cœur plus grand non que Mareschauffees,
Gouvernemens, grandeurs à la foule entassees,
Ains plus grand qu'un Empire, & né pour commander
Depuis le stot Indoïs jusq'à l'Angloise mer,

Posez moy un Colosse au bas de la campagne
Il est toutesfois grand : un Nain sur la montagne
Est toutesfois petit : ainsi l'indignité
D'un homme bas & vil monstre sa lascheté
Quoy que haussé d'honneurs, & que la main royale
De biens & de grandeurs luy soit trop liberale.

Depuis quand le Françoisé divisé en deux parts
Fit floter contre soy ses propres estendars,
Et que Mars tout sanglant, & la discorde irée
Trainoit ceste couronne en pieces deschirée,
Grand Alcide Gaulois il ramassa le bris :
Millefois la campagne il ioncha d'ennemis,
Et vainqueur abbatit sous le fer de sa lance
De l'heretique erreur l'outrageuse licence,
Hardy, déterminé, indomté, valcureux,
Et l'exemple immortel des faicts chevaleureux.

Mais qui pourroit conter ses guerres terminées,
Escarmonches, assauts, & batailles données,
Murs prins & defendus, celui pourra nombrer
Les estoiles des cieux, & les flots de la mer
Luy seul escrire a peu digne de ceste gloire
De ses divers travaux une immortelle histoire,
Luy un second Cesar, le sçavant escrivain
Des exploits achevez par sa vaillante main.
Non autrement qu'un chesne orgueilleux de trophées
Ses armes reluisoient de lauriers étoffées,
Ayant tousiours fait voir par le glaive pointu
Qu'il estoit impossible d'abattre sa vertu
Si bien que le Dieu Mars or qu'il portast envie
Gros de rage & despit aux gestes de sa vie,
N'a iamais entrepris dedans lest our sanglant
Sur la poudre adenter ce Tydide vaillant.
Dont époint de fureur & bouillant de colere,
A meurtry coup sur coup en leur fleur printaniere
Trois freres, ses trois fils, trois Achilles François,
Trois Scipions nouveaux flambans sous les barnois,
Comme l'astre iumeau qui sauve de tempeste
Du matelot ja prest à naufrager la teste.

Ces vieux Heros de Grèce, & ses foudres Romains
N'eussent passé l'honneur des trois freres germains,
Si leur forte vigueur aux armes si bien née
En leur tendre bourgeon n'eust esté moissonnée.
Comme on void trois beaux lis qui d'un lustre pareil
Des boutonnent leur robe aux royaons du soleil.
Ou trois beaux Hyacints à la face vermeille,
Epanir les thresors de leur vifue merveille,
Le ciel s'en resjouit, & verse sur ses fleurs
Les larmes dont l'aurore argente leurs couleurs :
Mais le contre trenchant où le gresleux orage
Les celestes bonheurs de leurs beautez saccage
Le destin nous monstra puis à soudain repris
Ces trois freres à soy du terrestre pourpris.

Craigniez

Tombeau de M. B. de Montluc.

Graigniez vous que sous eux la Françoisë vaillance
Fit ployer (ô bons Dieux) du monde la puissance ?
Celuy qui fit broncher le Macedonien,
Qui fit pomper son char du sang Emathien,
Vid d'un œil assuré, haut revestu de gloire,
La mort de ses deux fils assieger sa victoire,
De mesme (ô grand Montluc heurë d'un tel malheur
On ne te vid iamaïs foible sous la douleur :
Ferme comme un rocher dedans la mer profonde,
Lequel plus est batu plus se mocque de l'onde.
Tu desseignois encor les combats retenter
Quand la fienreuse mort vint au liët te donter.
Tel est le fier torrent des affaires humaines
Qui faict & puis deffaict toutes choses mondaines :
Nous mourons en naissant, & mainte-fois au bord
De ceste fiesle vie on est pris de la mort :
Mais heureux qui a peu plein d'honneurs & d'années
Attendre de pied coy les fiers destinées,
Qui a veu pres de soy sans iamaïs s'esbranler
Puissances, Royamez, Empires chanceler :
Qui a peu sans frayeur voir fondre sur sa teste
Des grands esclats du ciel la bruante tempeste.
Tel fut ce Chevalier, auquel oncques la peur
Par aucun accident ne fit tomber le cœur,
Ayant heureusement vaincu Mars & l'envie
Qui voyoit de travers la splendeur de sa vie :
Ayant veu retourner deux fois quarante Estez.
Assailly, combattu de mille adversitez :
Mais compris en soy-mesme, il espoitoit la flesche
Dont le malheur pouvoit à son los faire bresche.

Vous son fils, honorez du pere & des enfans
Le Tombeau non de pleurs, mais de chars triomphans
Gemissans sous le fais des despoüilles vaincues,
Pistolets, contelats, picques, lances, massues,
Morions, gantelets, brassars, cuissots percez,
Panaches tous sanglans, corcelets enfoncez,
Phifres, tambours, guidons fanfares de trompettes.
Enseignes, estandars, & lancieres cornettes,
Marques de leur proüesse, & dignes monumens
De ces quatre guerriers, les premiers de leurs temps,
Lesquels ores la hant de la voute dorée
Feront trembler d'esclairs leur salade timbrée
Foudroyans Encelade, & l'orgueil furieux
Des Geans qui encor s'arment contre les Cieux.

A L I U D.

Ignavi Patrio quærant in marmore vitam,
Queis vitæ tantum spes jacet in tumulto :
Hæc gessi ut mutos liceat contemnere testes,
Praxitelisve manus, seu Polyclete tuas.
Nec vatum scriptis mea busta incisa legantur,
Funditus extinctos hic tueatur honos.
Sic scripsi, ut possint vates nil addere, nobis
Æternum ingenio suppeditante decus.
Sed ne forte meum longinquo ex orbe profectus
Ut redeat viso prætereat tumulum
Extremi nomen sculpatur margine saxi
Hoc satis est : populis cætera fama canet.
Sic olim qui Alpes, Italas qui fregerat arces,
Scribi unum hoc iussit, Annibal hic situs est.
Faciebat Godofridus Malvinus Regius, Burdigalæ
Senator, anno 1577.

Epitaphe de Messire Blaise de Mont- luc, Marechal de France.

C I gist le grand Montluc, duquel la renommée
Par mille cors divers,
Embouchez hautement, a la gloire semée
Au champ de l'univers.
Montluc, qui de son nom comme un foudre de guerre
Estonna mille fois
L'Italie, Le Piedmont, l'Espagne, & l'Angleterre
Et le mutin François.
De ces peuples domptez ayant l'ame eschauffée
D'un desir glorieux,
Despoüille sur despoüille, il dressa maint trophée
Tousiours victorieux.
Mais la mort, qui demain doit trancher nostre vie
On peut estre aujourd'huy,
Le triomphe enviant de son heureuse vie
Triomphe ores de luy.
He que c'est peu de cas que des choses mondaines :
C'en est rien que du vent.
Car tout ainsi qu'on void qu'elles naissent soudaines :
S'en vont soudainement.
N'agueres ce Montluc fut l'honneur de son aage
Vu Alcide nouveau.
Après tant de travaux pour son dernier partage
Il n'a que ce tombeau.
Lieutenances, estats, ordres, mareschaussées,
Ny lots, ny dignitez;
Ny honneurs, ny grandeurs, l'une à l'autre entassées,
Ny lauriers meritez
N'avoient rendu content son esprit plein d'envie
De plus outre tanter.
(Iamaïs un brave cœur cependant qu'il a vie
Ne se peut contenter)
Ores il est content avec six pieds de terre
Partage égal à tous :
Car autant en emporte un chetif beche-terre
Que le plus grand de nous.
Sa gloire seulement après luy nous demeure
Gloire qui ne meurt pas.
Car la vertu iamaïs encor que le corps meure
N'est sujette au trépas.
Encor est fraische en nous d'Annibal la memoire,
Encor vivent les faits
Des Scipions, Catons & Césars, dont la gloire
Ne perira iamaïs.
Ainsi après cent ans de vie il ne nous reste
Rien exempt du destin
Que le seule vertu : car tost ou tard le reste
Est conduit à sa fin.
Repose donc en paix ô ame genereuse,
Honneur de l'Univers
Cependant que pleureux sur ta tombe poudreuse
Je graveray ces vers.
Montluc comblé d'honneurs de grandeurs & d'an-
Et de gloire chargé ; (nées
Aiant servi cinq Rois fut par les destinées.
Sous ce tombeau logé.

A L I U D.

Tombeau de M. B. de Montluc.

ALIUD.

*Ne mihi pro tumulo saxorum attollite molem,
Grandia nec titulis saxa notate meis.
Versæ bello acies, quassataque mœnia, gentes
Edomitæ, nobis sint tumuli, & tituli.*

Flor. Remondus Senat.
Burdig.

ALIUD.

Ista Monlucius jacet sub urna
Franciorum equitum unus ex magistris,
Quo nemo melius ferire punctim,
Quo nemo melius ferire cæsim
Vel pedes, vel eques valebit unquam.
Pellæum hic juvenem, senem Camillum,
Claros Scipiadas, ducemque luscum.
Et duces veteres fuere quotquot
Bellandi docuisset unus artem,
Vincendi docuisset unus artem.
Mavors scilicet, & soror flagello
Clara sanguineo, Minerva, Apollo,
Omnes denique dii, dæque, quos nos
Bellis imperitare suspicamur,
Maximo studio, improbo labore,
Scire illi dederant locare castra,
Observare diem, locumque pugnae,
Armatorum aciem ordinare, firmis
Ipsam subsidiiis fovere, semper
Hostium insidias cavere, sæpe
Hostes insidiis necare, nulla
Non cibaria militi expedire,
Torpescentia corda militantum,
Forti & compta animare concione,
Æstuantia, dulcibus, severis,
Permulcere, vel increpare verbis
Munia omnia militis, ducisque
Exequi intrepide, ut frequens pudorem
Tantis incuteret suis Magistris.
Noster Monlucius deorum alumnus.
Princeps militiæ, decusque nostræ,
Illis artibus, hic graves Latinos,
Fortes Allobroges, feros Iberos,
Gentes Cæsareas, truces Britannos,
Plebem Tectosagum impiam, rebelles
Vibiscos tremefecit; imò sæpe
Cæcidit, domuit: stupes viator?
Non noras hominem: volens profecto
Longè maxima præstitisset horum.

P. de Termes Senat. Burd.

Lucinæ Vaticinium de fortuna Monluci.

Vix bene Monlucum dias in luminis oras
Lucina extulerat, pueri cum pandere fata
Incipit, ac tanto matrem solatur alumno.
En, ait, en genetrix coelo hic gratissimus Heros,

Italiam sternet juvenis Ticinumque, Padumque,
Subjiciet Franco. Nec desævisse juvabit,
Germanas acies, & magni Cæsaris arma,
Allobroges quin ipse feros, Alpesque superbas
Obterat, atque fugam castris immittat Iberis.
Aspera Monlucum Cynus tremet: addita lignis
Lilia, victricesque rates mirabitur Ætna,
De super, atque solo, atque salo congesta trophæa.
Hinc ubi jam matura viri processerit ætas,
Eruet hic arces, & propugnacula Martis
Belgica, tum Sequanæ coget parere Mosellam.
Cumque resurgentes sistet Titanas Enyo,
Quos non ille manu, quas non disjecerit urbes?
At tu flos ævi, Divumque, Henrice, propago,
Ne propera, & sceptri curam dimitte Poloni,
Hic hostes premet excidio, flammæque Rupellæ,
Inferet, hic Francis avertet finibus Anglum,
Heu quibus in pugnas animis ruet! Ecce Triumphus
Exuviæque micant: stridentque hinnitibus aures,
Arva rubent, cerno strages, tonitruque furenti
Oppida quassa, tubis reboat clangentibus æther
Concussus vallesque, & vastæ ripa Garumnæ.
Hic vir hic est fato Gallis datus. Ast ubi tandem
Monlucum vincet mors effera, tum quoque Mavors
Victus erit, nodoque manus Pax junget ahenò.

Ne me quæsieris extra.
E. du Mirail Senat. Burdig.

Tumulo Blasii Monlucii.

*Unicus Alcides Manes prope & Infera rupit:
Quid modo quadruplici facient Alcide miselli?
Ecce tribus natis obsessò Blasius Orco
Contulit arma parens: Jam scilicet Orce peristi.*

ALIUD.

*Geryonem triplicem scipso Monlucius auxit.
Jam quadruplex, nati atq; pater, stupor orbis & horror.*
Marc Monerius.

Les Manes de Messire Blaise de Montluc, Marechal de France.

Par. P. de Brach.

Quand Cloton file-vic, à qui les destinées
Font tourner le fuseau de nos courtes années,
Voulut du grand Montluc tramer les heureux jours,
Pour ne les tramer pas, comme elle fait tousiours,
D'un fil simple commun, à l'ouvrage attentive
Sa quenouille chargea d'une filace vive:
En arma son costé, & avec une main
Tira brin dessus brin le bout d'un fil humain,
Faisant de l'autre main avec le fil baissée
En l'air piroüetier la vitale fuzée.
Le fil par le pezon jusqu'en terre alongé
Fortement s'arrondit bien retors, bien dougé.
Et la Parque achevant de tirer la filace
Par trois fois ces deux vers chanta d'une voix basse,
Hhh l'attache

Tombeau de M. B. de Montluc.

L'attache cette vie avec vn si fort,
 Qu'à peine sera-il desnoüé par la mort.
 Puis le fuzeau grossi d'un grand nombre d'années
 Au poids elle donna es mains des Destinées.
 Et Juppin retassant la paste entre ses mains,
 Dequoy pere commun il moule les humains,
 L'ayant fort repaistrie en fit une grand' masse:
 Un beau chef en forma imprimé d'une face.
 Quis'eslevoit hautaine, & l'enta sur un corps
 Dont les membres estoient muscleux, nerveux, & forts,
 Auquel en l'avivant Mars vint à bouche pleine
 Neuf fois souffler dessus le vent de son haleine,
 Vent bruyant, sous lequel avec mille dangers
 Le grand non de Montluc fist voile aux estrangers,
 Vent, qui venant de Mars souffler sur ceste image,
 Luy souffla dans le cœur l'ardeur de son courage:
 Alluma dans son ame un feu de guerroyer,
 Qui l'a fait entre nous tempester, foudroyer,
 Battre, bouleverser mille fortes murailles,
 Tenter & retenter le hazard des batailles
 Apprendre comme il faut une ville aborder,
 Comme il faut l'assillir, comme il la faut garder,
 Ce qui fist qu'un laurier marquant mainte deffaite
 Espais fueille par fueille environna sa teste
 Mais las! comme il n'est rien, qui si tost qu'il est né,
 Ne soit d'un sort commun à la mort destiné,
 Ce Montluc plein d'honneurs, de biens, & de vieillesse,
 Sentist le trait mortel, duquel la mort nous blesse.
 Or comme son esprit deslogeoit de son corps
 Mercure il rencontra, Mercure, qui des morts
 Tous les esprits attend, afin d'estre leur guide
 Au chemin tenebreux de l'onde Acherontide.
 Ce Dieu le conduisant de son double esleron
 Hachoit l'air qui sifflant bruioit à l'environ;
 Et l'esprit le suivant parmy l'obscur voye
 De l'enfer plein d'effroy sans frayeur le constoye:
 Auquel comme de loin il eust monstré le lieu
 Du passage infernal, Mercure dit adieu.
 L'esprit demeure seul, poursuivant son voyage
 Se rendit à la fin sur le bord du rivage,
 Où plantant fermement ses pieds sur le gravois
 Appella le Nocher à haute & rude voix:
 Mais sa nacelle armée & de voile & de rames
 Passoit à l'autre bord un nombre infini d'ames.
 Il passa par deux fois & au mesme batteau
 Pour la tourner passer, tourna repasser l'eau.
 L'esprit qui cependant attendant sur l'arene,
 Contemplot ce Nocher qui ramoit avec peine,
 Au poil blanc, au teint noir, au regard esgaré,
 Couvert d'un vieil habit à lambeaux deschiré,
 Plein de poix, qui meslée au tortis des filaces
 Avoit de son vaisseau calfeutré les crevasses,
 Ses bras tiroient la rame avec un tel effort,
 Qu'en trois coups son batteau revint baiser le port.
 De mille endroits divers suivant les advenues,
 Afin de s'embarquer mille ames sont venues,
 Qui deça, qui delà sautant du bord de l'eau
 L'une sur l'autre entroient foule à foule au batteau,
 Qui n'a deux doigts de franc, affecté de sa charge,
 Que ià le vieux Nocher vouloit pousser au large,
 Quand l'esprit à Montluc, à qui chasse du bord
 Le Nocher commandoit d'attendre un second port,

S'estança dans l'esquif, qui ne vouloit le prendre:
 Et dit, ie passeray, c'est trop me faire attendre.
 Si tost qu'il eust gaigné le bord de ce vaisseau,
 Et charge & Nautonnier se renverse à vau l'eau
 Et le premier mestier qu'apprit cette belle ame
 Dans ce Royaume noir, ce fut tirer la rame.
 Et comme en son vivant iamais nécessité,
 N'avoit réduit Montluc en telle extremité,
 Qu'il n'y trouvast remede; ainsi dans l'enfer mesme
 Il trouva le remede à se passer soy-mesme,
 Charon qui cependant dedans l'eau grenouilloit,
 Pluton & ses esprits à son aide appelloit.
 Et tout soudain qu'il eust d'ongles croches pris terra,
 Commença de crier, nous sommes à la guerre.
 Alarme, alarme, alarme; & redoublant ces cris
 Espouvanta l'enfer, effraya les esprits.
 Pluton craint que quelqu'un par secrette rapine
 Vienne encor de nouveau ravir sa Proserpine.
 Il ne sçait, qu'il doit faire, il va de tous costez
 Rechercher dans l'enfer les soldats indomptez
 Qui ont durant leur vie avecques quelque gloire
 Acheté par leur sang l'honneur d'une victoire,
 Hardis, aspres, vaillans, ardans de sang humain,
 Et qui ont furieux porté la guerre en main.
 Dix mille tels esprits sont sortis des lieux sombres,
 Où logent dans l'enfer plus plaisibles les ombres.
 L'un d'un grand coup d'espée a le chef avalé,
 L'autre de bras de iambe estoit escartelé,
 L'un porté dans le seing une bale cachée:
 L'autre a d'un coup d'espée une oreille tranchée.
 Mais comme la plupart de ces braves soldats
 Ont veu l'ame à Montluc qui marchoit à grand pas
 En l'air branlant sa main d'une horrible menace
 Suivans à vanderoute ils ont quitté la place,
 Presque tous les esprits à al'arme venus
 En voyant l'autre esprit, se sont ressouvenus,
 Que c'estoit ce Montluc, qui vivant sur la terre
 Estoit un second Mars, un foudre de la guerre,
 Et tous ceux qui vivans luy furent ennemis,
 Comme s'il les cherchoit, en fuitte se sont mis.
 A chasque ame il sembloit pensant estre attrappée
 Sentir encor le fil de sa sanglante espée.
 La Toscans, la Lombars, Napolitans, Anglois,
 Allemans, Espagnols & rebelles François
 Peste-mesle fuyans d'une fuitte pressée
 Cul sur teste tombant à jambe renversée.
 Tout l'enfer retentist, & les esprits peureux
 Cherchent pour se cacher leurs sepulchres ombreux,
 Ils veulent tous crier; mais une crainte mole
 Dans leur bouche beante amortist la parole.
 Pluton qui cependant cherchoit par tous moyens
 De rassurer le cœur de ses noirs citoyens,
 Et connoistre l'auteur de l'esmute avenue,
 Ne les voyans suivis fors que d'une ame nue
 Se bouffit de colere: il enrage de voir
 Qu'une ame ait peu l'enfer de frayeur émouvoir.
 Et rougissant de honte à grand pas il s'avance
 Vers l'esprit à Montluc qui ferme en countenance
 Sans s'effrayer de luy devers luy s'avançoit.
 Comme assez près de luy l'esprit il apperçoit,
 Vomissant son courroux il commence luy dire,
 Viens tu superbe esprit pour troubler mon empire?
Arreste,

Tombeau de M. B. de Montluc.

Arreste, arrête toy : sinon malgré le sort
 Je te feray sen ir une seconde mort :
 Ou ie feray souffrir à ton ombre coupable
 L'impitoyable arrest du juge inexorable.
 Plus rigoureux vers toy sera son jugement,
 Que du fer, que du feu, que du geyneux tourment
 Qui es tu ? d'ou viens-tu ? de quelle audace folle
 Ozes tu sans Caron passer dans sa gondolle.

L'esprit ayant esté l'hoste d'un corps vainqueur,
 Duquel iamais la peur n'avoit glacé le cœur.
 Ne s'estonna craintif au bruit de sa menace :
 Ains luy contre-respond avec une humble audace :

Icy ie ne viens pas, comme ont faict autresfois
 Hercule tugeant, Thesée, ou Piritois,
 Pour troubler ton enfer : car cette ame eschauffée
 De gloire n'a iamais desiré ce trophée,
 Sans peur donques demeure en ces ombreux enfers,
 D'enfer le chien portier aux trois gosiers ouverts
 Et toy sans peur de moy, pluton, garde ta fame.
 Là haut une plus belle encor garde la flame
 De son amour vers moy : mais si tu es le Roy
 De ce Royaume noir plein d'horreur & d'effroy,
 Pour quoy n'establis-tu avec quel que justice,
 Les favorables loix d'une douce police ?

Et quoy ? luy dit Pluton, qu'as-tu ça bas trouvé,
 Qui par nouvelle loy doit estre reprouvé ?

Après qu'on eust, dit-il, mis mon corps sous la lame
 Voulant passer ton fleuve, ainsi que fait toute ame
 D'une rame Caron me chassa rudement,
 Bien que i'eusse attendu sur le port longuement,
 Et qu'il eust ia passé mainte ame en sa barque,
 Qui avoient eu congé depuis moy par la parque,

Moy qui aye le cœur gros & pense meriter
 Pour le corps, d'où ie sors, de me voir mieux traiter,
 Tout flambant de courroux i'entray dedans la nasse
 En renversant sa charge : & tout seul ie me passe.

Or Pluton si tu veux avec un long discours
 Entendre qui ie suis, & quels furent mes jours,
 Je n'aurois iamais fait contant ma vie entiere.
 Le parler me faudroit plustost que la matiere,

Pluton, dont le courroux estoit desia flatté
 Par ses propos deserts plein d'humble gravité,
 Luy dit, approche toy, ame genereuse
 Viens ça bas pour parer ma grand chambre fumeuse,
 D'où es-tu qui tu es, & tes faicts conte moy.

L'ame sans sonner mot longuement se tint coy :
 Puis dit en s'élevant comme un, qui se réveille,
 Si le nom de Montluc a frappé ton oreille,
 Nom que la renommée embouche en mille corps,
 Je fus quand il vivoit, l'hostesse de son corps.
 La France est mon pays, Gasconne est ma nourrisse,
 Qui blandist ses enfans d'un guerrier exercice,
 Qui arme leurs berceaux de petits estandars,
 Et leurs mains de tambours, les voïans au Dieu Mars.
 La lignée de ceux, desquels ie pris naissance,
 Est assez par mon nom connue par la France,
 Comme un Lyon iamais n'engendre un cerf poureux.
 Succédant aux Montlucs en leur cœur genereux
 De guerre desireux ie n'eus loisir d'attendre
 Qu'un poil vint mollement sur ma ioné s'épandre,
 Poil la fleur du printemps, qui poinct sur nostre teint
 Car encor ie n'avois trois fois six ans atteint,

Que sortant hors de page au Duc de Lorraine s'eschappe,
 N'emportant comme on dit que l'espée & la cape,
 Comme un jeune poulain qui branlant teste & col
 A force a destaché la boucle à son licol,

Lors que libre il sent en fuyant l'escurie
 Dispos court par les champs, & cherche un prairie,
 Où la terre grattant d'un jarret souple & prompt
 Il galoppe, il gambade, il fait en l'air le bond,
 Dessous ses pieds ven eus le long de sa carriere.
 L'air demeure épaissi d'une obscure poussiere
 Son crain flotant espars se meut au gré du vent,
 Sous son viste galop par accord se mouvant
 La terre retentit : mais quand sur un rivage
 Il oit banir la poutre, ou le poulin sauvage.
 Une oreille dressant s'estant court arrêté
 Escoute en quel endroit, puis court de ce costé.

Ainsi du tabourin, qui le soldat réveille,
 L'ecoutois quand le son viendrait à mon oreille :
 Pour courir celle part. Alors cet Empereur,
 Ce grand Charles, qui fut du monde la terreur
 Dessaignoit de la France eriger un trophée.
 La guerre estoit par tout vivement échauffée.

Là donques i'accourus : & sous Odet de Foix
 J'appris jeune soldat à porter le barnois.
 Et ores en Espagne & ores en Angleterre
 Ieune ie m'adextray au mestier de la guerre.

Je traversay les monts suivant l'esper de tous,
 Qui pensoient que Milan seroit garde par nous.
 Mais comme bien souvant la fortune se mocque,
 Nous fusmes d'un malheur suivis à la Biquoque :
 Là où comme pieton, tout de poudre noircy
 Je vis combattre à pied le grand Mommorancy,
 Que i'allay condoyant au milieu du carnage,
 Faisant sentir l'effort de mon jeune courage.

Après que nostre camp desespéra de voir
 Par sa force Milan remis sous son pouvoir,
 Revenu, sans long temps m'arrester en Gasconne.
 La Navarre ie vis, Picardie & Bourgongne.
 Et bien que i'eusse ven ia maint & maint combat,
 Mon vol n'estoit plus haut, que le vol du soldat.

Mais lors un point d'honneur salariant ma peine
 De soldat ie receus tiltre de capitaine.
 Bien tost ie me trouvoy plus chaud en guerre épris,
 Lors que Fonterabie aux Espagnoles fut pris.
 Invincible au travail, apres Fonterabie
 Je vis ô grand malheur, la route de Pavie,
 Journée où nostre Roy demeure prisonnier,
 Où presque te restay combattant le dernier :
 Mais playé dans le corps, à la teste, au visage,
 Avec peine à la fin i'eschappe ce carnage.

Puis avec ce Lautrec sous qui ie m'avancé
 Encor en Italie hardy ie repassé :
 Et suivant la Romaine & la Brusse & l'Aponille
 Melphe nous demeura pour guerriere despoille :
 Où mes soldats Gascons mi suivant d'un prin-saut
 Furent vus les premiers sur la bresche à l'assaut.

Naples scait quels assauts en assiegeant ie baille :
 Et quantefois du pied i'ay marqué sa muraille.
 De ce voyage long d'un malheureux bonheur
 Je revins tout chargé de loüange & d'honneur,
 Aux charges, aux assauts, rencontres, camisades,
 Ayant scellé mon los de quatre arquebusades.

Tombeau de M. B. de Montluc.

Me trouvant à Marseille on vid là de quel soing
J'esçay la peur d'un siege asséurer au besoin.
D'où l'Empereur qui peut t'en faire encore le conte
Partist sans l'assieger avec sa courte honte.

Au siege contre luy ie fus à Perpignan.
Le Piedmont s'es mouvant Cassal & Carignan
Et Carmagnole & Quiers virent en cette guerre,
Combien de chevaliers ie renversay par terre.

Encor que de l'honneur sans l'avoir désiré
De grand Maître de Camp le Roy m'eust honoré
Alors que l'aigle joint aux armes Espagnoles
Entreprit d'assailir nos gens à Cerisoles,
Je voulu bien qu'aux chefs ces traits soyent deffendus,
Guider les pas douteux de nos enfans perdus.
Ce fut lors qu'en vainquant, le François magnanime,
T'offrit maint ennemy pour sanglante victime.
Ce fut lors qu'acharné s'empourpray mes deux mains
Au sang des Espagnols, des Lombards, des Germains.

Or l'Anglois cependant, qui d'autre part guerroye
Pour la guerre s'armoit dans la terre d'Oye
Pour ne voir guerre aucune où ie n'eusse ma part
De gloire d'ailleurs ie courus celle part.

Là ie fis voir le cœur d'un guerrier de Gascongne.
Alors mon Roy me vid en la basse boulogne
(Et cet acte ie mets pour mes gestes plus beaux)
Sauver l'honneur perdu de vingt deux drapeaux :
Et malgré l'ennemy qui tiroit la deffaitte.
Faire couvrir de sang une brave retraite.
En Piedmont appelé pour quelque remuement
D'Albe & de Moncalier i eus le gouvernement.

Sienna pour ne r'entrer dessous la tyrannie
Des voisins Florentins, dont elle est ennemie,
D'entre les mains desquels nos Roys avoient osté
Le jong qui captivoit sa douce liberté,
Craignant & l'Empereur & le Duc de Florence,
En ce temps mandia le secours de la France.
Le Roy prestant l'oreille au prier des Siennes
M'envoya pour leur aide ayant de moy fait chois.
Là où représentant sa Majesté Royale
I eus de son lieutenant la charge generale.
Et gardant aux Siennes leur chere liberté
Là j'avois les fleurons du lis si bien planté
Qu'encores aujourd'huy les bannieres Françoises
Dans les vents boufferoient dessus les tours Siennes.
Si de Strossy le camp, en pieces estant mis
N'eust donné l'avantage aux vainqueurs ennemis.

Henry lors nostre Roy, Henry mon second maître.
Auquel ià ma vertu s'estoit faite connoistre
Dans Sienna me sçachant sans secours assiégré,
Bien tost pour ne me perdre envoya mon congé.

Mais moy brave & vaillant, à qui iamais la crainte
N'avoit dedans le cœur donné la moindre atteinte.
Voulant voir les assauts des campeurs ennemis,
D'attendre son secours deux mois ie luy promis.

Et comme le Nocher, qui au fort d'un orage
Est des flots & des vents menassé de naufrage,
Provident or de ça, or de là, suit par tout,
Depuis un bout de nef, jusques à l'autre bout,
Pour voir si sa navire au ventre creus & large,
Cale trop dessous l'eau, sous le poids de sa charge :
Si les fiers Aquilons le cordage ont lasché,
Si la bune est entiere, ou le mast arraché :

Si les bancs, si les rocs, ou les ondes bossues,
Ont enfoncé les plis de ses costez pensues,

Dans Sienna aussi j'alloy, visitant les rampars,
J'avoisoy si du sein quelqu'un de mes soudars
Laissoit tomber le cœur : à ceux-là par menasse
Courards les hontoyant, ie remettois l'audace.

Vivement assailli ie garday les Siennes,
Comme i avois promis non seulement deux mois,
Ains encor cy apres, de la ville assaillie
Faisant coup dessus coup mainte brave saillie
Et là ie fusse mort combattant, si la faim
N'eust vaincu mes soldats abayant dans leur sein,
Auxquels pour destourner la honte de se rendre
A tout accustomez sous moy ie fis apprendre
Pour ne mourir de faim, à se paistre de chats,
De chevaux, & de chiens, & d'asnes & de rats.
Mais enfin entre nous manquant ce vivre mesme
Nous sortismes vaincus d'une famine extreme,
Tous mes soldats & moy avant que deloger
Ayant trois jours entiers demeuré sans manger.

Après ce siege long, ie m'en revins en France,
Où ie vis haut-loüant applaudir ma vaillance,
Et mon corps entourner d'un belliqueux collier,
De l'ordre de mon Roy, estant fait Chevalier,
Ordre, qui lors pendoit pour enseigne honorable
A signaler en nous un service notable.

Au grand camp d'Amiens, ie fus fait Colonel :
Que ce Prince Lorrain, dont le nom eternal
Suivant de pere en fils commande à nos batailles,
Te conte de quel heur j'assaili les murailles,
De ce fort Thionville, ou de proïesse armé,
D'un tel cœur mes soldats à l'assaut j'animé
Que j'emporté par force une tour haute & forte,
Qui pour entrée apres nous servit d'une porte.
Puis d'honneur sur honneur estant du Roy payé
En Toscane ie fus lieutenant renvoyé.

Mais apres que la paix eust par ferme alliance
Joint le sang de Savoye, & d'Espagne à la France :
Que l'Anglois fut boucle plus estroit dans sa mer :
Que par la paix l'Itale on eust fait desarmer,
En France ie revins avec mes capitaines, (pleines
Qui par leurs faits vaillans emportoient leurs mains
De palmiers triomphans, & de vainqueurs lauriers,
Que la paix marioit aux pastes oliviers :

Mais comme apres la guerre, un vieil soldat l'on paye
Du service passé, l'enroollant morte paye
De quelque vieux chasteau ainsi de mes estats
Que la paix ravissoit au gain de mes combats,
Charles me surpaya, & d'une charge hautaine,
Me fit son Lieutenant sur toute l'Aquitaine,
Son Lieutenant en chef honneur estroitement
Gardé jusques alors aux Princes seulement,

En ce temps les François qui trop chauds à la guerre
Ne peurent en la paix vivre en paix en leur terre,
Firent comme iadis les trop vaillans Romains
Contre leur propre sang armans leurs propres mains.
Baignant leur fer sanglant au sang de leurs entrailles,
Demolissans leurs forts, se donnans des batailles,
S'estans, pour donner voile à leur sedition,
Couverts du faux manteau d'une religion.

La France pitoyable, erroit toute troublée :
De nostre ieune Roy la couronne ébranlée

Panchant

Tombeau de M. B. de Montluc.

Panchant dessus son chef sa cheute menassoit,
De ses armes le lis paslement flétrissoit,
Au Sceptre que tenoit en main ce jeune Prince
Desja n'obcissoit ma rebelle province,
Quand contre ces mutins aux armes ie courus :
Bordeaux, Thoulouse prise à temps ie secourus.
Leçoure ie gaignay : & le fort du fort Pene,
Là où fut le tombeau de maint grand capitaine.

Après (bien que suivy de peu de cavaliers
Desquels i avois fait choïs, pour belliqueux guerriers)
En suivant ma fortune éguilloné de gloire
Ie combati Duras, & gaignay la victoire :
Sous mes coups ou de bale ou de glaives trenchans,
Ie fis long temps la mort errer parmy les champs,
Des champs fatals de Ver, d'ou sept mille ombres palles
Vindrent ça bas hürter tes portes infernales.

Depuis, bien que l'hyver de ma vieille saison
Eust negé sur mon chef, tout vicil & tout grison,
Desfrant de garder mon pays par ma perte,
Passiegeay Rabastens, la guerre estant r'ouverte,
Là pour marquer mon los par un exploit dernier,
Ie redevins soldat, ie devins pionnier,
Et plein de desespoir, de despit & de rage
Voyant qu'en un assaut, mes gens perdoient courage,
Qu'ils bransloient au retour, à la breche hazardens
Ie marchay le premier, guidant leurs pas douteus.

La honte de me voir marcher de telle audace,
(Encor qu'un coup de bale à jour perçat ma face)
Combattre opiniaïstre avec un tel effort,
Cela leur donnant cœur nous fit maïstre du fort.

Au bout de quelques ans, quand la mort qui assomme
Les Princes & les Roys, aussi tost qu'un pauvre homme,
Eust Charles nostre Roy mis dessous le cercueil,
Laisant la France en proye, & le François en ducil,
Et que Henry pour France eust Poulogne laissée,
Ie me vis honnoré de la Mareschaussée,
Se souvenant mon Prince autrefois de m'avoir,
A la guerre sous luy veu faire mon devoir,
Voulant par cét honneur, liberal reconnoître.
Mon service employé pour son frere mon maïstre.

Ainsi aux grands estats, dont ie fus honnoré
Ie ne vins tout à coup, ains degré par degré,
Comme l'astre éclattant, qui dans le ciel flamboye,
Qui pour suivant le cours de son oblique voye
Marche à pas mesurez, & selon les saisons
De degrez en degrez, void ses douze maisons.

Bien que ie fusse sec, & cassé d'un long âge,
Ie me sentoïis encor assez verd de courage,
Pour suivre des desseins que i avois pourpensez,
Qui eussent couronné tous mes gestes passez,
Mais m'estant retiré, pour ne voir tant de brigues,
Pour ne voir les plus grands conniver sous leurs lignes,
Vieil ie pris le chemin, qu'à tous prendre il nous faut,
Mourant comme une lampe, à qui l'huile deffaut.

Voilà doncques Pluton, le discours de ma vie,
Qui fust & de grandeur, & de bon-heur suivie,
Bon-heur que i'ay cherché, en guerroyant tousiours
N'ayant iamais oyseux en vain mangé le jour.

Mais le coïard mal heur, qui ne m'ozoit attendre
Pour s'attaquer à moy, sur les miens s'alla prendre :
Car ayant eu cest heur, d'engendrer quatre enfans
Tous quatre enfans de Mars, tous guerriers triomphans,

Le malheur contre moy bourrellé d'une envie
Aux trois trancha le fil de leur trop courte vie.

Mon brave Marc Antoine bayssant le repos
Mourut en Italie, où reposent ses os
Sur les rempars d'Hostie, où sa main redontable
La memoire laissa de maint acte notable,
Peïrot dont le cœur haut & plein d'ambition,
Estoit pour commander à quelque nation,
Faisant voille au conquest d'un Royaume d'Affrique
Fust tué dans une Isle en la mer Atlantique,
Fabien, le François, comme ie t'ay conté,
Estant contre soy-mesme en armes revolté,
Ayant d'un fort tenu, forcé la barricade,
Sentist un coup mortel, par une arquebusade.

Ainsi vœuf de ces trois que ie plaindray tousiours,
Un seul ioïit là haut de la clarté du jour,
Qui a dans la cité de chevaliers armée
Par maint exploit vaillant planté sa renommée,
Qui les armes portant pour deffendre sa loy,
Dans l'armée croïsee a fait parler de soy
Aux despens des vaincus : & qui brave n'aguères,
Commandoit sur la mer aux Royales galeres
Les sceut pour le combat si bien faire ramer,
Qu'il demeura vainqueur, le maïstre de la mer :
Vainqueur en terre, en mer, deux fois heureux en terre,
Me vainquant, qui n'appris qu'à vaincre sur la terre,
Lors qu'il executoit cest acte Martial
Ie tirois à la mort, aggravé de mon mal :
Mais m'estant de ce faict la nouvelle annoncée,
Tout ravy ie sentis ma force renforcée,
Par cet aïse dernier flutté si doucement,
Que ie mourrois apres, plein de contentement,
En voyant apres moy rester encor au monde
Pour me faire revivre, un fils qui me seconde.

Or donc Pluton, content de quoy plus ie ne vy,
Et d'avoir mes trois fils avant ma mort ravy,
Garde au moins celuy-là, & que la mort funeste,
N'emporte des Montlucs le peu de grand qui reste.

Garde mon frere encor, lequel ambassadeur
Nos Roys ont douze fois chargé de leur grandeur :
Ont fait voir les Romains, ont fait voir l'Allemagne,
Ont fait voir la Hongrie, & la ville que baigne
La mer de tous costez, l'Anglois, & l'Escossois,
Deux fois voir le levant, deux fois le Poulognois,
Voyage par lequel ceste gloire luy donne
Qu'au chef de nostre Roy il a mis leur couronne :
Renversant les complots de mainte nation,
Qui briguoit la faveur de ceste clection,
C'est ce docte Prelat, qui pere d'éloquence
Est baptisé du nom d'Ambassadeur de France :
Qui par le miel coulant de sa disertte vois,
A fait autant d'exploits, que moy par le barnois.

Or attendant qu'icy son ombre ie revoye,
Dont le terme soit long, fay moy monstrier la voye,
Par où ie soïs conduit au séjour bien-heureux
Où logent les esprits des hommes genereux.

L'ombre à peine avoit dit, que le Roy qui s'abais^s
Pour honorer les grands, l'embrasse, la caresse,
Luy-mesme la guidant aux champs Elisiens,
Au quartier Martial des guerriers anciens,
D'Alexandre, Hannibal, de Cesar, de Pompée,
Des Catons, Scipions, vrais enfans de l'espée :

Tombeau de M. B. de Montluc.

La Charles, là François, Henry, Monmorancy,
Bourbon, Lautrec, Bayard, la Trimouille, Stroffi,
Leve, Termes, Brissac, & ce grand Duc de Guise
Le bonclier des François, le pilier de l'Eglise,
Iorissent des rayons d'un autre plus beau jour
Où cette ame avec eux, fait son heureux séjour :
Et là trompant le temps, d'un guerrier exercice,
L'un de ces chevaliers elle appelle à la lice,
Elle court une bague, & cherche les esbats,
Desquels le ieu figure un'ombre des combats.

Car mesme quand le corps est sous la sepulture.

L'ame imbuë retient l'instinct de sa nature.

Les ames de ceux-là, qu'amour a tourmentez :

Souffirent, lamentant dessous les bois mirtes,

Des penibles nochers les ames marinières,

Là bas dans un esquif frequentent les rivières.

Et quand le corps est mort les ames des guerriers

Combattent se jouans sous l'ombre des lauriers.

Ainsi va s'exerçant cette ame bien heureuse

Veufue du corps enclous sous la tombe poudreuse,

Ame qui pleine d'heur ne doit point desirer,

Qu'honorant sa memoire on aille labourer

Ny un marbre imagé des figures antiques,

Ny de l'or rebrunij sur des pilliers Doriques,

Ny qu'une Pyramide esleuée hautement

Pressé en terre ses os servant de monument :

Car jamais par leur mort, jamais ceux-là ne meurent,

De qui les braves faits pour monumens demeurent :

Ce sont les vrais tombeaux : & le temps ronge tout

De sa rongearde dent n'en peut venir à bout.

Montluc donc ne mourra, & sa gloire immortelle

Ne verra que le temps aye pouvoir sur elle.

Montluc qui a laissé cette marque de soy,

D'avoir six fois dix ans fait service à son Roy,

Et cinquante & huit ans commandé par son Prince

Soit en la France, ou soit en estrange province.

De n'avoir, quand luy seul a eu commandement,

Attaqué l'ennemy, qu'il n'ait heureusement,

Soit qu'il fust foible ou fort, emporté l'avantage,

De n'avoir combattant jamais tourné visage.

D'avoir eu cette gloire, avant voir son tripas,

Qu'autre homme plus que luy n'avoit veu de combats,

De batailles, assauts, rencontres, entreprises,

Plus de murs deffendus, ny de plus belles prises,

De n'avoir veu ses fils de luy degenerer,

O heureux qui se peut, comme luy bien-heurer

Par une heureuse mort, par une heureuse vie,

D'une telle memoire apres la mort suivie.

*In Tumulum illustrissimi viri D. Montlucii,
&c. Steph. Manialdus.*

(chrum,

Magnanimi herois non pulchrum cerne sepul-

Et vitæ & mortis nobile disce genus.

Gentis Aquitanæ splendor Montlucius armis

Ingens, fortuna clarus, honore gravis,

Militiam intrepidus primis sectatur ab annis,

Atque ex militia præmia opima refert.

Nam celer eximios explevit cursus honores,

Fit torquatus eques, qui modo miles erat,

Hinc belli auspiciis melioribus usus honorum

Scandit ad excelsos, Marte juvante gradus.

Discordes Gallos dum tristis turbat Erinys,

Civili & rabie Gallia tota ruit,

Unus Aquitanæ præfectus regius oræ

Debellat populos, magne Gerumna tuos.

Horrendum quoties hostis, sensitque tremendum

Terrificum belli tempore fulmen erat.

Scilicet ut fuerant primis veneranda sub annis

Canicies animi, consiliumque sagax :

Sic fuit extremo sub tempore vivida bello

Virtus & corpus dexteritate vigens.

Cætera quid memorem nostræ non indiga laudis,

Quæ foret immensus dinumerare labor ?

Progeniem bello egregiam, vel Martia fratrum

Pectora, quid titulis inscriuisse juvat ?

Vivit adhuc frater nulli pietate secundus,

Eloquio insignis, contilioque potens.

Filius unus adhuc numerosa è prole superstes

Patris ad exemplum non nisi magna sapit.

In cæptis numquam sic deerit honoribus hæres.

Clarescetque novis fascibus ista domus.

Fortunata domus non quæ divisa beatos

Efficiunt homines, omnia mixta tenet :

Ergo senex inter tot tantaque commoda vivens,

Emeritæ recolit tempora militiæ.

Infestis tandem cum nil rationis in armis

Cerneret & toties fœdera rupta dolis,

Annorum plenus magnorum plenus honorum

Expirat, placido & funere lætus obit.

ALIUD EX GRÆCO.

Hoc jacet in parvo tumulo Montlucius ingens,

Defuncti cineres & brevis urna tegit.

Virtutes laudesque viri, præclaraque facta

Nec rapit interitus, nec recipit tumulus :

Morte rapit celeri celebres Mars improbus, ast hic

Ævo maturus, laude decorus obit.

Steph. Manialdus.

Montlucii Tribuni Militum Epicedium.

Ite triumphales Montluci ad funera turmæ

Ite sub illius signis victricia semper

Agmina, vosque adeò promptissima pectora bello

Vascones exequiis longas indicite pompas.

Et fortes si facta viros fortissima tangunt,

Si stimulat virtus tanto subiisse feretro,

Ne pigeat, non æquè animis armisque potenti

Supremos unquam tumuli reddetis honores.

Splendida porticibus sacris aulæa premantur,

Templaque pullato obtentu color ater inumbret,

Perque vias passim tristi pro munere crines

Spargantur Cyparisse tui, quos delphica laurus

Mœstior, atque Apium foliis intexat amaris.

Funereas exosa faces lux æmula noctis

Marcescat, picæque vomant funalia nubem.

Atra procul lugubre sonent, & Lyda gementem

Flebilibus numeris aspiret tibia cantum :

Surda per armigeras acies sint tympana, nec se

Indiciis manifesta suis humentia tangat

Lumina, pars imis animi penetralibus erret.

Hæc

Tombeau de M. B. de Montluc.

Hæc tu Montluci, tu belli fulmen habeto,
Qualia perfolvi manes sibi debita poscunt
Emeriti & multa præcincti tempora lauro.

Jam tibi delectæ procedunt ordine turbæ
Signorum comites, & Martia castra sequentum :
Figentur terræ vultus, longisque trahentur
Arma notis, & humum vexilla sequentia vertent.
Tum bellator equus nigro feralis amictu,
Officium ad mœstum lentis ducetur habenis ;
Quin ad certa tuum celebrabunt numina funus,
Multaque visentur feralis fercula pompæ,
Partim hominum, partim manibus gestata deorum.
Mars frameam, Bellona decus thoracis aheni,
Et galeam Pallas, manicas furialis Enyo,
Denique & aligero præpes victoria curru,
Nunc stupe facta, gravisque & sævo tarde dolore
Bellorum feret exuvias, monumentaque laudis
Plurima, Romanis etiam spectanda triumphis.
Nec vero indecores illis ad grande feretrum
Gentis Aquitanæ primi, quorum inclita virtus
Militiæ claret studiis ; mœrentia jungent
Agmina, quos oculis aliquis tùm fortè pererrans,
Miratusque viros, spirantiaque ora furorem
Indomitum, tacito suspirans corde loquetur.
Heu quantum imperium, si belligerantibus istis,
Ductor in externos isset Montlucius hostes ?
Quale decus potuit tibi Gallica terra parare,
Sive tuos longo protendere limite fines,
Sive aliis velles populis tua dicere jura ?
Sed duræ impediunt leges, civica fati,
Bella furunt, lævoque agitantur Vejove Galli.
Eximium si quicquam habuit vis impia Martis,
En etiam ut morbi populantur & ægra senectus.

Marmoreum tandem ad tumulum listetur, & alto
Compositum corpus lecto fragrantis amomi,
Et pinguis casæ & nardi lentore madebit,
Parva quidem fuerint magnis hæc præmia factis,
Quæ ritu concessa pio suprema dabuntur,
Cum tibi perpetuos Montluci instaurat honores
Fama peregrinis longè tua nomina terris
Extento missura ævo : namque unde tepentem
Producens rubicunda diem Pollentias exit,
Et qua deciduo merguntur sole quadrigæ
Præcipites, tua facta canet, tibi mille parabit
Linguas, mille annos & mille in carmina voces
Extremasque tuba gentes ad splendida rerum
Argumenta ciens, calidis memorabit ut annis
Nobilitas generosa tuo sub pectore primum
Extuderit vivas nativo fomite flammæ :
Utque animosa ruens horrendus miles in arma,
Non satis ampla tibi pomaria laudis avitæ
Protuleris, seu magnanimo fatus Æsone quandam,
Thessalicæ quem non capiens angustia terræ
Compulit ad Scyticas ignoti Phalidis oras.

Hic superatæ Alpes, & vis inimica feretur
Eridani ingentesque Italia tellure labores.
Sed neque Senatûm dira obsidionis egestas,
Et plusquam Perulina fames, aut quam addita Pœ-
Confilio immani placavit Ibera Saguntus, (nis
Defuerit titulis : nec desperata salutis
Spes producta diu lethæas senserit undas.
Scilicet acclivi vectatur glória curru,

Semper & è duris molles sibi captat honores.
Prospera quis nescit bellorum prælia quotquot
Addita sunt fastis Francisci à tempore primi ?
Insubres domiti Allobroges, pulsiq; Britanni,
Belgarum truces animi : damnum utraque sensit
Helperia & tumidi compressa ferocia Rheni.
At quis in his etiam Montluci nomina nescit ?
Undenis ductor lustris ille inclitus heros,
Et patriæ murus, regumque fidele suorum
Præsidium, quantos bellorum pertulit æstus ?
Quas rexit fuditque acies fœlicibus usus
Fortiter auspiciis, quem nunquam impune moratus
Hostis, & aversum nunquam in certamine vidit :
Idque adeo validis docuit non una cicatrix
Artubus, & pulchro violatæ vulnere nares.
Nec tamen interea reliqua ornamenta latebunt
Virtutum, nec in hac listet tua gloria parte,
Montluci dicetur honos Ithacensis Ulixæi
Consiliis cecisse tuis, & Nestoris illa
Mellea vox linguæ patrio sermone disertæ :
Et memoranda fides etiam sanctissima tetrīs
Hostibus, & concors animis clementia magnis.
Ingeniumque memor, vigilesque in pectore curæ,
Et faciles aditus, & blandæ questibus aures,
Mens quoq; non avidis unquam temerata rapinis,
Infantesque manus, nec iniqua cæde madentes.

Talibus exurget titulis Montlucius, utque
Septenis errans fidibus moduletio quondam
Threiciæ visa est citharæ compescere tygres,
Et quercus agitare vagas, & grandia summis
Saxa movere jugis, sic vivida fama merenti
Nectareum è tantis concentum laudibus edet,
Manuricam huic rabiem mulcens, huic cruda Geloni
Corda vel Armenium quæ gens usurpat Araxem.
Clara repercussæ magnum æthera vocis imago
Pulsabit, plaudet Tanais, Ponti utraque plaudent
Littora : percipient extremæ nomina terræ,
Attonitæque bibent oves, & læta beatis
Umbra locis, manesque inter veneranda quietos
Elisias capiet sedes, ubi plurima laurus
Miscet odoratis frondosa cacumina lucis.

Jo. Cuionius.

*Georgii Buchanani Scoti, in obitum Marci
Antonii Montluci, qui Hostia pro defensione
Ecclesiæ obiit, Carmen.*

Montluci armatæ regeres ut frena cohortis
Supra annos virtus consiliumque dedit.
Supra annos animi vis Martia perdidit ausum
Obvia fulmineo pectore ferre globo.
Quam super adstantem muris prius horruit hostem
Hostia, defuncti vindicis ossa colit.
Icta licet tanto genetrix sit Gallia casu
Plus genuisse refert, quam periisse dolet.

In eundem Joachimi Bellai Andegavi.

Littora Dardaniæ quondam ut contingere primus
Dum cupis, & primus, Protefilæ, cadis :
Sic cupidus pugnæ fossa Montlucius hostem
Dum prohibet primus, primus ab hoste cadit.
Hostia

Tombeau de M. B. de Montluc.

Hostia prima fuit Montlucius, Hostia nempe
Haud alia poterat conditione capi.
At vos ne hæc decimum, Galli, vos ducat in annum
Hostia, Montluci pectora quisque gerat.

Ejusdem in eundem.

Hospes siste gradum, rogo, hic parumper :
Quemque prætereas locum videto,
Hoc, hoc sub tumulo jacet sepultus :
Montluci illius (hoc fat est viator)
Natus optimus, optimi parentis,
Qui dum sorte datum locum tuetur,
Pro fossa vigil excubatque primus,
Cæco vulnere primus est peremptus.
Illum mœsta cohors prius Tribunum
Mox cæsum ingemuere tota castra.

Pour Jean de Montluc Evêque de Valence.

CY repose l'honneur de France
Montluc Evêque de Valence.
C'est assez, passé viateur,
A son seul nom tu sçais sa gloire
Il sert de trompette & d'histoire
Decà & delà l'Equateur.

Pour le Capitain Montluc Sieur de Caupene qui
mourut à Madere.

LE Ciel qui seul te sembloit grand,
Montluc, en jeune âge te prend
Voyant que peu sert plus attendre,
Car le monde à ton appetit,
Eust esté tousiours si petit
Qu'il ne t'eust jamais peu comprendre.

Pour Fabien de Montluc Sieur de Montef-
quieu.

SONNET.

L'Amour de son pays le brave Peleide
Conduisoit à la mort, alors que pour venger
Le Grecois Menelas du Troyen estrange,
Sa vie s'acheva par un trait homicide.
L'amour de Dieu du Roy, & du pays te guide
Montluc, à mesme pas misprisant ton danger,
Quand chauffant le Biernois ardent de saccager
Un plomb donna dedans ta cuissè d'arnois vuide.
Magnanime guerrier tu meurs avant ton temps,
Si celuy peut mourir qui encor jeune d'ans
Par une brave mort vient double vie acquerre.
Et ore que tu es fait habitant des cieus,
Peut-estre as tu pitié de nos jours soucieux,
Où tu ris des desseins des auteurs de la guerre.

SONNET.

Sur le tombeau de Monsieur le Commandeur de
Montluc.

Avant leur temps, la mort tes deux aînez atterre,
Montluc, & ton puisné de mesme elle prend,

*En Italie, Afrique, en la France elle estend
Morts de trois plombs fatals ces trois fondres de
Ton pere qui son chef de mille lauriers serre (guerre.
Chargé d'ans & d'honneur les suit, apres luy grand
Marche ton oncle grand, de qui le nom s'essand
Par tous les lieux cogneus de l'habitable terre.
Mais toy les survivant, morts ils ne sembloient pas,
Voyant en tes discours, entreprises, combats,
De tous revivre en toy le cœur & l'eloquence.
Nous les voyons en toy & combattre & parler :
Mais ores toy mourant, ils remeurent, & l'air
Emporte nos regrets, le Ciel nostre esperance.*

I. du C. E. de C.

Tumulo Blasii Montluci,

Define mirari fata gens é stirpe virorum,
Omnia si morsu laceret mors digna maligno.
Heroum divina cohors huic subdita legi est
Tantalus est testis, Sarpedon, quique parente
Avo progeniti magnus domitorque ferarum.
Nunc quoque Montlucius divis præstantior illis,
Haud virtute sua valuit depellere lethum
Quin mors exultat tanto ductore pe empto.
Interea super astra volat, cælumque capefcit :
Et tot gesta viri stupet omnis turba deorum.

ALIUD.

Bellipotens varios terræ pelagique labores
Qui domuit, tegitur mortuus hoc tumulo
Nempe suis iterum diffidens Jupiter armis
Montluci Stygiis lumina mersit aquis.

SONNET.

Sur la deuise de Blaise de Montluc Marechal de
France.

DEO DUCE, FERRO COMITE.

Creature de Dieu, i'eus Dieu tousiours pour guide
Enfant de Mars ie fus de fer accompagné
En cet aage de fer où je fus desseigné
Pour manier un fer iustement homicide
Guerroyer justement, c'est alors que Dieu guide
Et le cœur & la main, i'ay cela tesmoigné,
Pour defendre nos Roys ne m'estant espargné.
Ny pour sauver la France au François parricide.
En cette mer Dieu fust mon estoile du Nort,
Le fer mon instrument, pour maint guerrier effort,
Aux uns, pour leurs tombeaux on bastit leur memoire.
L'edifice élevant du fer de maint marteau,
Et moy pour m'arracher des mains de la mort noire,
Avec le fer au poing i'ay brisé mon tombeau.

P. DE-BRACH.

F I N.

Halte a guiny

How to a given

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